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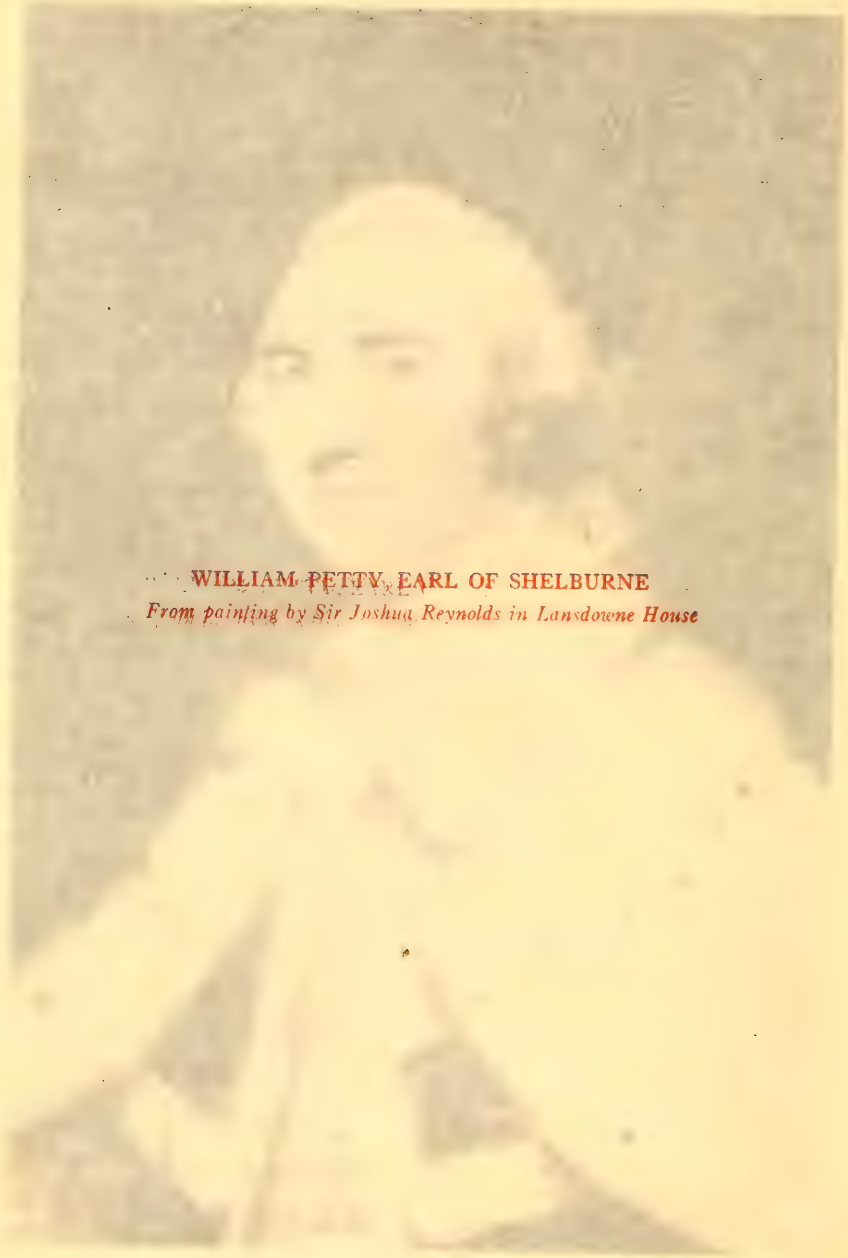
THE NEW RÉGIME

1765–1767

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WILLIAM PETTY, EARL OF SHELBURNE

From painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds in Lansdowne House

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VOLUME XI

BRITISH SERIES, VOLUME II

THE NEW RÉGIME
1765-1767

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AND
CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.,Q.	= Archiepiscopal Archives, Quebec
A.A.S.	= American Antiquarian Society
A.C.	= Attested Copy
A.D.S.	= Autograph Document Signed
A.L.	= Autograph Letter
A.L.S.	= Autograph Letter Signed
A.N.,C.	= Archives Nationales, Ministère des Colonies
A.P.S.	= American Philosophical Society
A.S.,Q.	= Archives du Séminaire de Quebec
Add. MSS.	= Additional Manuscripts
B.M.	= British Museum
C.	= Copy
C.H.S.	= Chicago Historical Society
C.O.	= Colonial Office
C.P.L.	= Champaign Public Library
C.S.	= Copy Signed
D.H.N.Y.	= Documentary History of New York
D.S.	= Document Signed
E.	= Extract
f.	= Folio
H.C.L.	= Harvard College Library
I.H.C.	= Illinois Historical Collections
K. MSS.	= Kaskaskia Manuscripts
L.B.C.	= Letter Book Copy
L.S.	= Letter Signed
M.H.S.	= Massachusetts Historical Society
N.Y.S.L.	= New York State Library
P.C.R.	= Pennsylvania Colonial Records
P.D.P.R.	= Pennsylvania Division of Public Records
P.H.S.	= Historical Society of Pennsylvania
P.R.O.	= Public Record Office
S.P.,Dom.	= State Papers, Domestic
V.S.L.	= Virginia State Library
[ ]	= With italics: Editorial explanations within documents or translations
[ ]	= With roman: Words supplied by editor in documents or translations; letters supplied, the omission of which in the original was indicated by a tilde

THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW RÉGIME

Special Introduction

THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW RÉGIME

The transfer of sovereignty over the Illinois country, effected by Captain Stirling in October, 1765, inaugurated an era of British control in the trans-Allegheny West which continued until 1778. In the following pages will be found numerous documents descriptive of the various problems connected with the country and its governance during the first two or three years of this régime. Reflected throughout the volume is the problem of the adjustment of the government of the region to the needs of the new subjects, both French and Indian. This demanded, but did not always call forth, the utmost adroitness and diplomacy upon the part of the central government and its subordinates in America. Interwoven with this is the ever-present question of trade regulation and promotion. The larger political question of the disposition of the West — whether it should be carved into proprietary colonies, retained as an Indian territory, or annexed to an older province — occupies no inconsiderable space.[1]

The question of the ultimate disposition of this region and the relation subsisting between the Indians and the colonists represent varying phases of the general imperial problem confronting the ministry subsequent to 1763. Numerous plans for its systematic colonization were evolved by corporations and by individuals almost immediately

[1] For a detailed discussion of the various problems connected with this period, based mainly upon sources printed in this series, see C. E. Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763–1774, passim.*

after the ownership of the region by Great Britain had been confirmed by the treaty with France. The Mississippi Company, prominent among whose members were the Washington and Lee families of Virginia, urgently petitioned for a large grant on the lower courses of the Ohio River. Phineas Lyman had in mind a still more extended scheme of colonization. General Charles Lee and Sir Jeffrey Amherst likewise suggested plans for the colonization of the country in the vicinity of the old French settlements on the Great Lakes and on the Wabash and Mississippi rivers. In the same year the colony of New Wales, to be located on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, was suggested.[1] Although these proposals were not looked upon with great favor by the ministry, their promoters did not cease their efforts to push them. In 1766 a project for the colonization of the West was proposed by a firm of Philadelphia merchants, Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, who with Governor Franklin of New Jersey, his famous father, Sir William Johnson, and others formed a company for the purpose of planting a colony to be bounded by the Wisconsin, Mississippi, Ohio, and Wabash rivers. There were many other projects as ambitious as those suggested, and pamphlet literature was freely circulated which propagated among the people of Great Britain the idea of the necessity of immediate colonization and painted in most attractive colors the opportunities to be found in the great valley.

The attitude of the ministry towards western expansion varied according to the complexion of the predominant factions comprising the government. As long as the ad-

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 33:287–288. For a discussion of all these plans see Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies*. A more extended account of these colonizing enterprises will be published by Mr. Alvord in a volume entitled, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics; An Essay in Imperialism*, which will appear shortly after the publication of this volume.

ministration was in the hands of George Grenville and the Duke of Bedford, there was an expectation of an orderly and imperially controlled westward expansion.[1] Under the Old Whigs who followed the Marquis of Rockingham the tendency in administrative circles was to adopt means to close the area of possible settlement at the Appalachian divide. To this period belongs the paper by Lord Barrington who argued for the maintenance of a perpetual Indian reservation in the great valley.[2] With the advent of Chatham and his progressive lieutenant, Lord Shelburne, all reactionary and dilatory measures were swept aside and the ministry favored a rapid movement of the settlement across the mountains.[3] The following pages contain many indications of these changing views in ministerial circles.

Although the general features of the West came to be familiar in political circles through the heated arguments aroused by the question of its disposition, the region was at the beginning of the British régime little appreciated and its topography almost unknown. Even officials charged with the responsibility of pacifying the West were not sufficiently informed about western topography to venture the suggestion of any detailed program for its occupation. "I cannot give you a Satisfactory Information of the Navigation of the Ohio below Fort Pitt. The Acc^{ts} I could collect from the Traders and the French being very imperfect, partly founded on hearsay, and often contradictory concerning the Falls, or Rapids."[4] Thus wrote Colonel Henry Bouquet to General Gage in 1764 in outlining his plans for the military occupation of the western posts. A

[1] See Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs, July 10, 1764, *ante*, 1:273.

[2] See document, May 10, 1766, *post*, 234.

[3] See numerous papers on Lord Shelburne's plans, *post*, v. 3.

[4] *Ante*, 1:252.

year later Colonel George Croghan observed in his journal: "It is surprising what False information we have respecting this Country some mention this Spacious and Beautiful Meadows as large and Barren Savannahs I apprehend it has been the Artifice of the French to Keep us ignorant of the Country."[1] These comments are illustrative of the geographical knowledge current at the time of the cession of the trans-Allegheny region to Great Britain. Its general character was, perhaps, vaguely understood by students of political geography in England through the writings of French authors. A few British colonial traders and adventurers had, prior to the French and Indian War, ventured as far west as the Wabash River, but the British mind was illuminated only with the advent of the troops, the Indian agents and merchants, who, soon after the close of the war, penetrated to the farthermost points. Data as to the contour, the soil and the climate, the products and the possibilities were soon made available by the reports and journals kept by the leaders of the numerous military, commercial, and Indian missions sent into the western wilderness.

Politically affairs were in a chaotic state throughout the greater part of the period. No provision had been made by the British government for any sort of civil control over the distant French settlements. The royal proclamation of 1763, which provided for civil establishments in other portions of the recent acquisitions, reserved the western country as a vast hunting ground for the Indians and interdicted, temporarily at least, the immigration of white people into the region. No provision having been made in this edict or in any other way for a civil government, it consequently devolved upon the military authorities, in conjunction with

[1] *Post*, 34.

the officials of the Indian department, to preserve order in the Indian country and to provide for whatever administration the French inhabitants, who remained in their old homes, should require.

The success attending the efforts of the British in organizing the affairs of the West was limited in large measure by the rapid changes in the personnel of the staffs of the military and Indian departments stationed in that region. Captain Thomas Stirling, who remained in the Illinois country but a brief period, from October 9 to December 2, 1765, had little opportunity to develop an administrative policy. In this time, however, some of the chief events in the transition from French to British rule occurred.

The establishment of the machinery of military government and the administration of the oath of allegiance to the old inhabitants were accomplished without serious friction. The acceptance of the new conditions on the part of the inhabitants was facilitated by the terms of the proclamation[1] issued by General Thomas Gage, the commander in chief of the army. This defined the individual status of the inhabitants of the Illinois country. One of the leading features of this document was a clause granting to the French the right of the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion "in the same manner as in Canada," which was the fulfilment on the part of the British government of the pledge given in the fourth article of the treaty of Paris, which contained the following clause: "His Britannic majesty agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada; he will consequently give the most precise and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman church, as far as the laws of Great

[1] *Ante*, 1:395.

Britain permit."[1] This provision appertained to the whole western territory as well as to Canada proper. Prior to the treaty of cession the Illinois and Wabash settlements were subject to the jurisdiction of Louisiana, and approximately the country north of the fortieth parallel had been within the limits of Canada. In the treaty, however, all the territory lying between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi River was described as a dependency of Canada. The government was thus committed to religious toleration within the whole extent of the ceded territory. This meant that only the religious privileges of the church had been secured, since the clause, "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit," threw grave doubt on the extent of the liberty which had been promised.

Other clauses provided that all the inhabitants of the Illinois who had been subjects of the king of France might, if they desired, sell their estates and retire with their effects to Louisiana. No restraint would be placed on their emigration except for debt or on account of criminal processes.[2] This was also a fulfilment of the pledges made in the treaty of Paris.[3] All the inhabitants who desired to retain their estates and become subjects of Great Britain were guaranteed security for their persons and effects and the liberty of trade upon taking the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown.[4]

When Captain Stirling proceeded to Kaskaskia to post the proclamation and to administer the oath of allegiance as authorized by the commanding general, he was confronted by an unexpected movement on the part of the

[1] Shortt and Doughty, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759–1791*, p. 75.

[2] See *ante*, 1:396.

[3] Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, 75.

[4] See *ante*, 1:396.

inhabitants. A petition was presented, signed by representative Frenchmen of the village, asking for a respite of nine months in order that they might settle their affairs and decide whether they wished to remain under the British government or withdraw from the country.[1] According to the treaty stipulations the inhabitants of the ceded territory had been given eighteen months in which to retire, the time to be computed from the date of the exchange of ratifications.[2] The limit thus defined had long since expired, and it was therefore beyond the legal competence of Stirling or of his superior, General Gage, to grant an extension of time. Stirling, indeed, refused at first to grant the request.[3] When he perceived, however, that unless some concessions were made the village would be immediately depopulated, he extended the time to the first of March, 1766,[4] with the condition that a temporary oath of allegiance be taken,[5] and that all desiring to leave the country should give their names in advance.[6] To this tentative proposal the French in Kaskaskia agreed on condition that Stirling forward to the commanding general a petition in which they asked for a further extension.[7] An officer was then dispatched to the villages of Prairie du Rocher, St. Philippe, and Cahokia where similar arrangements were made.[8]

The commandant of the British troops had, as already suggested, no commission to govern the inhabitants; but the machinery of local government under the French had become so unsettled by the end of the war that he found

[1] *Post*, 108.
[2] Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, 75.
[3] Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 109.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid;* Farmar to Gage, December 16–19, 1765, *post*, 134.
[7] *Post*, 110, 111.
[8] Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 109.

himself confronted with conditions which made immediate action imperative. Practically the only civil officials Stirling found were Joseph Lefebvre, who acted as judge, attorney general, and guardian of the royal warehouse, and Joseph Labuxiere, who was clerk and notary public.[1] These men retired, however, to St. Louis with St. Ange and the French soldiers.[2] This brought the whole governmental machinery to a standstill, and the British commander was forced to act. He determined to appoint a judge; and after consulting the principal inhabitants of the village, selected Lagrange who was instructed "to decide all disputes... According to the Laws and Customs of the Country," with liberty of appeal to the commandant in case the litigants were dissatisfied with his decision.[3] The captains of militia seem to have retained their positions under the British, their duties being practically the same as in the French régime. Each village or parish had its captain who tried petty cases, saw to the enforcement of decrees and other civil matters as well as to the organization of the local militia.[4] The office of royal commissary was also continued and James Rumsey, a former officer in the British army, was appointed to this position.[5] But who was to assume the duties of the old French commandant with both his civil and military functions? Obviously the most logical person was the commanding officer of the troops stationed at the fort, with the difference that the French official held a special commission for the performance of these duties, and the British commandant had no such authorization. A further and more fundamental difference lay in the fact that formerly the

[1] Stirling to Gage, December 15, 1765, *post*, 124.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 110.

French had the right to appeal to the superior council at New Orleans, while apparently no such corresponding right was given them by the new arrangement.[1]

Stirling did not long retain command of the post,[2] for, on December 2, he was superseded by Major Robert Farmar,[3] his superior in rank, who arrived from Mobile with a detachment of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, after an eight months' voyage.[4] Their arrival was exceedingly welcome to Stirling and his men, who were embarrassed by lack of provisions, ammunition, and presents for the Indians.[5] When they left Fort Pitt in August, it had not been deemed necessary to take more than sixty rounds of ammunition, inasmuch as Fort de Chartres was supposed to be well stocked, and both Gage and Stirling believed that Croghan, with his cargo of supplies, would be awaiting the arrival of the troops at the fort.[6] Neither expectation, however, was

[1] Carter, *Illinois Country*, 11.

[2] Monette (*History of the Mississippi Valley*, 1:411) says that "Capt. Stirling died in December; St. Ange returned to Fort Chartres, and not long afterwards Major Frazer, from Fort Pitt, arrived as commandant." The statement is wholly incorrect. Stirling later served in the Revolutionary War, and lived until 1808. The "Major Frazer" referred to was doubtless the Lieutenant Fraser who preceded George Croghan to the Illinois country early in 1765. He never commanded in Illinois at any time, nor is there the slightest evidence that St. Ange, the last French commandant at Fort de Chartres, ever returned. This tradition of Stirling's death and of the succession of Fraser has been perpetuated in Reynolds, *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, 55; Blanchard, *History of Illinois*, 35; Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, 1:36; Dunn, *History of Indiana*, 76. Blanchard in his *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest* (p. 179), after repeating the story, states that "both Peck and Brown erroneously give this commandant's name as Farmer. It should be Fraser, the same who first advanced to the place from Fort Pitt." For sketch of Stirling's career, see *post*, 81, n.

[3] For sketch of Farmar's life, see *ante*, 1:264, n.

[4] Farmar to Gage, December 16–19, 1765, *post*, 131; Johnson to lords of trade, March 22, 1766, *post*, 193; Gage to Conway, March 28, 1766, *post*, 198; Campbell to Johnson, February 24, 1766, *post*, 158.

[5] Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 109; letter of Eddingstone, October 17, 1765, *post*, 105.

[6] Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 109; letter of Eddingstone, October 17, 1765, *post*, 105. Nevertheless in the Audit Office records are two entries wherein £293 sterling is allowed Stirling for presents to the Indians in the Illinois country. Public Record Office, Audit Office, Declared Accounts, bundle 163, roll 446.

realized. Croghan was back in the colonies prior to Stirling's arrival at the post; and when the fort was transferred it yielded neither ammunition nor any other supplies in sufficient quantity to meet the needs of the troops.[1]

An assembly of three or four thousand Indians had been accustomed to gather at the fort each spring to receive annual gifts from the French. But the British had made no provision for such a contingency, which, coupled with the weakness of the garrison and the recent hostility of the Indians, would probably have led to serious complications. A probable defection of the Indians, therefore, necessitated a large supply of military stores[2] which it was possible to obtain only from the French merchants in the villages. The latter agreed to furnish the soldiers with ammunition on condition that they would also purchase other provisions,[3] for which, the British alleged, they were charged an exorbitant price.[4] Stirling was compelled to acquiesce, for the merchants had sent their goods across the river where he could not get at them.[5]

The large supply of provisions which the colony had produced in former years seems to have decreased; at any rate it fell far short of the expectations of the officers. One officer writes at this time that "they have indeed but little here for they are doing us a vast Favour when they lett us

[1] Letter of Eddingstone, October 17, 1765, *post*, 105.

[2] *Ibid;* Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 110.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 110. The French afterwards declared that their reluctance to sell provisions to the English was occasioned by the pay they received, which was in bills on London or New York. These they were obliged to sell to the merchants of New Orleans, from whom they purchased their goods, at a loss of fifty and sixty per cent. They were also averse to any kind of paper currency, owing to its bad management by the French government of Louisiana prior to 1763. Croghan to Gage, January 12, 1767, *post*, 479. For an account of the paper money issued during the French régime, see Pittman, *Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (Hodder ed.), 47–48.

have a Gallon of French Brandy at Twenty Shillings Sterling, and as the price is not as yet regulated, the Eatables is in proportion."[1] The wealth of the colony had been considerably impaired since the occupation on account of the exodus of a large number of families who disobeyed the order of Stirling that all who desired to withdraw should give in their names in advance. Taking their cattle, grain, and effects across the ferries at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, they found homes at St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve on the Spanish side.[2] Probably a larger part of the emigrants left in the hope that in Louisiana they might still enjoy their ancient laws and privileges,[3] and others from fear lest the Indians, who were now assuming a threatening attitude, might destroy their crops and homes.[4]

The serious situation of the garrison continued through the winter and spring of 1765 and 1766.[5] Farmar estimated that all the provisions available, barely enough to last the garrison until July,[6] amounted to more than fifty thousand pounds of flour, and twelve hundred and fifty pounds

[1] Letter of Eddingstone, October 17, 1765, *post*, 106.

[2] Stirling to Gage, December 15, 1765, *post*, 125.

[3] Fraser to Gage, December 16, 1765, *post*, 130; Farmar to Gage, December 16-19, 1765, *post*, 134. Fraser alleged that St. Ange, who acted as commandant at St. Louis after his retirement from Fort de Chartres, instigated many of the French to cross over, and that other residents of the Spanish side endeavored to frighten the inhabitants of Illinois by representing Major Farmar as a rascal who would deprive them of their former privileges. See also Fraser to Haldimand, May 4, 1766, *post*, 230.

[4] Memorial of the inhabitants to Gage, October, 1765, *post*, 112; Fraser to Gage, December 16, 1765, *post*, 131. The movement across the river was considerable during the early years of the occupation. In the summer of 1765 there were approximately two thousand whites on the British side. (Fraser to Gage, May 15, 1765, *ante*, 1:492.) Three years later, the approximate number was one thousand. State of the Settlements in the Illinois Country, *post*, 469.

[5] Farmar to Gage, December 16–19, 1765, *post*, 133; Farmar to Barrington, March 19, 1766, *post*, 191.

[6] Farmar to Gage, December 16–19, 1765, *post*, 133. Farmar had just received word that Colonel Reed was on his way from Mobile to the Illinois country with about fifty men and just enough provisions for the journey. Reed was expecting to receive further supplies at Fort de Chartres. *Ibid.*

of corn meal, a portion of which would have to be given to the natives, since the representatives of the Indian department had not yet appeared. These circumstances obliged Major Farmar to send Stirling and his troops to New York by way of the Mississippi River and New Orleans.[1] In response to a series of urgent requests for assistance, Gage employed a force of Indians to transport a cargo to Fort de Chartres,[2] which reached there early in the summer of 1766, by which time also representatives of the British merchants at Philadelphia had arrived with large stores of supplies.[3] Henceforth nothing is heard of a shortage of provisions in the Illinois, for not only did the British merchants import supplies from the East, but cargoes were brought up the river from New Orleans by the French,[4] and for a time the government itself transported the necessary provisions from Fort Pitt.[5]

Late in the summer of 1766 Farmar was superseded by Lieutenant Colonel John Reed who came from Mobile with another detachment of the Thirty-fourth Regiment.[6] By this time a growing discontent among the Indians was manifesting itself, and became one of the most important problems confronting the new commandant of Fort de Chartres. Although the majority of the western tribes had

[1] Farmar to Gage, December 16–19, 1765, *post*, 132. This was contrary to Gage's orders. *Ibid.*

[2] Gage to Johnson, June 2, 1766, *post*, 247; Gage to Conway, June 24, 1766, *post*, 322; Farmar to Haldimand, July 29, 1768, *post*, v. 3; Farmar's proclamation, February 13, 1766, *post*, 154.

[3] Gage to Conway, July 15, 1766, *post*, 340; Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Gage, August 10, 1766, *post*, 363.

[4] Carter, *Illinois Country*, ch. 5. A succeeding volume of this series will contain documents on this point.

[5] Gage to Shelburne, August 24, 1767, *post*, 592.

[6] With the material available it does not seem possible to determine the exact date of the change. The first document appearing with Reed's signature as commandant is dated July 4, 1766, *post*, 84. Major Farmar appears to have expected the arrival of his successor in July or August. Farmar to Barrington, March 19, 1766, *post*, 191.

professed their allegiance to Great Britain prior to the occupation of Illinois, there were still large numbers who considered themselves as allies of the king of France. Agents of the French merchants, moreover, were roaming at will among the various tribes, spreading stories of British greed and duplicity[1] in order to retain control of the lucrative fur trade.[2] With false promises of succor from France in case the Indians chose to rebel,[3] the French emissaries were rapidly laying the foundations for another outbreak similar to that of 1763. It was therefore imperative to adopt some effective measure for the conciliation of the western tribes.

One of the evidences of British neglect to which these agents referred was the apparent absence of any arrangements for regulating and developing the fur trade and for providing presents to the Indians and other concrete proofs of the good will of the new masters. Captain Stirling himself complained of the "disagreable Situation" he was in, "without an Agent or Interpreter for the Indians, or Merchandize for presents to them which they all expect."[4] The British government had indeed been very slow in formulating and executing any definite program for Indian management. In 1764, shortly after the announcement of the proclamation of 1763, guaranteeing the Indians in the possession of their lands, Lord Hillsborough and the board of trade drafted a plan providing for the government of the Indian reservation and the regulation of the trade.[5]

[1] Johnson to Shelburne, December 16, 1766, *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:882–883.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Johnson to lords of trade, March 22, 1766, *post*, 193; Johnson to Shelburne, December 16, 1766, *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:882–883; Johnson to Shelburne, January 15, 1767, *post*, 485.

[4] Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 109.

[5] *Ante*, 1:273 *et seq.*

Among other things it was provided that Indian affairs would be directed as formerly by two superintendents, one in the northern and one in the southern district. In the former, which included the territory north of the Ohio River, an interpreter, a gunsmith, and a commissary, who was to represent the government in all political transactions with the Indians and look after the enforcement of the trade regulations defined in the plan, were to reside at each post under the immediate direction of the general superintendent and his deputies. The military officials were expected to give advice and assistance but they could take no independent action except in cases of emergency or where the negotiations were purely military.

This plan of the board of trade, however, was proposed at an unfortunate time. The stamp act, which had been recently passed with the view of raising money for imperial purposes, met with such vigorous opposition, on the part of the colonies, that parliament hesitated to take formal action on a measure entailing considerable additional expense. Although no definite parliamentary action was ever taken on the plan, the board of trade directed the Indian superintendents to put into execution such parts of it as they found practicable.[1] For some reason, however, Sir William Johnson, who had directed Indian affairs in America since 1756 and who had been appointed superintendent for the northern department, delayed for more than a year the appointment of the Indian officers indicated in the plan.[2] When finally on April 17, 1766, he appointed Edward Cole to be commissary of Indian affairs in the Illi-

[1] Johnson to lords of trade, March 22, 1766, *post*, 194; Representation of the lords of trade on Indian affairs, March 17, 1768, *post*, v. 3.

[2] In this Johnson apparently acted on the advice of Gage. (See Gage to Johnson, February 2, 1765, *ante*, 1:428.) It is probable that they wanted to make sure that such appointments could be supported.

nois country,[1] it was found necessary to send an additional representative of the Indian department to Fort de Chartres to perfect, if possible, a general pacification of the western Indians. Early in February General Gage and Sir William Johnson arranged with George Croghan to undertake a second mission in the West.[2] Equipped with Indian presents to the value of over three thousand pounds and with instructions as to their distribution and the general purpose of the mission, Croghan set out for Fort de Chartres late in April, 1766,[3] arriving there August 20.[4] The newly appointed commissary, Edward Cole, arrived from Detroit about the same time.[5]

Croghan found several nations of Indians collected at Kaskaskia, and after consulting with Commandant Reed, issued a call for a general meeting to be held on August 25. The chiefs and principal warriors of eight nations, comprising some twenty-two tribes, obeyed the summons. Deputies from the Six Nations and the Delaware and Shawnee tribes had accompanied Croghan from Fort Pitt,[6] so that the con-

[1] Cole to Johnson, June 23, 1766, *post*, 320. See also the deed for a house purchased at Fort de Chartres by the government through Cole as commissary, which was sworn to by Commandant Reed, *post*, 372. Almost all previous writers on western history have given currency to the idea that Edward Cole was the military commandant at Fort de Chartres from 1766 to 1768 and that he was followed by Colonel Reed who governed but a few months. This is an error, which has been reflected by the following writers: Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, 1:137; Moses, introduction to "Court of Inquiry at Fort Chartres," in Chicago Historical Society, *Collections*, 4:421; Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, 278; Parrish, *H storical Illinois*, 184; Wallace, *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*, 395; Dunn, *Indiana*, 76.

[2] Croghan to Johnson, February 14, 1766, *post*, 156; Johnson to Croghan, February 21, 1766, *post*, 156.

[3] Gage to Johnson, April 13, 1766, *post*, 213. He probably left New York at that time. He left Fort Pitt June 18, accompanied by the merchant, George Morgan, and Lieutenant Hutchins and Captain Gordon of the army. Morgan to his wife, June 20, 1766, *post*, 311.

[4] Croghan to Johnson, September 10, 1766, *post*, 373.

[5] Cole to Johnson, June 23, 1766, *post*, 321.

[6] Croghan to Johnson, September 10, 1766, *post*, 374; Morgan to his wife, June 29, 1766, *post*. Morgan's letter contains a good description of a portion of this journey down the Ohio.

gress became one of considerable importance. Although the presence of so many tribes made the negotiations difficult to carry on, Croghan was able in a few days to finish the business to the satisfaction of nearly everyone present. A general peace and alliance were declared between the British and all the western and northern Indians[1] except those tribes whom the French had influenced to remain away from the conference.[2] Nevertheless the chiefs who had attended the congress soon persuaded even these tribes to enter the peace, and on September 5 they came to Fort de Chartres and publicly announced their friendship for the British.[3]

Reed remained in command of Fort de Chartres until 1767. According to the meager information existing for these years, the relation between commandant and people, both French and British, was very unhappy. Mutual misunderstandings of method and purpose continued unabated for some time. Much of the bitter factional strife, destined to lead to important results in subsequent years, had its origin in this period. These facts, which form, in part, the theme of the years from 1767 to 1772, will be illustrated in the succeeding volumes of this series.

[1] Croghan to Johnson, September 10, 1766, *post*, 373; Gage to Shelburne, December 23, 1766, *post*, 462; Johnson to Shelburne, January 15, 1767, *post*, 485; Johnson to lords of trade, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, 319; Croghan to Gage, January 16, 1767, *post*, 487.

[2] Croghan to Johnson, September 10, 1766, *post*, 373.

[3] *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

FEBRUARY 28, 1765–JULY 15, 1767

CHAPTER I

GEORGE CROGHAN'S JOURNALS, FEBRUARY 28, 1765 — OCTOBER 8, 1765

FRASER AND CROGHAN SET OUT — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INDIANS AT FORT PITT — FRASER HASTENS AHEAD — THE JOURNEY DOWN THE OHIO — DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY — ATTACK BY THE INDIANS — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE WESTERN INDIANS — ARRIVAL AT DETROIT — MORE NEGOTIATIONS — LETTER TO MURRAY — CROGHAN WRITES BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

CROGHAN'S JOURNAL, February 28, 1765–May 11, 1765[1]

[P.H.S., Etting Collection, Gratz-Croghan, 1:12—C.]

February 28th Lieutenant Frazer[2] & I arrived at Fort Pitt, where Major Murray[3] informed us, that Mr McKee, had a fortnight before, sent a Message to the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas, & Sandusky Indians, desiring them immediately to come to this Post, to meet me, but as yet recd no answer, and further acquainted me, that but few Indians were there, during the Winter.

I then went and spoke to the Hostages, who inform'd me that they had heard from Custologo[4] & his Tribe, who were hunting near Tuskerawas, & that they believed, they would soon come into this Post, but heard nothing from the other two Tribes.

March 1st 1765, Six Seneca Indians came here, from one of the Shawanese Towns & inform'd me, as follows — That the deputation from from [*sic*] the Shawanese & Delawares, whch were sent last Summer, to the Ilinois to Councel with the French & Indians in that

[1] Printed in *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 9:250. For a discussion of the Croghan journals, see *post*, 23, n. 1; for the important communications preceding this expedition, see *ante*, 1:387, 395, 397, 422.

[2] For Fraser's letters concerning this undertaking, see *ante*, 1:491, *et seq.*, 515, 519.

[3] Captain William Murray of the Forty-second Regiment, who was in command at Fort Pitt at this time. There is a question of the identity of this officer with the William Murray, who is so active in the Illinois a few years later. See many references to him in the index. The question of identity goes farther. Is William Murray of this period the bold opposer of the Kentucky resolutions in 1798? We are at present in doubt in regard to these questions.

[4] A chief of the Delawares.

Country, were returned, that they had been well rec^{d} by the French, who, on their arrival, clothed them & told them, they would supply them, with every necessary they wanted, to carry on the War agst the English; & would send Traders with them, to their Towns, when they shou'd set out. That they had held a Council with nine Indian Nations, settled on the Ouabache & in the Ilinois Country, who all Engaged to support them, with their whole Force, should they continue the War against the English. That on those Deputys return to the plains of Siota & being informed of the Terms, of accommodation agreed on by their Nations (during their absence) with Colonel Boquet, they then in Council with the Sandusky & Seneca Indians, agreed to abide by their People's Engagements, & perform the whole in their part, provided the English wou'd open a free Trade & intercourse with them, & supply them with Ammunition, Goods, & Rum, as usual & not prohibit the Sale of Powder & Liquors, as they had done before the late difference happened, These Indians farther said, the Shawanese had sent a Message to the French Traders, who were then following them to their Towns, to return home — (I much doubted the Truth of this) & that they had sent a Message, likewise, to the Nine Nations in that Country acquainting them, that they were about accommodating matters with the English, & desiring them to sit still, 'till they heard farther from them in the Spring.

March 2nd I dispatched a Messenger to the Shawanese & Senecas, & another to the Delaware & Sandusky Indians, to acquaint them of my arrival here, in Company with Lieutenant Frazer, with Messages from the Kings Commander in Chief, & Sir W^{m} Johnson, to their Nations, & desired their several Chiefs, would immediately come here to meet me. I likewise sent a Message to Pondiac who I heard was among the Twightwees, to meet me at the mout [*sic*] of Siota, on my way down the River.

4th Two Senecas came here from Venango (where a hundred of their people was hunting) to know, if a Trade was opened here, for the Indians, as they had heard from the Seneca Country, all differences being settled between their Nation & the English, last fall, by Sir W^{m} Johnson.

Deliver'd a string of Wampum.

5th Major Murray & I acquainted them there was no Trade opened yet, nor could there be any, till the Shawanese & Delawares

had come in, to perform their Engagements with Colonel Bouquet. That we did send for them & Expected them here, before the last of this month. Gave them a Belt of Wampum, desiring them to rest satisfy'd, 'till that time, & likewise desired some of their Chiefs, to come down and hear, what should pass between us & those Nations.

March 7th Andrew, a Huron Indian, & a French Man Mr Alexander Maisonville came here, wth dispatches from Col: Campbell at Detroit, to the General.

20th Lieut Frazer informed Major Murray & me, that the Generalls Instructions to him, was to be at the Ilinois at all Events, by the beginning of April, that as the Indians were not met here, he purposed to set off down the River, in two or three days, as the service which he was sent on, was of a different nature from mine, he desired I would Employ Mr Maisonville & Andrew, to go with him that the service he was going upon, might not suffer.

21st With the approbation of Major Murray, I employed Mr Maisonville and Andrew Interpreters, with a Shawanese & a Seneca Indian, to accompany him, and furnished him with Wampum, Silver Truck & other necessaries for the Journey — That the service might not suffer by any delays the Indians might give him here, or by his wanting any assistance in my power to give.

22nd Two Delaware Runners came here from Custaloga, to let us know that he had forwarded the Message, sent him, and expected, that all the Nations were on their way hither by this time, & that he would come in a few days.

23rd Several Dellawares came here to trade, with what peltry they had, for goods, but not being suffered — they seemed very Sulky.

25th Several Senecas from Venango, came here, expecting the Shawanese, Delawares & Sandusky Indians, were come but finding they were not, determined to wait their arrival.

28th Three Shawanese & one Seneca, came here from the lower Shawanese at, the plains of Siota, with a message to let me know, that my Message came to their Town, two days before they left it, & that their Chiefs had sent them off, to acquaint me they were Collecting all our Flesh & Blood together, meaning all the English Prisoners, & were to set out, in two days, after those left it, & should

make all the haste in their Power, up with them, but as the weather, was so severe & the Waters high, they could not make all the dispatch they could wish.

April 1st Four Dellawares came here, from one of their Towns, where two of their Tribes were collected together in Council & said, that they were sent by their Chiefs, to inform me, That altho Custaloga had sent me word, their Chiefs should come here, yet their two tribes could not, One of their men having been called up to Heaven, by the great Spirit of Life, who told him, that he must acquaint his Nation, that before they made Peace with the English, they must consult the Quakers of Philadelphia, who would direct them, how to make a lasting Peace; And desired I should send for some of them, to come here; then their nation would come in & make a Peace, And as the great Spirit had told this man, several things of great consequence to them, he desired that Mr McKee[1] might go there and commit it all to Writing.

2nd Major Murray & I made those Four Delawares the following answer on a Belt of Wampum.

Brethren,

We are surprised, at the Message you delivered us Yesterday from the Chiefs of the Delawares — The man you mention, who says he spoke with the great Spirit, you may rest assured, is decieving [*sic*] your people, as we are perswaded, that he never spoke to him,— Your Nation agreed to terms of accommodation last Fall, wth Col: Boquet. In part, they have comply'd with those Terms — They begg'd of him, peace in the most submissive manner, & your Brethren the English, thought your nation would be the first, to come here, when sent for.— We have received Messages from the Senecas, Shawanese & Sandusky Indians, that they are now on their way here — There are the Messengers that brought us those accots and are to stay here, 'till they arrive.—You will therefore return to your

[1] Alexander McKee was a native of Pennsylvania and one of the early traders on the Ohio. In 1772 he was appointed deputy agent of the Indians under Sir William Johnson. At the outbreak of the Revolution he inclined to the Royalist side and in August, 1777, was imprisoned in Pittsburgh for a short time. In March, 1778, he with Mathew Elliot and Simon Girty left for Detroit. Here he was appointed captain in the Indian department by the British authorities and later deputy agent. After the Revolutionary War he engaged in trade and had a store on the Maumee River. When the British evacuated Detroit in 1796, McKee removed to Malden, Ontario, where he died January 14, 1799. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 74.

Chiefs, & let them know, that no People whatever in this Country can give you Peace, but the Kings Commander in Chief, & we desire them to come here with the other Nations & Comply with your Engagements to Col: Boquet, & not suffer themselves to be amused by idle Dreams, or Stories, that may be told them, by any Body.

A Belt.

April 6th — Four-Six Nation Indians arrived here, in a Canoe down the Monangahela, with Five Cherokee Scalps — They met a Number of Virginia Hunters, on the Heads of New River, who had like to have killed them.

13th Several Munsie Indians,[1] came here in Canoes down the Ohio, from their Village, above Venango & brought with them, two English Prisoners, which they delivered up, both Girls, One about twelve, 'tother nine Years of Age, they were taken young, cant speak a word of English, one was taken near Shippensburgh, the other near Juniata, in Cumberland County Pennsylvania.

14th About Eighty Seneca Indians, came here from their Town, at the two Creeks, & brought with them, a qu[anti]ty of Skins & Furs expecting to Trade.

In a private conversation with Major Murry & me they informed us, that two Tribes of the Dellawares, were very averse to making Peace with the English, 'till the return of Killbuck, from Sir Wm Johnson, and then if they liked the Terms, they should stand to them, but not otherwise; that they called Custolago an old Woman, for agreeing to the terms, he did with Col: Boquet, that they wanted to Fight, & would have cut off the Army, had it not been for him & that they have been Striving all this Spring, to prevent the Senecas, Shawanese, & Sandusky Indians from coming here with the English Prisoners, telling the Indians, in Public Council, as the French and Nine Nations living on the Ouabache & in the Ilinois Country, have agreed to supply & support them, in the War against the English, they should be able to drive them out of this Country, in less than two Years. But those Indians said that Guiashutha with the rest of the Senecas, Shawanese, and Sandusky Indians, with all the English Prisoners, in their Nations, were now on their way here, & would have arrived by this time, had it not been for the Delawares; Custologa

[1] One of the three principal divisions of the Delawares.

& his Tribe, being the only people in that Nation, willing to be at Peace with the English.

April 18th Two Delaware runners came here from their Chiefs to inform us, they had accepted of the Invitation which I sent them, & were now on their way here & should endeavour, to be here, as soon as the other Nations.

19th The Several Indians, now here, which are about two Hundred, seem very Sulky on Account of their not being suffered to Trade, notwithstanding I have made use of every argument in my power, to explain to them the reasons of it.

April 20th I dispatched four Indian Runners, to meet the several Chiefs with Messages, pressing them to make all the dispatch possible here. In the Afternoon, the Beaver with several Dellawares, came here, with several Horses, loaded with Peltry, in order to Trade, when I informed them, that no Trade could be permitted, 'till the several Nations, had performed their engagements with Col: Boquet.

21st A Number more Delawares arrived here with several Horse Load of Peltry, in order to Trade.

23rd Four Senecas came here, who informed me, they had seen a Battoe, with several White men going down the River, about twenty five days ago,[1] & asked me where they were going; on which I told them, they then said, I was wrong in letting them go, as they knew the French, had incensed the Indian Nations that way, against the English, & that unless, a number of the Shawanese & Delawares would undertake, to reconcile those nations to the English, they were of opinion it would be very difficult to do it, any other way.

24th The Newcomer Noatwhetama, arrived here, with most of the Warriors of his Tribe, when he made a long speech to Major Murray & me by way of Compliment.

25th Custologa arrived here, when he & his Tribe, saluted the Garrison wth three Discharges of their Guns, which Major Murray ordered to be returned with three Cannon.

26th. Six Dellaware Indians, arrived here from Sir Wm Johnson, & brought brought [*sic*] a Letter to the Chief of the Delawares, whch I Interpretted & Explain'd to them, in a Meeting which Major Murray & I, had with them, on that occasion. In the Evening, about

[1] This is Lieutenant Fraser's party. See *ante*, 3.

Twenty more of the Delawares came here, with several Horses, Loaded with skins & Furrs.

April 28th. Four Shawanese Runners, came here with the Calimut of Peace, belonging to their nation & after Smoaking out of it, they informed Major Murray & me, that the Chiefs of their nation, were on their way here, with all the English Prisoners, which was the reason of their being so long on the road, the Prisoners not being able, to travel fast, but that they should all be here, in three or four days, & desired us, not to be uneasy, 'till they arrived.

29th I had a private meeting with the Chiefs and the principal Warriors, of the three Tribes of the Delawares, when they brought me the Indian, which they said, had been lifted up to Heaven, & had spoke, to the great spirit, or giver of Life. I spoke to him & desired to know what the great Spirit had told him. He remained silent for sometime, & then spoke as follows.

Brethren,

It is now One hundred & fifteen days, since I saw & spoke with our Father, whch is in Heaven, by which I know every thing on Earth, & good from bad. I have likewise been informed, how far our great Father, allows us to know his Will, & in what manner we ought to proceed, in order to make a firm lasting friendship between one & other, & the persons amongst the White People, to whom we are to speak to, on this head, by order of our Father, are the Quakers. We are sensible of the misunderstanding, that has been between us, & know we ought to be as one People, having but one Father, God, when he first made us, on this Earth, considered us, as his People, & gave us directions, in what manner to Live, & now this second time has discovered himself to me, acquainting me with the method, we ought to pursue, & to live agreeable to his desire. he spoke to me concerning all the People which inhabit this Continent.

Now Brethren, We have got as much of his sentiments, as will be sufficient, to direct us to live in firm friendship, and it will be happy, Brethren, if we adhere to the advice our Father has given us, it will do us both good, as we are people of different Colours, who inhabit this continent. Our Father has likewise spoke to my Chiefs, by me, giving them advice, in what manner to behave as Kings, and now they will act as Kings.

Brethren,

We are fully determined to comply with the Orders of our Great Father, as we don't think it would be right to disobey him, & we desire you Join us, & let us both comply with his request, it will be better for us, we are his People & he is our Father. You know Brethren, if we don't do, as he desires us, it will not be good, for either of us.

April 30th Several Chiefs & principal Warriors of the Delawares, in a private Meeting told me, that the great Spirit had told them as they were the first nation, that met the Quakers, when first they, came to Philadelphia, they ought to be the first applyed to, in making a lasting Peace, for all other Nations in this Country, & if they wou'd agree to that, they would make a peace & bring all other Nations into it. I told them, that I was well acquainted by other Nations, that this was what they wanted, that I was much surprized at their Conduct, after what they had promised to Col: Bouquet and that the Quakers could not make Peace with them. That as soon as the Shawanese came, I would deliver the Generals Messages to them, which if they Complied with, it would be well for themselves, as all other Nations, had made their peace already with Sir Wm Johnson, except them, & the Shawanese. That the Shawanese were now coming, in order to go to Sir Wm Johnson to make theirs. And if they would not, they must go to the Quakers, or sit alone in the woods, for it was out of my power, to comply with their request.

May 1st Two Indians from Sandusky,[1] came here and said that about 30 days ago, a Frenchman from the Ilinois passed by the Miamies Village, towards Detroit, & told all the Indians he saw, that the King of France their Father, had sent a large Quantity of Goods to New Orleans, for to supply his Children the Indians, in this Country & would send them more next Year.

Last night, two Principal Warriors of the Delawares, differed in Council & stabb'd each other, in such a manner, that their Lives are despair'd of, wh^ch Accident threw all the Tribes of that Nation, in such confusion, that Major Murray, & I were obliged to speak to them, on three Belts of Wampum, to reconcile them to each other.

[1] There were a Lower and an Upper Sandusky, both Huron villages, but there were also members of many other tribes gathered in them. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:ch. 12.

2nd A Number of the Shawanese, arrived here, with part of the English Prisoners & Saluted the Garrison, with a discharge of their Guns, which was returned, by three Cannons, after which they came over the River, and informed me the rest of their People, would be here to morrow.

5th The Messenger that I sent to meet part of the Shawanese returned & said, that some of the prisoners, were Sick, which delay'd them so long, on their way here, but that they expected them to-morrow Evening.

6th. A number of Senecas arrived here & said the Shawanese wou'd not get here 'till tomorrow morning.

May 7th The Shawanese arrived here, with the last of the White Prisoners, and saluted the Garrison, with two rounds, which was returned by three Cannon. Then made several Compliments to Major Murray & me, for their delay on the road, & the time it took them to collect the prisoners together, before they set out; being determin'd not to come 'till they could deliver them all up, & comply with their other Engagements, as their whole nation, was resolved to make a lasting Peace with their Brethren the English, which shall never be broke on their side; and hope their Brethren, would give no occasion for the future, to excite their Jealousy or suspicion. (meaning the English.) In the Evening, two Senecas arrived here from Chenessies,[1] on Business to the Senecas, Shawanese, and Delawares, and by what I could learn the business is to enquire, what success the Shawanese, Delawares & Senecas had last Fall with the French and Indians, at the Ilinois; these two Men told the Senecas here, that the Six Nations are so divided in their Councils, that they had not agreed to go to Sir William Johnson, when they left home, tho' he had sent several Messages for them.

8th. The Shawanese & Senecas, sent for Major Murray and me, and performed all the Ceremonies of Condolence, as usual, on Meetings of this nature.

At a Meeting I held with the Chiefs of the Shawanese, Delawares & Sandusky Indians, at Fort Pitt — May 9th 1765.
Present Major Wm Murray & several Officers of the Garrison.

[1] Geneseo, an important Seneca settlement, situated near the present site of Geneseo, New York.

Dellawares

Nettawattways
Custologa
The Beaver
Latort
Tepsicohan
Ketopum
Spoagusa
Nesscutathum
Cuscathon
Kehewenum
} Chiefs

Cap: Jacobs
Wingeenum
Cutfinger Peter
Cap: Pipe
Cap: Johnny
Cap: Grey Eyes
Turtle Heart
Sun Fish
White Wolf
John Peters
Thos Hichman
Kichotan
Opetoawethin
Wessax
Simon Girte
} Chief Warriors

With 215 Warriors besides Women & Children —

Shawanese

Kisinoutha
Lawaughqua
Thaminurque
Lawisimo
Wapecawpa
Ossitahiwa
Metholahela
Beniwerica
Mamrehigh.
Nichapessica
} Chiefs

Weconnathaca
Thecomma
Wopemoga
Neihebucketha
Niemwha
} Chief Warriors

With 45 Warriors besides Women & Children—

Senecas

Ouchista
Kyashutha
Opaughkee
Connanduntokas
Couidageaiate
} Chiefs

Ginnisuram
Sohays
} Chief Warriors

With 125 Warriors besides Women & Children—

Sandusky Indians

Onadegass
Thusnedosga
} Chiefs

Thanissa
Cap: John
} Chief Warriors

With 38 more Warriors, besides Women & Children—

Munsies —

38 Men, besides Women & Children.—

Brethren,

I have sent two months ago, by his Majestys Commander in Chief, & Sir W^m^ Johnson Baronet, with Messages to your several Tribes, & have sent several Messengers to summon you together, & to my great surprize, you have by your delays, obliged me to stay here, waiting for you, thirty days, longer than I expected. A String.

Brethren,

His Excellency General Gage has ordered me to inform you that he Expects, you will immediately perform all the engagements, you made last Fall to Col: Boquet, one of which was, to deliver up all the English Prisoners & Negroes, which were in your several Villages. This Article, in part, you then performed, & was to deliver the rest, early this Spring, and I hope, as you have, delayed so long, after I did send for you, that you have brought them agreeable to your promises.

Two Belts.

Brethren,

At the same time you promised solemnly to Col: Boquet, that you would send Deputys of your nations fully impowered to settle a Peace, with Sir W^m^ Johnson, & at the same time, leave such a Number of Hostages here, till their Return; how you have complied with this Article, I need not inform you.— You have sent but one man to Sir W^m^ Johnson, & he not a Chief of any of your Tribes, and the Hostages you delivered Col: Boquet, have all shamefully ran away except three, tho' they were all, as well used here, as any of our own People, & never confined. This Conduct Brethren, has given all your Brethren the English, a suspicion of your sincerity, therefore his Excellency Gen^l^ Gage, Expects that you will immediately send proper Deputies to Sir W^m^ Johnson to ratify & confirm a Lasting Peace, & replace Hostages here, 'till that is done, for 'till you perform your engagements, with Col: Boquet, no trade can be opened for your Nations.

Two Belts.

Brethren,

His Excellency General Gage & Sir W^m^ Johnson have ordered me to assure you, that as soon as you perform these Articles, that a free Trade & intercourse, shall be allowed you, & all other Nations of Indians to the Sun setting, so long as they continue to behave well, to his Majestys Subjects. Two Belts.

Brethren,

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, having conquered the French, in this Country, wh^{ch} you are well acquainted with — All the Forts & settlements the French had, are now become the Property of the King of England; The French Troops are to be sent to France, & the Planters become subjects to England, therefore the General has ordered me to inform you, that the King of Great Britain, will take under his protection, all the nations of Indians, in this Country, to the Sunsetting, & restore tranquility, among all nations, that your Children unborn, may enjoy the blessings of a lasting peace.

Two Belts.

Brethren,

I am now going, by his Excellency Gen^{l} Gage's orders, to visit all the Indian Nations, settled on the Ouabache & in the Ilinois Country, & to offer them the Friendship, of the King of Great Britain & his subjects, as he is now become their Father; & the Gen^{l} expects that you will send a Deputation of your Nation, wth me, to assist in reconciling those nations (with wh^{m} we have had but little intercourse) to his Majestys Interest.

Two Belts.

Then Kyashuta spoke in behalf of the Seneca & Sandusky Indians, to the Shawanese & Dellawares:

"Nephews, the Delawares, & Brethren the Shawanese,

You have heard what your Brethren the English, have said to you, they have desired nothing of you, but what you solemnly promised last Fall to Col: Boquet, all which you ought to perform. For our parts, we are determined to take the advice of our Brethren the English, as we know, it will be for our good, & we desire you as friends, to do so; if you do not, you must take the consequences, for we are determined, to comply with what our Brethren desire of us.

Delivered a String to the Shawanese & Delawares.

Then a Chief of the Shawanese got up and taking all the Belts deliver'd them, in his hand, addressing himself to the Delawares as follows,

Grandfathers the Delawares,

You have heard, what our Father, the King of England has said to us & likewise, what your Uncles the Six Nations have said to us, they have desired nothing, but what is right, we behaved wrong last

Fall, but we are now determined to do right, therefore we desire, you to consider well, what has been said to you, as you have not complied with all you promised, no more than we have done — Let us act like men, & convince our Father the King of England, of our sincerity & Answer these Belts to morrow:

Then Custologa spoke for the Delawares & addressed himself to the Shawanese, saying: Grand-Children, you say right, we will all consider these Speeches & answer them tomorrow.

At a Meeting with the same Indians, May 10th 1765. Capn Wm Murray & several Officers of the Garrison.

The Shawanese came over the River, with the English Prisoners, beating a Drum & singing the Peace Song, agreeable to the Antient Custom of their nation, whch they continued, 'till they enter'd the Council House.

Lawoughgua, Speaker for the Shawanese got up & addressed himself to me:

Fathers, for so we shall call you hence forward, listen to what we are going to say to you.

It gave us great satisfaction Yesterday to be called the Children of the King of England, & convinces us, that your intentions towards us are upright, as we know a Father will be tender to his Children, & they more ready to obey him, than a Brother; therefore, we hope our Father, will now take better care of his Children than has heretofore been done.

You likewise put us in mind, of our promises to Col: Boquet, which were to bring your Flesh & Blood to be delivered at this place. Father you have not spoke for nothing, we have prepared, you see, we have brot them with us. You now desire us to send Deputys to Sir Wm Johnson to confirm a Peace; We have appd a Deputation to go there, & also, the Hostages, who are to remain here, 'till their return. You then informed us, you was going to the Ilinois Country, to invite the several Nations there, to join in friendship wth our Father, the King of Great Britain & his Subjects, & desired some of us, to accompany you there; In this you have done well — those Nations, are our Allies, we will go with you, & do every thing in our Power to promote the good work of Peace, between our Father & them, wth whom, you have no acquaintance as yet.

A Belt eight rows.

Father[1]

"Here is your Flesh and Blood, except, a few that was out with some of our hunting parties, & those will be brought here as soon as they return. They have been all tied to us by adoption, and altho' we now deliver them up to you, we will always look upon them as our relations whenever the great Spirit is pleased that we may visit them.

A large String.

"Father:

"We have taken as much care of these prisoners as if they were our own Flesh and Blood; they are now become unacquainted with your Customs & manners, & therefore, Fathers, we request you will use them tenderly & kindly, which will be a means of inducing them to live contentedly with you.

A Belt, 6 Rows.

"Father:

"We will now comply with every thing you have asked of us, & assure you we are sincere in every thing we have said. Here is a Belt with a figure of our Father, the King of Great Britain, at one end, and the Chief of our Nation at the other; This represents them holding the Chain of Friendship, & we hope that neither side will slip their hands from it so long as the Sun and Moon gives light."

A Belt, Seven Rows.

Custologa, speaker for the Delawares:

"Brethren:

"Yesterday you put us mind of our engagements to Col. Bouquet; we now assure you we are ready to perform every part which we have not yet complied with.

A String.

"Brother:

"You desire we may again leave Hostages at this place, and send other Deputies to Sir William Johnson; this we will likewise do."

A String.

He then addressed himself to the Six Nations: "Uncles, yesterday you desired us to be strong in complying with every thing our Brethren, the English, might require of us; this we are deter-

[1] At this point the copy of the journal in the Etting Collection closes; the following transcript is from the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, 9:259, the original of which has not been found.

mined to do, and hope you will also do every thing on your parts to forward a good peace."

A Belt.

"Brother:

Addressing himself to me, "as you told us you were ordered to visit the Western Nations, I now wipe your Eyes, and open your Ears, that you may see and hear those Nations with pleasure when they speak to you. I likewise clear the way, that you may have a safe passage to the place you are going.

A Belt.

"Brother:

"Don't imagine what I have said comes from my lips only; I assure it proceeds from the bottom of our Hearts, and now, by this Belt, I remove every evil thing from your heart, and make it like those of our Ancestors when they thought of nothing but Peace; and I also wipe the outside of your Body clean, that not the least remains of any thing which might give you trouble, may ever again appear, and by this Belt we take fast hold of you, our Brethren, in Peace."

Delivered a Friendship Belt of 20 Rows, with the figure of two men, representing the English and themselves.

Kyashuta then spoke to the Delawares:

"Nephews:

"You told us your Uncles, the Six Nations, that you were determined to do every thing that was requested of you by us and our Brethren, the English; we are glad to hear you are come to such a Resolution, and we desire you to be strong & do so."

A String.

Kyashuta then addressed himself to us:

"Brethren:

"I am now going to speak to you in behalf of all the Nations present, and those to the Sun Setting. You told us yesterday that the General, and Sir William Johnson, ordered you to assure all Nations to the Sun Setting, that if they performed their engagements we should enjoy a free Trade and intercourse; I hope this comes from your Heart, as you see your Brethren, the Delawares, and Children, the Shawanese, are willing to comply with every thing you required of them. Now, *Brethren*, do not act as you have done for a Year or two before those late Troubles, when you prohibited the sale of Powder, Lead, and Rum.

This conduct gave all Nations in this Country a suspicion that you had bad designs against them, and was contrary to your first promises, when you came here to settle and build this Fort on our Ground. You make Rum, and have taught us to drink it; you are fond of it yourselves; therefore, don't deprive us of it, or the liberty of purchasing Goods; Open the trade, and let us sell our skins which we have brought here for that purpose, otherwise, we must think you [speak] from your lips, and not from your Hearts. A Belt.

"Brethren:

"When you first come to drive the French from this place, the Governor of Pennsylvania sent us a Message that we should withdraw from the French, & that when the English was settled here, we should want for nothing. It's true, you did supply us very well, but it was only while the War was doubtful, & as soon as you conquer'd the French you did not care how you treated us, as you then did not think us worth your Notice; we request you may not treat us again in this manner, but now open the Trade and do not put us off with telling us you must first hear from your great man before it can be done; If you have but little Goods, let us have them for our Skins, and let us have a part of your Rum, or we cannot put dependance on what you tell us for the future."

A Large Belt.

He then added that he did not speak for himself, but was appointed by all the Tribes present, & that what he had said was the Sentiments of the whole.

Then Kyashuta spoke to the Delawares on behalf of the English & Six Nations, giving them an invitation to return to their old Settlements, & at the same time desiring them to hold fast by the Chain of Friendship subsisting between the English & Six Nations.

A Belt.

Then Ogista, an old Seneca Indian, spoke to the Shawanese, & invited them to return to their old Settlements, where they would be near their Fathers, the English, & their Brethren, the Six Nations.

A Belt.

At a meeting with the same Indians.

Fort Pitt, May 11th, 1765.

Present:

Major William Murray, & Several Officers in the Garrison.

"Brethren of the Six Nations, Shawanese, Delawares, & Sandusky Indians:

"You Yesterday answered the several Speeches I delivered you the day before from his Excellency General Gage, and you have agreed to comply with every thing he desires of you; Brethren, you have done right in complying with the General's request, & you may be assured I will represent your readiness on this occasion to him, & Sir William Johnson, in a proper manner.

"Brethern:

"When first your Brethren, the English, settled here, they kindled a Council Fire for all the Nations of Indians to the Sun Setting, but for two Years past, this Fire has been neglected and was near going out. Now, Brethren, I put some good dry wood on your Council Fire, that it may blaze up to the Sky, so that all Nations may see it, and come here to smoke with their Brethren in peace.

"Brethren:

"Now I have kindled your Council Fire, and made it burn clear, I again, with this Belt, disperse all the dark Clouds that has been hanging over your heads for some time past, that you may see the Sun clear.

"Brethren:

"You have now appointed a Deputation to go to Sir William Johnson's, of your several Nations, to confirm a lasting peace as you promis'd Col. Bouquet last fall; You have made a good choice; I am well acquainted with your Tribes, and I know these to be the Chiefs & Men of consequence in your Nations; I approve of them; Therefore, Brethren, I now make the Road smooth and easy to their Feet, & remove any Logs that may have fallen across it, that you may Travel safe to Sir William Johnson's.

"Brethren, the Shawanese:

"You Yesterday delivered to Major Murray & me a number of our people, agreeable to your promises, & say the few remaining, which was out a hunting, should be brought here as soon as possible; your conduct in this is very agreeable, & convinces us of your Sincerity, & be assured I will represent it properly to the General & Sir William Johnson, & I desire you will, as soon as possible, bring in those you left behind.

"Brethren:

"Yesterday you made two Speeches concerning our past conduct in Trade. I must observe to you that had we a mind to recapitulate

Injuries, we could convince you that we have much more reason to complain of your Conduct than you have of ours, but we have thrown away from our remembrance every thing that gave us any trouble, and hope your future conduct will be such as will give us no reason to repeat past offences, and to convince you of our Sincerity, the Commanding Officers here, tho' he has no orders for it, will take upon himself to open the Trade and suffer you to purchase such necessaries as is here, which is but little, owing to your own backwardness in not coming here early in the spring, as you promised, but as soon as the General is made acquainted with your Conduct at this meeting, he will order our Traders to supply you with all necessaries you may want.

"Brethren:

"You desire that rum may be sold to you; the traders here have none, but as soon as you have sold your peltry, and is setting out for your own Country, Major Murray will make you a present of some.

"Brethren:

"I have now finished every thing I had to say to you only to acquaint you that the General, willing to convince you of the Sincerity he has towards you, has ordered Major Murray & me, on your complying with what he ordered me to require of you, to make you a present of Goods to Cloath your Women & Children, which we now deliver to your several Tribes."

After the presents were delivered, Kyashuta spoke to the Delawares and Shawanese:

"Nephews, the Delawares and younger Brethren the Shawanese:

"You have now heard every thing your Fathers, the English, had to say to you, and as you have assured them you will comply with every thing they desired, be strong. We have appointed Deputies to go to Sir William Johnson's and men to attend Mr. Croghan on his Journey; here is one of our Chiefs, who is to stay here with his Family to assist our Brethren, the English, in Council."

Then he addressed himself to Major Murray & me, & pointed to the Chief, saying, this is the man to stay here with you till our return.

Then Custologa spoke to the Six Nations in behalf of the Delawares:

"Uncles: You yesterday desired us to return to our old Settlements, & live in peace with our Fathers, the English; this, I assure you, we will do, & you shall see us kindle our Fire again at our old places."

Gave a Belt.

Then addressing himself to the English:

"Fathers: I must now call you; It's your desire that we appoint Deputies; this is done, and we send such men as are best acquainted with the Affairs of our Nation."

A true Copy from Mr. Croghan's Journal.

ALEXANDER M'KEE.

CROGHAN'S ACCOUNT WITH SIMONS, LEVY, AND COMPANY
March 23, 1765

[Ridgway Library, McAllister MSS.—D.S.]

FORT PITT March 23d 1765

George Croghan Esq.—

To Simons Levy & Compy Dr

For Sundrys for the Use of the Indians —

37 pis Strouds	12 £	£ 444.–	
17 pis Half Thicks	£ 4. 10–	76. 10–	
2½ pis. French Match Coats	£ 15.	37. 10–	
2 pis Do 40 yds Each	£ 12.	24. –	
3¾ pis English Match Coats	£ 11.	41. 5–	
15 pis Black Striped Blankett	£ 10.	150. –	
10 pis Red Striped Ditto	£ 11.	110. –	
14¼ yds Scarlett Cloth	22/6	26. – .	7½
22¼ yds Do Nap't	20/	22. 5 –	
5 yds Imboised Serje	3/6	– 17.	6
65 Blankett & Match Coat Coats	20/	65. –	
55 Cloth Ditto Diffr Colours.	25/	68.15.–	
1 Scarlett Westcoat Laced with Silvr		3. –	
4 yd Callico	5/	1. –	
4¼ yd Chints	10/	2. 2.	6
29 fine Ruffd Shirts.	25/	36. 5.	–
82 Callico Shirts	12/	49. 4.	–
7 Plain White Shirts	10/	3. 10	–
4 Do Smaller	5/	1. –	

16 Checkerd Shirts	12/	9.12–	
139 Half Ruffled Shirts	11/	76. 9–	
Carried Over		£ 1238. 5.	7½
Brought Over		£ 1238. 5.	7½
1 Silk Shirt		1 –	
10 Doz^{n} Silk Handkerchiefs @	80/	40 –	
7 Worsted Caps	2/	– 14–	
10 Gro: Scarlett Gartering	27/	13.10–	
40 Gro: Bed Lace	20/	40 –	
20 pis Ribbons	15/	15. –	
29 y^{d} Linnen	3/	4. 7–	
30 ^{lb} Vermillion	13/	19.10–	
19 Doz^{n} Jews Harps	4/	3.16–	
10^{lb} White Beeds	3/9	1.17.	6
14 Snaffle Bridles	5/	3.10–	
44 Curb D^{o} with Bosses	10/	22. –	
20 Hunting Sadles	34/	34 –	
1 Brist^{d} Sadle & fine Bridle		3.10–	
17 Tomhawks & Axe @	6/	5. 2–	
4 Brass Pipe D^{o}	12/6	2.10–	
2 Melt^{g} Ladles	3/	– 6–	
40 Doz^{n} Cutteaux	10/	20. –	
5 p Shoes	6/	1.10–	
52 Pewter Basons 81^{lb}.	2/	10. 2.	6
3 Doz^{n} Look^{g} Glasses @	50/	7.10–	
5 Tin Kettles		– 12.	6
Carried Over		£ 1488.13.	1½
Brought Forward		£ 1488.13.	1½
2400 Gun Flints	40/	4.16.	–
406^{lb} Brass Kettles	4/	81. 4.	0
		£ 1574.13.	1½

36400 Blk Wampum @ .	45/pM	£ 81.	18. 0
24100 White D° . . .	30/	36.	3. –
37 Broad Silver Arm Band . .	35/	64.	15. –
22 Ditto	25/	27.	10 –
27 Hair Plates	20/	27	–
7 Hair Trinkets	15/	5.	5. –
26 Hair Pipes	6/	7.	16. –
11 Half Moons	25/	13.	15. –
136 Rist Bands	8/6	57.	16. –
6 Large Crosses	5/	1.	10. –
48 Smaller D°	2/6	6.	–
12 Rings		–	15 –
163 Doz^{n} Broaches	12/.	97.	16 –
107 p^{r} Ear Bobbs	4/6	24.	1. 6
17 Bells	2/3	1.	18. 3
6 Shells	30/ .	9.	–
		462.	18. 9
		£ 2037.	11. 10½

I Promise to pay or Cause to be paid to Simons Levy & Comp^{y} or Order the sum of Two Thousand and thirty seven Pounds Eleven Shillings & Ten Pence half penney on the First day of February next Ensuing the date hereof Value rec^{d} in Sundrys for the Use of the Indians Wittness my hand at Fort Pitt this 23. day of March 1765 — Wittness — THOS. SMALLMANS

[*Signature torn off*]

February 26th 1766, Rec^{d} p discount with Baynton & C° five hundred & Eith'ty Nine pounds 8/½ —

DAV^{D} FRANKS

May the 3^{d}, 1766 Rec^{d} one Thousand & Sixty Six pounds 7/8 in part £ 1066. 7. 8

DAVID FRANKS

Rec[d] in N York. Jany 28[th] 1767 £ 268. 9. 11 N Y[k] Curr[y] is Dollars 67/6 pen[s]y[a] C[y] — £ 251. 14. 3

May 7[th] 1767 Received One hundred & twenty pounds 1/10½ in full of the within Accompt
£ 120. 1. 10½ DAV[D] FRANKS

CROGHAN TO GAGE, May 26, 1765
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 697—C.]

Extract of a Letter from M[r] Croghan, Deputy Agent of Indian Affairs, to His Excellency Major General Hon[ble] Thomas Gage. Dated, Scioto River, 26[th] May 1765

"As Soon as I Set out from Fort Pitt, I Spoke to the Shawnese about the French Traders that was yet at their Towns, near the Plains of Scioto, & told them, they must Send Some of their Warriors to bring those French Traders to the Mouth of the Scioto that I might take them to the Illinois, as they had no right now to Trade with any Indian Nations without a permission from your Excellency, which they Agreed to do, tho' with some Reluctance, and this day a Number of the Shawnese Arrived here & brought with them Seven Frenchmen Traders, which was all that was in their Towns, & delivered them to Me, which I take to be a further proof of this Nations Sincerity. There is yet Five Frenchmen Amongst the Delawares, to whom I have Wrote, to Set off Immediately to the Illinois, & the Shawnese has undertaken to bring them down, so that there will be no French Traders amongst those Nations Unless Your Excellency thinks proper to give them, Liberty hereafter.—Those Shawnese inform Me, that the Ottawas, and Pouteatamies, residing near S[t] Josephs, and the Twightwees Seem Discontented, and look on themSelves as Neglected by the English, not having received any Message from Us, Since Colonel Bradstreet was at Detroit; And Say, there is now near Two Hundred of those Nations at the Mouth of the Miamies River, waiting to See Me, so that I hope I shall be able to Settle Matters with them, & reconcile them to His Majesty's Interest.—Lieut Fraser passed by this the Sixth of April, I Hope He is got Safe to the Illinois; I Expect in Eight Days to be at the Ouabache, where

the Nations residing on that River is to Meet Me: And from thence I will Send Your Excellency a Copy of my transactions with those Nations."

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter from M^r Croghan Dep: Agent for Indian Affairs to His Excell^y Gen^l Gage Dated Scioto River 26^th^ May 1765 In Maj^r Gen^l Gage's Lett^r of the 10^th^ Aug^t 1765. Informing of the State of Indian affairs in that Quarter. Inclosure. 3. in N° 1 Bundle E.

CROGHAN'S JOURNAL, May 15, 1765–October 8, 1765[1]

[P.H.S., Hutchins Papers, 3—C.]

May 15^th^ 1765 I set off from Fort Pitt with two Batteaux and encamped at Chartiers Island, in the Ohio three Miles below Fort Pitt.

16 Being joined by the Deputies of the Senecas Shawnesse and Delawares that were to accompany me we set off at 7 o Clock in the Morning and at ten o Clock arrivd at the Logs Town an old Settlement of the Shawness about 17 Miles from fort Pitt where we put ashore and viewed the Remains of that Village which was situated on a high Bank on the North[2] Side of the Ohio River a fine fertile

[1]The two versions of this journal which differ greatly in character and content are here printed separately, instead of being combined in one as is the case in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*. The first and longer one has been taken from the best copy obtainable. (For the second version, see *post*, 38.) It has been printed several times. Its first appearance was due to George W. Featherstonhaugh who printed it in *The Monthly Journal of American Geology* (December, 1831), and three years later Mann Butler reprinted it as an appendix in his *History of Kentucky*. (For other editions see Buck, *Travel and Description* [*I. H. C.*, 9], 1.) A comparison between the Featherstonhaugh copy and the one printed here leads us to believe that the two were derived from different copies. The variations, which are noted in the footnotes, are made from a comparison of Thwaites's reprint (*Early Western Travels*, 1:126 *et seq.*) of the Featherstonhaugh edition; minor variants are not noted. Dr. Thwaites's suggestion that this version was prepared for those interested in western land speculation is undoubtedly correct. Croghan was a friend of many speculators, particularly those of Philadelphia, and there is no doubt but that this journey of his to the West was the direct occasion of the formation of the Philadelphia company which planned to exploit the Illinois. See *post*, 203, 205, 221, 224, and index. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1:126, n. 91; see also important notice in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, 6:704, n. 1.

[2] In the version published by Thwaites (*Early Western Travels*) the situation of the village is given as on the south side of the river, which is, of course, incorrect. The Shawnee settled the town about 1745 and it became almost immediately the most famous trading post of the British traders. It was abandoned by the Shawnee in 1758, when the British took Fort Duquesne. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1: ch. 14.

Country round it at 11 o Clock we reimbarked and proceeded down the Ohio to the Mouth of Big Beaver Creek about ten Miles below the Logs Town this Creek empties itself between two fine rich Bottoms a Mile wide on each Side from the Banks of the River to the highlands About a Mile below the Mouth of Beaver Creek we passed an old Settlement of the Delawares where the French in 1756 built a Town for that Nation on the North Side of the River some of the Stone Chimneys' are yet remaining here the High Lands come close to the River Banks and continue so about 5 Miles after which we passed several spacious Bottoms on each side the River and came to little Beaver Creek about 15 Miles below big Beaver Creek A number of Small Rivulets fall into the River on each side From thence we sailed to Yellow Creek being about 15 Miles from the Last mentioned Creek here and there the Hills come close to the Banks of the River on each side but when[1] there are Bottoms they are very large and well watered Numbers of Small Rivulets running thro' them falling into the Ohio on both sides We encamped on the River Bank and find a great Part of the Trees in the Bottoms are coverd with Grape Vines This day we passed by eleven Islands one of which being about Seven Miles Long for the most Part of the way we made this Day the Banks of the River are high and steep The Course of the Ohio from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of Beaver Creek inclins to the North West from thence to the two Creeks partly due West.

17 at 6 o Clock in the Morning we embarked and were delighted with the Prospect of a Fine open Country on each side of the River as we passed down we came to a place called the two Creeks about fifteen Miles from Yellow Creek where we put to Shore Here the Senecas have a Village on a High Bank on the North Side of the River[2] the Chief of this Village offered me his Service to go with me to the Illionoes which I could not refuse for fear of giving him Offence altho I Had a sufficient Number of Deputies with me already From thence we proceeded down the River passed many large rich and fine Bottoms the High-Lands being at a considerable Distance from the River Banks till we came to the Buffuloe Creek being about ten Miles below the Seneca Village and from Buffuloe Creek we

[1] The reading in Thwaites is "where."

[2] Mingo Town.

proceeded down the River to Flat Meat Creak[1] about Thirty Miles. the Face of the Country appears much like what we met with before large rich and well watered bottoms' then succeeded by the Hills pinching close on the River These Bottoms on the North side that is opposite to us[2] appear rather low and consequently subject to Inundations in the Spring of the Year when there never fails to be High Freshes in the Ohio owing to the melting of the Snow This day we passed By ten fine Island tho the greatest Part of them are Small They lay much higher out of the Water than the Main Land and at [*sic*] Course less subject to be flooded by the Freshes. At Night we encamped near an Indian Village The general Course of the River from the two Creeks to Flat Meat Creek inclines to the south West.

18th at 6 o Clock A. M We set of in our Batteaux the Country on both sides the River appears delightfull the Hills are several Miles from the River Banks and consequently the Bottoms large the Soil Timber and Banks of the River much like those we have before described About 50 Miles below the Flat Meat Creek we enter the Long Reach where the River runs a straight Course for 20 Miles and makes a delightfull Prospect the Banks continue high the Country on both sides level rich and well watered At the Lower end of the Reach we encamped This Day we passed nine Islands some of which are large and lay High out of the Water.

19th We decamped at six in the morning and sailed to a Place called the three Island being about 15 Miles from our last encampment here the High Lands come close to the River Banks and the Bottoms for the most Part till we came to Muskingum or Elk River are but narrow this River empties itself into the Ohio about 15 Miles below the three Islands the Banks of the River continues steep and the Country is level for Several Miles back from the River the Course of the River from Flat Meat Creek to Elk River is about South West and by South We proceeded down the river about 15 Miles to the Mouth of Little Conhawa River with Little or no Alteration in the Face of the Country here we encamped in a Fine Rich Bottom after having passed 14 Islands some of them Large and mostly lying high out of the Water here Buffuloes Bears Turkeys

[1] In Thwaites this stream is called "Fat Meat Creek."

[2] "That is opposite to us" is not in the Thwaites version.

with all other kind of Wild Game are extreamly plenty A good Hunter without much Fatigue to himself could here supply daily one Hundred Men with meat the Course of the Ohio from Elk River to little Shenhawa[1] is about South.

20th At 6 in the Morning we embarked in our Boats and proceeded down to the Mouth of Hochocken or Battle River[2] where we ware Oblidge to encamp having a Stronghead Wind against us we made but 20 Miles this Day and passed by five very fine Islands the Country the Whole way being rich and level with High and steep Banks to the River From here I dispatched an Indian to the Plains of Scioto with a Letter to the French Traders from the Illionois residing there among the Shawnesse requireing them to come and join me at the Mouth of Scioto in Order to proceed with me to their own Country and take the Oaths of Allegiance to his Britanick Majesty as they ware now become his Subjects and had no Right to Trade there without Licence, At the same Time I sent Messages to the Shawnesse Indians to oblidge the French to come to me in a case of Refusal.

21st We embarked at Half past 8 o Clock in the Morning and sailed to a place called the Big Bend about 35 Miles below Battle River the Course of the Ohio from little Conhawa River to the Big Bend is a bout South West and by South The Country hereabouts abounds with Buffuloes, Bears Deer and all sorts of Wild Game in such plenty that we Killed out of our Boats as much as we wanted We proceeded down the River to the Buffuloe Bottom about ten Miles from the Beginning of the Big Bend where we encamped; the Country on both Sides the River much the Same as we passed the Day Before This Day we passed nine Islands all liying [*sic*] high out of the Water.

22nd at Half an Hour past 5 o Clock set off and sailed to a place called the Allum Hill so called from the great Quantity of that Mineral found there by the Indians; this place lays' about ten Miles below[3] Buffuloe Bottom: Thence we sailed to the Mouth of Great Conhawa River being ten Miles from the Allum Hill The Course of the River from the Great Bend to this Place is mostly West. From

[1] "Conhawa" in Thwaites.

[2] The name given to this river in the other version is "Hochocken or Bottle."

[3] "From"

hence we proceeded down to Little Guyondat River where we encamped about 30 Miles from Great Conhawa; the Country still fine and level the Banks of the River High, with abundance of Creeks and Rivulets falling in to it. This Day we passed 6 fine Islands in the Evening one of our Indians discovered three Cherokees near our encampment which oblidged our Indians to keep out a good Guard the First Part of the Night our party being pretty Strong I imagine the Cherokees were affraid to Attack us and so ran off.

23 Decamped about 5 in the Morning and arrived at Big Guyondatt 20 miles from our last Encampment. the Country as Yesterday from hence we proceeded down to Sandy River being 20 Miles Farther: thence we proceeded[1] to the Mouth of Scioto about 40 Miles from the last mentioned River the [*blank in MS.*][2] The General Course of the River from great Cunhawa[3] to this Place inclines to the South West. The Soil rich the Country level and the Banks of the River High the soil on the Banks of Scioto for a vast Distance up the Country is prodigious rich the Bottoms very wide and in the Spring of the year many of them are Flooded so that the River appears to be two or three Miles wide. Bears Deer Turkeys' and most Sorts of Wild Game are very Plenty on the Banks of this River, on the Ohio just below the Mouth of Scioto on a High Bank on the South side[4] near forty Feet formerly Stood the Shawnesse Town called the Lower Town which was all carried away except three or Four Houses by a great Flood in the Scioto I was in the Town at the Time tho the Banks of the Ohio were so high. the Water was nine Feet on the Top which oblidged the whole Town to take to their Cannoes and move with their Effects to the Hills The Shawness afterwards built their Town on the opposite [side][5] of the River our side[6] which during the French War they abandoned for fear of the Virginians and removd to the Plains on Scioto The Ohio is about 100 yards wider here than at Fort Pitt which is but a Small Augmentation cosidering [*sic*] the great Number of Rivers and Creeks that fall into it during the Course of 420 Miles and as it deepens but very little

[1] "we proceeded" is omitted.

[2] In Thwaites, the sentence ends with "river."

[3] "Conhawa"

[4] The words, "on the South side," are not in the Thwaites version.

[5] "Opposite side"

[6] The words "our side" are not in the other version.

I immagin the Waters Sink tho there is no visible appearace [*sic*] of it all[1] the Lands on Scioto River as well as the Bottoms on the Ohio are too rich for any thing but Flax Hemp and Indian Corn.

24th 25th and 26th Stayed at the Mouth of Scioto waiting for the Shawnesse and French Traders who arrived here on the Evening of the 26th in consequnce [*sic*] of the Message I sent them from Hachocken or Battle Creek.[2]

27th The Indians requested me to stay this Day which I could not refuss [*sic*].

28th We set of passing down the Ohio The Country on both sides the River level the Banks continue high this Day we came 60 Miles passed no Islands the River being wider and deeper we drove all Night.

29th We came to the Little Maim[3] River having proceeded 60 Miles last Night.

30th We passed the great Maim River about 30 Miles from the Little River of that Name and in the Evening arrived at the Place where the Elephants Bones are found where we encamped intending to take a View of the Place Next Morning This Day we came about 70 Miles the Country on both sides level and rich Bottoms well wartered [*sic*].

31st Earley in the Morning we went to the great Lick where these Bones only are found about 4 Miles from the River On the South East Side in our Way we passed thro' a fine timbered clear Wood, we came into a large road which the Buffuloes have beaten Spacious enough for two Waggons to go a Brest and leading straight into the Lick[4] It appears there are vast Quantities of these Bones lying five or six Feet under ground which we discoverd in the Bank at the Edge of the Lick. We found here two Tusks about 6 Feet long we carried one with some Other Bones to our Boat and sett off. This day we proceeded down the River about 80 Miles Thro a Country much the same as already described Since We passed the Scioto, In this Days Journey we passed the Mouth of the River Kentucky or Holstens River.

[1] "In general" has been inserted before "all" in Thwaites's version.

[2] For more information about these days see the other version of the journal, *post*, 39.

[3] "Miame" is the name given in Thwaites's version.

[4] From "Earley" to "straight into the Lick" is italicized in Thwaites's edition.

June 1st we arrived within a Mile of the Falls of the Ohio where we encamped after coming about 5[1] Miles this Day.

June 2nd Earley in the Morning we embarked and passed the Falls the River being very low we were oblidged to Lighten our Boats and pass on the North Side of a Little Island which Lays in the middle of the River in general what is called the Falls here is no more than rapids and in the Least Fresh a Batteau of any Size may come and go on each Side without any Risque This Day we proceeded 60 Miles in the Course of which we passed Pidgeon River the Country pretty High on each side the River Ohio.

3th [*sic*] in the fore part of This Days Course we passed high Lands: about midday we came to a fine flat and level Country called by the Indians low Lands no Hills to be seen we came about 80 Miles this Day and encamped.

4th we came to a place called the 5 Islands these Island are very long and Succeed on another in a Chain, the Country still flat and level the Soil exceedingly rich and well watered the high Lands are at least fifty Miles from the Banks of the Ohio In this Days course we proceeded[2] about 90 Miles the Current being very strong.

5th Having passed the 5 Islands we came to a Place called the Civil[3] River Came about 40 Miles this Day the Country the Same as of yesterday.

6th We arrived at the Mouth of the Caubache[4] where we found a Brest Work errected supposed to be done by the Indians the mouth of this River is about 200 yards wide and in its Course runs thro one of the finest Countries in the World the Lands being exceedingly rich and well watered here hemp might be raised in immense Quantities: all the Bottoms and almost the Whole Country abounds with great Plenty of red and White Mulberry Trees These Trees are to be found in great plenty in all places betwen the Mouth of Scioto and the Caubache The Soil of the Latter affords this Tree in plenty as far as Cauntonan[5] and Some few on the Miames River: Several Large fine Islands lie in the Ohio opposite the Mouth of the Caubache the Banks

[1] The distance is given correctly in Thwaites as fifty miles instead of five.

[2] "Passed" in Thwaites.

[3] Thwaites's version gives the name of the river as "Owl."

[4] Changed to the correct form, "Ouabache," in Thwaites.

[5] Given in Thwaites as "Ouicatonon."

of which are high and consequently free from Inundations hence we proceeded down the River about 6 Miles to encamp as I Judged some Indians were sent to way lay us and came to a place called the Old Shawnesse Village[1] some of that Nation having formerly lived there in this Days proceeding we came about 76 Miles The general Course of the Ohio from Scioto to this Place is South West.

7th We Stayed here and dispatched two Indians to the Iillionois by land with Letters to Ld Frazer an English Officer who had been sent there from Fort Pitt & Monsr St Ange the French Commanding Officer at Fort Chartres and some speeches to the Indians there letting them know of my arrival here That Peace was made betwen us and the Six Nations Delawares and Shawness[2] and of my having a Number of Deputies of those Nations along with me to conclude matters with them also on my arrivel there this Day one of my men went into the Woods and lost himselfe.

8th June at Day Break we were attacked by a Party of Indians consisting of Eighty Warriors of the Kicapers[3] and Musquatimes who Killed two of my men & three Indians wounded myselfe and all the rest of my party Except two White Men and one Indian then made myselfe and all the White men Prisoners plundering us of every Thing we had A Deputy of the Shawnesse who was Shot thro the Thigh having concealed him selfe in the Woods for a few Minuets [*sic*] after he was Wounded not then Knowing but they were Southern Indians who are always at war with the Northward Indians: after discovering what Nation they were he came up to them and made a very bold speech telling them that the Whole Northward Indians would join in taking Revenge for the Insult and murder of their People this alarmed thoss [*sic*] Indians very much they began excusing themselves saying their Fathers the French had spirited them up telling them the Inglish[4] were coming with a body of Southern Indians to take their Country from them and inslave them that it was this that induced them to commit this Outrage after having divided the plunder they left great Part of the heaviest Effects Behind not being able to carry them they sett of with us to their Village at

[1] This is the present site of Shawneetown.

[2] "Shawnesse"

[3] "Kiccapoos and Musquattimes." The latter are the Foxes.

[4] "Indians" is the reading in Thwaites.

Cautonan[1] in a great Hurry being in dread of a Pursuit from a large Party of Indians they suspected were coming after me: Our Course was thro a thick Woody Country crossing a great many Swamps Morasses and Beaver Ponds we traveled this Day about 42 Miles.

9th An Hour before Day we sett out on our March passed thro thick Woods some high lands and small Savannahs badly watered traveled this Day about 30 Miles.

10th We sett out very early in the Morning and marched thro a high Country extreamly well timbered for three hours. then came to a Branch of the Cuabache which we crossed. the remainder of this Day we traveled thro fine rich Bottoms over grown with Reeds which make the finest Pasture in the World. the Young reads being preferable to Sheaft Oats here is great plenty of Wild game of all Kinds. Came this Day about 28 or 30 Miles.

11th at Day Break we sett off making our way thro a thin Woodland intercepted[2] with Savannahs: I Suffered extreamly by Reason of the excessive Heat of the Weather and Scarcity of Water the little Runs and springs being dried up Traveled this Day about 30 Miles.[3]

13th About an Hour before Day we set out traveling thro such Bottoms as of Yesterday and some large Meadowes where no Trees for several Miles[4] are to bee seen: Buffuloes Deers and Bears are here in great Plenty we traveled about 26 Miles this Day.

14th The Country we traveled thro this Day appears the Same as described Yesterday excepting this afternoons Journey thro Woodlands to cut of a Bend of the River Came about 27 Miles this Day.

15th We set out very earley and about one o Clock came to the Caubache within 6 or 7 Miles of Post[5] Vincent on my arrival there I found a Village of about 80 or 90 French Families settled on the East Side of this River being one of the finest Situations that can

[1] "ouattonon"

[2] "Interspersed"

[3] The following entry for the twelfth is given in the version in Thwaites: "12th.— We passed through some large savannahs, and clear woods; in the afternoon we came to the Ouabache; then marched along it through a prodigious rich bottom, overgrown with reeds and wild hemp; all this bottom is well watered, and an exceeding fine hunting ground. Came this day about thirty miles."

[4] "Together" is inserted here in the other version.

[5] "Port"

be found the Country is level and clear and the Soil very rich producing Wheat and Tobacco I think the latter preferable to that of Maryland or Virginia The French Inhabitants hereabouts are an idle lazy people a parcel of Renegadoes from Canada and are much worse than Indians. They took a secreet Pleasure at our Misfortunes and the moment we arrived they came to the Indians exchanging Trifles for their valuable plunder: As the Savages took from me a considerable Quantity of Gold and Silver in Specie the French Traders extorted 10 halfe Johannes[1] from them for one Pound of Vermillion There is likewise an Indian Village of the Pyankeshaws who were very much displeased with the Party that took me telling them our and your Chiefs are gone to make peace and you have begun a War for which our Women and Children will have Reason to Cry, From this post the Indians permitted me to write to the Commander at Fort Charters[2] but would not permit me to write to any body else This I suppose[3] was a preCaution of the French least their Villany should be perceived too soon: altho the Indians had given me permission to write to Sir W^m^ Johnson and Fort Pitt on our March before I arrived at this Place but immediately after our arrival they had a private Council with the French in which the Indians urged as they afterwards informed me that as the French had engaged them in so bad an affair which was likely to begin[4] a New War on their Nation they now expected a Proof of their Promise and Assistance then delivered the French a Scalp and Part of the Plunder and wanted to deliver some presents to the Pyankeshaws but they refused to accept of any and declared they would not be concerned in the affair. This last information I got from the Pyankeshaws as I had been Well acquainted with them several years before this Time, Post Vincent is a place of great consequence for Trade being a fine hunting Country all along the Cuabache and too far for the Indians which reside hereabouts to go either to the Iillionois or elsewere to fetch their Necessaries.

16^th^ June We were oblidged to stay here to get some little apparel made up for us and to buy some Horses for our journey to Caua-

[1] A Spanish coin worth nearly nine dollars.
[2] "Chartres"
[3] "Apprehend"
[4] "Bring a war"

tonan[1] promissing Payment at De Ttroit for we could not procure Horses from the French for Hire tho we were greatly fatigued and our spirits much exhausted in our late March they would lend us no assistance.

17th about Midday we set out travelling the first five Miles thro a fine clear wood. we traveled 18 Miles this Day and encamped in a large beautiful well watered meadow.

18th & 19th we traveled thro a prodigious large Meadow called the Pyankeshas hunting ground here is no wood to be seen and the Country appears like an Ocean the ground is exceedingly rich and partly over grown with wild Hemp: The Land well watered and full of Buffuloes Deer Bears and all Kind of Wild Game.

20th & 21st We passed thro some very large Meadows part of which belong to the Pyankeshaws on Vermillion River the Country and Soil much the same as that we travelled over for these three Days' past wild Hemp grows here in Abundance the Game very plenty at any Time in Halfe an Hour we could Kill as much as we wanted.

22nd We passed thro' a part of the same Meadows as mentioned yesterday then came to a High Woodland and arrived at Vermillion River so called from a Fine red Earth found here by the Indians with which they paint themselves. About halfe a Mile from the place where we crossed this this [*sic*] River there is a Village of Pyankeshaws distinguished by the Addition of the name of the River: We travelled then about three Hours thro a fine clear high woody Country but a deep and rich soil then came to a large Meadow where we encamped.

23d Earley in the Morning we sett out thro a fine Meadow then some clear Woods in the afternoon came into a very large Bottom on the Cuabache[2] within about 6 Miles of Ouiatanon. here I met several Chiefs to the Kicapoos and Musquatimes who spoke to their Young Men that had taken us and reprimanded them severely for What they had done to me after Which they returned to their Village and delivered us all to their Chiefs the Distance from Post Vincent to Ouaitonan is 210 Miles this Place is situated on the Cuabache; about 14 French Families are living in the Fort which Stands on the North Side of the River: The Kicapoos & Musquatimes whose Warriors had

[1] "Ouicatonon"

[2] Spelled as before.

taken us live nigh the Fort on the Same Side of the River where they have two Villages and the Cauatanons have a Village on the South Side of the River; At our Arrival at this Post several of the Wawcottanans[1] (or Cuiatanons) with whome I Had been formerly acquainted came to Visit me and seemed greatly concerned at what had happened they went immediately to the Kicapoos and Musquatimes and Charged them to take the greatest Care of us till their Chiefs should arrive from the Illionois where they were gone to meet me some time ago and who were intirely ignorant of this affair and said the French had spirited up this Party to go and Strike us: The French have a very great Influence over these Indians and seldom[2] fail of telling them many lies to the Prejudice of His Majestys Interest by making the English Nation odious and hateful to them I had the greatest Difficulties in removing these Prejudices as these Indians are a weak foolish and credulous People they are easily imposed on by a desining People who have led them hitherto as they pleased. The French told them that as the Southern Indians had for two Years past made war upon them it must have been at the Instigation of the English who are a bad People. However I have been fortunate enough to remove their Prejudice and in a great Measure their suspicions against the English: The Country hereabouts is exceedingly Pleasant being open and clear for many Miles the Soil very rich and well watered all Plants have a quick vegetation and the Climate very temperate thro' the Winter: This Post has always been a very conciderable Trading place the Great Plinto[3] of T [*sic*] taken in this Country induced the French to establish this Post which was the First on the Cuabache and by a very advantageous Trade they have been richly recompensed for their Labour.

On the South Side of the Cuabache runs a High Bank in which are Several fine Coal Mines and behind this Bank is a very Fine Meadow clear for several Miles. It is surprising what False information we have[4] respecting this Country some mention this Spacious and Beautiful Meadows as large and Barren Savannahs I apprehend it has been the Artifice of the French to Keep us ignorant of the Country

[1] "Wawcattonans" and "Ouicatonans"

[2] "Never" in the other version.

[3] The Thwaites edition has "plenty of furs."

[4] "have had"

These Meadows bear fine Wild Grass and wild Hemp 10 or 12 Feet High which if properly Manufactured would prove as good and answer the Same[1] purposes of the Hemp we cultivate.

July 25th We sett out from this Place (after settling all Matters happily with the Natives) for the Miames and travelled the Whole way thro a fine rich Bottom over grown with Wild Hemp along side the Cuabache till we came to the Eel River where we arrived the 27. about 6 Miles up this River is a Small Village of the Twighteves[2] Situated on a very delightful Spot of Ground on the Bank of the River. The Eel River Heads near St Josephs and runs nearly parralel to The Miames and at some few Miles distant from it thro a fine pleasant Country and after a Course of about 180 Miles empties itselfe into the Cuabache.

28th, 29th, 30th & 31st We traveled still along side the Eel River passing thro fine clear Woods and some good Meadows tho not so large as those we passed some Days before. The Country is more overgrown with Woods the soil is sufficiently rich and well watered with Springs.

August 1st We Arrived at the Carrying Place betwen the River Maimes[3] & the Cuabache which is about nine Miles long in dry seasons but not above halfe that Length in Freshes.[4] The Head of the Cuabache is about forty Miles from this Place and after a Course of about 760 Miles from its head Spring thro one of the Finest Countrys in the World it empties itselfe into the Ohio. The Navagation from hence to Ouiatanon is very dificult in low water on account of the many rapids and rifts, but in Freshes which generally happen [in] Spring and Fall Batteaux or Cannoes will pass without dificulty from here to Ouiatanon in three Days which is about 240 Miles and by land about 210 Miles. From Ouiatanon to Post Vincent and then to the Ohio Batteaux and Cannoes may go at any Season of the Year: throughout the Whole Course of the Pubache[5] [*sic*] the Banks are pretty:[6] and in the River are a great many Islands: many Shrubs and Trees are found here not Known to us: within a Mile of the Twigtwee

[1] "all the"

[2] "Twightwee"

[3] "Miames"

[4] One of the most used portages to the Ohio Valley.

[5] "Ouabache"

[6] "high" is inserted.

Village I was met by the Chiefs of that Nation who received us very kindly the most Part of these Indians Knew me and conducted us to their Village where they immediately hoisted an English Flag which I had formerly given them at Fort Pitt: The Next Day they held a Council after which they gave me up all the English Prisoners they had then made Several speeches in all which they exprest the great pleasure it gave them to see the unhappy Difference which embroiled the several Nations in A War with their Brethren the English, was now so near a happy Conclusion, and that Peace was Established in their Country.

The Twightwee Village is situated on both Sides of a River called S^{t} Josephs. this River where it falls inton [*sic*] the Maime about a /4 of a Mile from this Place is one hundred Yards wide on the East Side of which Stands a Stuckados[1] Fort somewhat ruinous The Indian Village Consists of about 40 or 50 Cabins besides nine or ten French Houses a Runaway Colony from De Troit during the Late Indian War, they were concerned in it and Being affraid of Punishment came to this Post where ever since they have Spirited up the Indians against the English. all the French residing here are a lazy indolent People fond of Breeding Mischief and Spiriting up the Indians against the English and Should by no Means be suffered to remain here the Country is pleasant the Soil rich and well watered. After several Conferences with these Indians and their delivering up all the English Prisoners they had on[2] the 6th of August we set out for De Troit down the Miames River in a Cannoe. This River Heads about 10 Miles from hence the River is not Navigable till you come to the Place where the River S^{t} Joseph it [*sic*] and makes a considerable Large Stream nevertheless we found a great deal of Difficulty in getting our Cannoes over Shoals as the Waters at this Season were very low The Banks of the River are High and the Country overgrown with Lofty Timber of various Kinds the Lands level and the woods clear about 90 Miles from the Miames or Twightwee we came to where a Large River that Heads in a Large Lick falls into the Miames River this they call the Focks.[3] the Ottawas claim this Country and hunt here were [*sic*] Game is very Plenty. From hence we pro-

[1] "stockade"

[2] New paragraph in Thwaites.

[3] "Forks"

ceeded to the Ottawa Village. This Nation formerly lived at De Troit but now settled here on account of the Richness of the Country where Game is always to be found in Plenty here we were oblidged to get out of our Cannoes and drag them 18 Miles on Account of the Rifts that interrupt the Navigation at the End of these Rifts we came to a Village of the Weyondetts who received us very Kindly and from thence we proceeded to the Mouth of this River where it falls into Lake Erie From the Miames to the Lake is computed 180 Miles and from the Entrance of the River into the Lake to De Troit is 60 Miles that is 42 Miles upon[1] the Lake and 18 Miles up the De Troit River to the Garrison of that Name. The Land on the Lake Side is low & Flat we passed several large rivers and Bays and on the

16th of August in the afternoon we arrived at De Troit River the Country here is much higher than on the Lake Side the River is about 900 Yards Wide and the Currant runs very Strong there are several large and fine Islands in this River one of which is nine Miles long its Banks High and the Soil very good.

17th In the Morning we arrived at the Fort which is a large Struckadoe inclosing about 80 Houses it Stands Closs [*sic*] on the North Side of the River on a high Bank commands a very pleasant Prospect for 9 Miles above and 9 Miles below the Fort the Country is thick Settled with French their Plantations are laid out 3 or 4 Acres in Breadth on the River and 80 Acres in depth The Soil is good producing Plenty of Grain. all the People here are generally poor Wretches and consist of three or four Hundred Families a lazy idle people depending chiefly on the Savages for their Maintenance[2] Tho the Land with little Labour produces plenty of Grain they Scarcely raiss [*sic*] as much as supply their wants. in imatation of the Indians whose Manners and Customs they have intirely adopted and cannot Subject[3] without them the Men woman and Childrin Speak the Indian Tongue perfectly well in the last Indian War the most Part of the French were concerned in it altho the Whole Settlement had taken the Oath of Allegiance to his Britannic Majesty they have therefore great Reason to bee thankfull to the English Clemency in not bringing them to deserved Punishment: Before the late Indian War there

[1] "up" instead of "upon."
[2] "subsistence"
[3] "subsist"

resided three Nations of Indians at this Place the Puttawattimes whose Village was on the West Side of the River about one Mile below the Fort the Ottawas on the East Side about three Miles above the Fort and the Wayondetts whose Village lays on the East Side about 2 Miles below the Fort the Former two Nations have removed to a Considerable Distance off and the latter still remain where they were and are remarkable for their good Sense and Hospitality they have a particular Attachment to the Roman Catholic Religion the French by their Priest having taken uncommon Pains to instruct them During my stay here I Held frequent Conferencees with the different Nations of Indians assembled at this Place with whom I settled matters to their general Satisfaction.

Sept^{r} 26th We set out from De Troit for Niagair[1] passed Lake Erie along the North Shore in Birch Cannoe and arrived the 8th of October at Niagair. The Navigation of the Lake is dangerous for Batteaux or Cannoes by reason the Lake is very Shallow for a Considerable Distance from the Shore the Bank for several Miles High and steep and affords a Harbour for a Single Batteaux The Lands in general betwen De Troit and Niagai are High and the Soil Good with Several fine Rivers falling into the Lake.

The Distance from De Troit to Niagair is computed 300 Miles.

Croghan's Official Journal, May 15, 1765—September 25, 1765[2]

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 145—C.]

Journal & Transactions of George Croghan Esq^{r} Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs with the several Indian Nations on his Journey to the Ilinois as delivered by him to Sir William Johnson Baronet on his return.

[1] Niagara is spelled correctly in the other version.

[2] This has been called the "official journal," because it contains an account of Croghan's dealings with the Indians and is the one that was sent to the ministry. Besides the copy from which the above is transcribed, there is one in P.R.O., C.O., 5.66, f. 173, which was originally sent by Croghan to Benjamin Franklin in a letter which is printed later (*post*, 60). The endorsements on that copy are in the handwriting of Franklin. The official journal has been printed several times. It first appeared in Hildreth's *Pioneer History* (68–85), the copy being made from a transcript found among George Morgan's papers. It is printed also in *New York Colonial Documents* (7:779–788) from the same copy as the one we have used above. Thwaites prints a combination of the two journals in his *Early Western Travels* (1:126–173), copying this journal from the *New York Colonial Documents*. We have supplied the omissions in the board of trade copy from the Franklin copy.

May 15th I sett off from Fort Pitt,[1] & next day was Joined by the Deputies who were to Accompany me, on which I continued my Journey.[2]

May 19th Sent a Message to the Shawanese by Land for some of them to bring to me the French Traders, that yet remained in their Country to the Mouth of Sciota, that I might take them with me to their own Country, as they would not be[3] suffered to Trade there 'till they had obtained permission from His Excellcy General Gage & Sir William Johnson.

23d We arrived at the Mouth of Sciota where we Encamp'd.

26th Several of the Shawanese came there, & brought with them 7 French Traders which they delivered to me, those being all that resided in their Villages, & told me there was yet Six more living with the Delawares, that on their return to their Towns, they would go to the Delawares & get them to send those French Traders home: & told me they were determined to do every thing in their power to convince me of their Sincerity & good disposition to preserve a Peace.

28th Set off down the River, & on the 6th June we Arrived at the Mouth of the Ouabache, where we found a Breastwork put up by the Indians & saw several Tracks[4] which we suspected had been made by some Indians who might be[5] sent there to waylay us, on which we proceeded six miles lower down the River & Encamped.

June 7th I dispatched two Indians off to the Ilinois with a letter to *Mr Frazier*,[6] & another to *Mr St Ange* by which I Acquainted Mr Frazier of my Success in settleing matters with the different Nations at Fort Pitt. I furnished those two Deputies with Wampum to acquaint the Nations there of wt had passed at Fort Pitt which I judged necessary in order to Facilitate the Service[7] should Mr *La Gutrie*[8] be arrived there.

[1] This copy has been compared with that in Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, 68–85, which was transcribed from a copy once in the possession of George Morgan, friend and fellow speculator of Croghan, and the variants of importance are in the notes. Under May 15, the Hildreth copy has after "Fort Pitt": "and encamped at Schertree's Island."

[2] "May 16th. Being joined by the several deputies that were to accompany me, we set off at seven o'clock in the morning."

[3] "were not"

[4] "trails"

[5] "have been"

[6] "Fraser"

[7] "good of the service"

[8] For De la Gauterais and Sinnott, see *ante*, 1:405–417.

June 8th At day break we were Attacked by a party of 80 Warriors of the Kickapoos & Musquattamies, who killed three of the Shawanese Deputies & wounded another. two of my Men were killed, they then plundered us of every thing we had, our Indians as well as us, & then made us prisoners. After this they told us they were sorry for what had happened, that they had been employed by the French their Fathers, who had told them it was Cherokees that was[1] with me, & that there was no Peace made with the Shawanese, Delawares & Six Nations, they then sett the Indian Prisoners at liberty taking me & my party with them.

15th We arrived at Post Vincent where there is a French Village of about 80 houses, & an Indian Village of the Pyankeshas, here I met several Indians whom I had been acquainted with, who spoke to the party I was with, and desired them to take great Care of me 'till the Chiefs of the several Nations would return from the Ilinois where they had gone in Order to meet me, and reprimanded this party for their bad Conduct.

Here I was informed by the French of the Arrival of Mr La Gutrie & Mr Sinott [*sic*] at the Ilinois, with an Account of the bad reception[2] & ill treatment Mr Frazier & Mr Sinnott met with on their Arrival there.

16th The Indians allowed me to write to *Mr St Ange* but would not suffer me to send a letter to *Mr Sinnott*, nor could I get any Frenchman in that Town to furnish me with Pen, Ink or Paper, without the Consent of the Indians.

17th We set off & the 23d arrived at Ouiatonon, where this party had sett out from, on my Arrival at this place I met Numbers of Indians with whom I was formerly well acquainted, & who were extremely Civil to me & my party.

30th The several Chiefs belonging to those Villages at Ouiatonon arrived from the Ilinois, & there were with them the Chiefs of several other Nations who came to see me, & expressed their great concern at what had happened.

July 1st A Frenchman arrived from the Ilinois with a Pipe and Speech from thence to the Kickapoos & Musquattamies, to have me

[1] "who were."

[2] "with an account of the ill treatment Mr. Fraser had met with, and likewise of the ill reception Mr. Sinnott met with on his arrival there."

Burnt, this Speech was said to be sent from a Shawanese Ind[a] who resides at the Ilinois, & has been during the War, & is much Attached to the French interest. As soon as this Speech was delivered to the Indians by the French, the Indians informed me of it in Council, & expressed their great concern for what had already happened, & told me they then sett me & my People at liberty, & assured me they despised the Message sent them, and would return the Pipe & Belt to their Fathers the French, and enquire into the reason of such a Message being sent them by one of his Messengers, & desired me to stay with them 'till the Deputies of the Six Nations, Shawanese & Delawares arrived with Pondiac at Ouiatonon in order to settle matters, to w[h] I consented.

From[1] 4[th] to the 8[th] I had several Conferences with the Wawcotonans, Pyankeeshas, Kickapoos, & Musquatamies in which Conferences I was lucky enough to reconcile those Nations to His Majesties Interest & obtain their Consent and Approbation to take Possession of any Posts in their Country which the French formerly possessed, & an offer of their Service should any Nation oppose our taking possession of it, all which they Confirmed by four large Pipes.

11[th] M[r] Maisonville arrived with an Interpreter & a message to the Indians to bring me & my party to the Illinois, till then I had no answer from M[r] S[t] Ange to the Letter I wrote him of the 16[th] June, as I wanted to go to the Ilinois I desired the Chiefs to prepare themselves & set off with me as soon as possible.

12[th] I wrote to General Gage & Sir William Johnson, to Col[o] Campbell at Detroit, & Major Murray at Fort Pitt[2] & Major [Farmer] at Mobiel [*sic*] or on his way to the Mississipi, & acquainted [them with] every thing that had happened since my departure from [Fort Pitt].[3]

July 13[th] The Chiefs of the Twightwees[4] came to me from the Miamis and renewed their Antient Friendship with His Majesty & all His Subjects in America & Confirmed it with a Pipe.

[1] "On the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th June"

[2] The letter to Major Murray is printed *post*, 58. The other letters have not been found.

[3] The manuscript is somewhat mutilated and the omissions here have been supplied from the Franklin copy (P.R.O., C.O., 5.66). The Hildreth copy was perfect in this place, but the name "Farmer" is spelt "Firmer." "at Mobiel" is omitted.

[4] "Tawightwis"

18th I set off for the Ilinois with the Chiefs of all those Nations when by the way we met with Pondiac[1] together with the Deputies of the Six Nations, Delawares & Shawanese, which accompanied Mr Frazier, & myself down the Ohio. & also Deputies with Speeches from the four Nations living in the Ilinois Country, to me & the Six Nations, Delawares & Shawanese, on which we returnd to Ouiatonon and there held another Conference, In which I settled all matters with the Ilinois Indians — Pondiac & they Agreeing[2] to every thing the other Nations had done, all which they[3] Confirmed by Pipes, & Belts, but told me the French had informed them that the English intended to take their Country from them, & give it to the Cherokees to settle on, & that if ever they suffered the English to take possession of their Country they would make Slaves of them, that this was the reason of their Opposing the English hitherto from taking possession of Fort *Chartres*, & induced them to tell Mr La Gutrie & Mr Sinnott that they would not let the English come into their Country. But being informed, Since Mr Sinnott had retired[4] by the Deputies of the Six Nations Delawares & Shawanese, that every difference subsisting between them & the English was now settled, they were willing to Comply, as the other Nations their Bretheren had done and desired that their Father the King of England might not look upon his taking Possession of the Forts which the french formerly Possest as a Title for his Subjects to possess their Country,[5] as they never had sold any part of it to the French, & that I might rest satisfied that whenever the English came to take possession they would receive them with open Arms.

25th I set off for Detroit having settled every thing with these several Nations to the Westward, & was Accompanied by several Chiefs of those Nations which were going to Detroit to meet Colo Bradstreet agreeable to his Invitation to them last Winter by Mr Maisonville. As I passed by the Twightwee Villages & the Ottawawee[6] Villages, on the Miamis River, they delivered me all the English

[1] The phrase "by the way" is omitted.
[2] "agreed"
[3] "all which they" omitted
[4] "went away"
[5] "to give his subjects a title to their country."
[6] "Ottaway's"

Prisoners they had, & I found as I passed by those Towns,[1] that several of the Indians had set off for Detroit.[2]

August 17th I arrived at Detroit where I found several small Tribes of Ottawas, Puttewatamies & Chipwas waiting in Consequence of Colº Bradstreets Invitation to see him. Here I met *Mr De Couagne*[3] and *Wabecomicat*[4] with a Deputation of Indians from Niagara, with Messages from Sir William Johnson to Pondiac & those Western Nations.

23d Colº Campbell & I had a Meeting with the Twightwees, Wawiotonans, Pyankeshas, Kickapoos and Musquattamies, when they produced the several Belts sent them by Colº Bradstreet, in consequence of which Invitation they came here.

Then[5] they spoake to the Six Nations, Delawares and Shawanese on several Belts & Pipes, beging in the most abject Manner that they would forgive them for the ill Conduct of their Young Men, to take Pity on their Women & Children & grant thm peace.

They then spoake to the Colº & me on several Pipes & Belts Expressing their great Satisfaction at a firm & lasting Peace being settled between their Bretheren the English, & the several Indian Nations in this Country, that they saw the heavy Clouds that Hung over their Heads for some time past were now dispersed, and that the Sun shone clear & bright, and that as their Father the King of England had Conquered the French in that Country & taken into his friendship[6] all the Indian Nations, they hoped for the future they would be a happy People, & that[7] they should always have reason to[8] call the English their Fathers, & beged we would take pity on their Women & Children, & make up the difference subsisting between them and the Shawanese, Delawares & Six Nations, and said as they[9] were come there in consequence of Colº Bradstreet's invitation, & that he had not met them, [they hoped] their Fathers would pity their necessity & give them a

[1] "villages"
[2] Adds "to meet Colonel Bradstreet."
[3] "Dequanee"
[4] "Waobecomica"
[5] No paragraph.
[6] "protection"
[7] Inserts "for the time to come" after "that."
[8] Omits "have reason to."
[9] "we"

lit[tle Cloathing][1] and a little rum to drink on the road, as they[2] had come a great way to see their[3] Fathers. Then the Wyondats spoake to the Shawanese, & all the Western Nations on severall Belts & strings, by which they exhorted the several Nations to behave themselves well to their Fathers the English, who had now taken them under their Protection, that if they did, they would be a happy People, that if they did not listen to the Councils of their Fathers, they must take the Consequences, having assured them that all Nations to the Sun riseing had taken fast hold of their Fathers the English by the hand, & would follow their Advice, & do every thing they desired them, & never would let slip the Chain of Friendship now so happily renewed.

August 24th We had another Meeting with the several Nations, when the Wawcotonans, Twightwees, Pyankeshas, Kickapoos & Musquatamies made several speeches to Colo Campbell & me, in presence of all the other Nations, when they promised to become[4] the Children of the King of Great Brittain, & farther acknowledged that they had at Ouiatonon before they came there given up the Soverignty [*sic*] of their Country to me for His Majesty, & promised to Support his subjects in taking possession of all the Posts given up by the French their former Fathers to the English, now their present Fathers, all which they Confirmed with a Belt.

25th We had another meeting with the same Indians, when Colo Campbell & I, made them several Speeches in Answer to theirs of the 23 & 24th then delivered them a Road Belt in the Name of Sir William Johnson Baronet to open a Road from the rising to the Setting of the Sun which we Charged them to keep open through their Country, & Cautioned them to stop their Ears against the Storys or idle reports of evil minded People & Continue to promote the good Works of Peace, all which they promised to do in a most sincere manner.

26th Colo Campbell & I made those Nations some presents, when after taking leave of us, they sett off for their own Country well Satisfied.

27th We had a Meeting with Pondiac & all the Ottawa Tribes, Chipwaes & Puttewatamies wth the Hurons of this place & the Chiefs

[1] Omissions supplied from Franklin's copy.
[2] "we have"
[3] "our"
[4] "acknowledged themselves to be"

of those settled at Sandusky & the Miamis River, when we made them the following Speeches.[1]

Children Pondiac & all our Children the Ottawas, Puttewattamies, Chipways & Wyondatts —

We are very glad to see so many of our Children here present at your Antient Council Fire, which has been neglected for some time past, since those high Winds has arose & raised some heavy Clouds over your Country, I now by this Belt dress up your Antient Fire, & throw some dry Wood upon it, that the Blaze may ascend to the Clouds, so that all Nations may see it, & know that you live in Peace & Tranquility with your Fathers the English. A Belt.

By this Belt I disperse all the black Clouds from over your heads, that the Sun may shine clear on your Women and Children, that those unborn may Enjoy the blessings of this general Peace, now so happily settled between your Fathers the English & you, & all your younger Bretheren to the Sun Setting. A Belt.

Children By this Belt I gather up all the Bones of your deceased friends, & bury them deep in the Ground, that the Herbs & Sweet flowers of the Earth may grow over them, that we may not see them any more. A Belt.

Children With this Belt I take the Hatchet out of your Hands & I pluck up a large Tree & Bury it deep, so that it may never be found any more, & I plant the Tree of Peace, where all our Children may sit under & smoak in Peace with their Fathers. A Belt.

Children We have made a Road from the Sun rising to the Sun setting, I desire that you will preserve that Road good and pleasant to Travel upon, that we may all share the Blessings of this happy Union. I am sorry to see our Children dispersed thro' the Woods, I therefore desire you will return to your Antient Settlements & take care of your Council Fire which I have now dressed up, & promote the good Work of Peace. A Belt.

After which Wapicomica delivered his Messages from Sir William Johnson to Pondiac & the rest of the Several Chiefs.

[1]Hildreth's copy passes over the speeches on the twenty-seventh, inserting the following paragraph: "The speeches are brief, and relate chiefly to their keeping the peace in sincerity and good faith. On the following day, or the 28th August, they had another meeting with the Indians, when Pondiac made the following speech, which is worth preserving, as coming from so celebrated a man:" Then follows Pontiac's speech, *post*, 46.

Aug^{ust} 28th We had a Meeting with Pondiac & the several Nations when Pondiac made the following Speeches.

Father

We have all smoaked out of the Pipe of Peace its your Childrens Pipe, & as the War is all over, & the Great Spirit and giver of Light who has made the Earth & every thing therein, has brought us all together this day for our mutual good to promote the good works of Peace, I declare to all Nations that I had settled my Peace with You before I came here, & now deliver my Pipe to be sent to *Sir William Johnson*, that he may know I have made Peace, and taken the King of England for my Father, in presence of all the Nations now Assembled, & whenever any of those Nations go to Visit him, they may smoak out of it with him in Peace. Fathers we are oblidged to you for lighting up our old Council Fire for us, & desiring us to return to it, but we are now settled on the Miamis River, not far from Hence, whenever you want us you will find us there ready to wait on You, the reason I choose to stay where we are now settled, is, that we love Liquor, & did we live here as formerly,[1] our People would be always drunk, which might Occasion some Quarrels between the Soldiers & them, this Father is all the reason I have for not returning to our old Settlements, & that[2] we live so nigh this place, that when we want to drink, we can easily come for it.

Gave a large Pipe with a Belt of Wampum tied to it.

Father Be strong and take pity on us your Children as our former Father did, 'tis just the Hunting Season of our[3] Children, our Fathers the French, formerly used to Credit his Children for Powder & Lead to Hunt with, I request in behalf of all the Nations present, that you will speak to the Traders now here to do the same, my Father once more I request you will take pity on us, &[4] tell your Traders to give your Children Credit for a little powder & Lead, as the Support of our Familys depend upon it, we have told you where we live,[5] that whenever you want us & let us know it, we will come directly to you. A Belt.

[1] "and to be so near this as we formerly lived"
[2] "where"
[3] "your"
[4] "that you tell" omitting "will take pity on us and"
[5] "not far from here" inserted.

Father You stoped up the Rum Barrel when we came here, 'till the Business of this Meeting was over, as it is now finished, we request you may open the Barrel that your Children may drink and be merry.[1]

August 29th A Deputation of several Nations sett out from Detroit for the Ilinois Country, with several Messages from me &[2] the Wyondats, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese & other Nations, in Answer to theirs delivered me at Ouiatonon.

30th The Chiefs of the several Nations who are settled on the Ouabache returned to Detroit from the River Roche, where they had been Encamped, & informed Colo Campbell & me, they were now going off for their own Country, & that nothing gave them greater pleasure, than to see that all the Western Nations & Tribes had agreed to a general Peace, & that they should be glad how soon their Fathers the English, would take possession of the Posts in their Country, formerly possessed by[3] their late Fathers the French, to open a Trade for them, & if this could not be done this Fall, they desired that some Traders might be sent to their Villages to supply them for the Winter, or else they would be oblidged to go to the Ilinois and apply to their old Fathers the French for such necessarys as they might want.

They then spoke on a Belt & said Fathers, every thing is now Settled, & we have Agreed to your taking possession of the Posts[4] in our Country. we have been informed, that the English where ever they settle, make the Country their own, & you tell us, that when you Conquered the French, they gave you this Country. That no differnce may happen hereafter, we tell you now the French never Conquered [us] neither did they[5] purchase a foot of our Country, nor have [they a right][6] to give it to you, we gave them liberty to settle for

[1] Hildreth's copy inserts the following paragraph: "There were present at this treaty about thirty chiefs and five hundred warriors. A list of the tribes is given, and the names of the chiefs. This was the last public transaction, in which Pondiac was engaged with the English. The year following, in a council with the Indians on the Illinois, this noted chief was stabbed to the heart, by an Indian who had long followed him for that purpose."

[2] "to"

[3] "which had formerly been in possession"

[4] "of the posts" omitted.

[5] "Conquered us neither did they" omitted.

[6] Supplied from the Franklin copy.

which they always rewarded us & treated us with great Civility[1] while they had it in their power, but as they are become now your People, if you expect to keep those Posts,[2] we will expect to have proper returns from you. A Belt.

Septb^{r} 2^{d} The Chiefs of the Wyondatts or Huron, came to me & said they had spoake last Summer to Sir Will^{m} Johnson at Niagara about the Lands, on which the French had Settled near Detroit belonging to them, & desired I would mention again to him, they never had sold it to the French, & expected their new Fathers the English would do them Justice, as the French were become one People with us. A Belt.

4th Pondiac with several Chiefs of the Ottawas, Chippawaes & Potowatamies likewise complained, that the French had settled part of their Country, which they never had sold to them, & hoped their Fathers the English, would take it into Consideration, & see that a proper Satisfaction was made to them. That their Country was very large, & they were willing to give up such part of it, as was Necessary for their Fathers the English, to carry on Trade at, provided they were paid for it, & a sufficient part of the Country left them to Hunt on. A Belt.

6th The *Sagina* Indians came here, & made a Speech on a Belt of Wampum expressing their Satisfaction on hearing that a general Peace was made with all the Western Nations & with Pondiac, they desired a little Powder, Lead & a few Knives[3] to enable them to Hunt on their way Home, & a little rum to drink their new Fathers health. A Belt.

9th *Altewaky*[4] and *Chamindiway* Chiefs of a band of Ottawas from Sandusky with 20 Men came here and informed me, that their late Conduct had been peaceable, that on hearing there was a great Meeting of all Nations at this place, they came to hear what would be done, & on their way here they had been informed that a general Peace was settled with all Nations to the Sun setting, & they now came to

[1] Reads: "to settle and they were always very civil to us."

[2] "posts as your own property, we will expect to have equivalent made us, for such parts of our country as you may want to possess."

[3] "a few knives" omitted.

[4] The transactions of the ninth and eleventh are omitted, but the following is inserted: "N.B. The transactions of the 9th and 11th are written with such poor ink, and so faded, that they cannot be deciphered."

assure us of their Attachment to the English Interest, & beged for some Powder, Lead, some Blankets and a little rum to help them to return to their Town. A String.

Septbr 11th Colo Campbell & I gave the above parties some presents & a little rum & sent them away well Satisfied.

12th The Grand Sautois[1] came with his band and spoke as follows.

Father

You sent me a Belt from the Miamis, & as soon as I received it, I set off to meet you here, on my way I heard what had past between you & the several Tribes that met you here, you have had pity on them, & I beg in behalf of myself & the People of Chicags, that you will have pity on us also. 'tis true we have been Fools, & have listened to evil reports, & the whistling of bad Birds, we red people, are a very Jealous and foolish[2] People, & Father amongst you white People, there are bad People also, that tell us Lyes & deceive us, which has been the Occasion of what has past, I need not say much on this Head, I am now Convinced, that I have been wrong[3] for some Years past, but there are People that have behaved worse than I & my People, they were pardoned last Year at this place, I hope we may meet with the same,[4] that our Women & Children may enjoy the blessings of Peace, as the rest of our Bretheren the red People, & you shall be convinced, by our future Conduct, that we will behave as well as any Tribe of Inds in this Country. A Belt.

He then said that the St Joseph Indians would have come along with him, but the English Prisoner which their Fathers want from them, was some distance off a Hunting, & as soon as they could get him in, they would deliver him up and desire forgiveness.[5]

14th I had a private Meeting with the grand Sautois, when he told me he was well disposed for peace last Fall, but was then sent for to the Ilinois, where he met with Pondiac, & that then their Fathers the French told them, if they would be strong & keep the Eng-

[1] "12th. The grand sauton, and a party of Ottawas and Chippewas, from Chicago, sent me word they would come in the morning and see me." The statement above under the twelfth is placed on the thirteenth.

[2] "and foolish" omitted.

[3] "wrong led"

[4] "and you have pardoned them. I hope you to do the same to us"

[5] "and beg forgiveness of their fathers, as they did at present."

lish out of possession of that Country but this Summer, That the King of France would send Over an Army next Spring, to assist his Children the Indians, and that the King of Spain would likewise send Troops to help them to keep the English out of their Country, that the English were a bad People, & had a design to cut off all the Indian Nations in this Country, & to bring the Southern Indians to live & settle there, this Account made all the Indians very uneasy in their Minds, & after holding a Council amongst themselves, they all ditermined to Oppose the English, & not to suffer them to take Possession of the Ilinois, that for his part he behaved as ill as the rest of[1] the English Officers that came there in the Spring, but since we had been better informed of the goodness of the English, & convinced the French had told them lyes for the love of their Beaver, he was now ditermined with all his People to become faithfull[2] to their new Fathers the English, & pay no regard to any Stories the French should tell him for the future.

Sep^{r} 15th Col^{o} Campbell & I had a Meeting with the grand Sautois at which we informed him, of every thing that had past with the Several Nations & Tribes, & told him that we Accepted him and his people in Friendship, & would forgive them as we had the rest of the Tribes, & forget what was past, provided their future Conduct should convince us of their Sincerity, after which we gave them some presents, for which he returned thanks & departed very well Satisfied.

19th I received a Letter by Express from Col^{o} Reed acquainting me of Cap^{t} Sterlings setting out from Fort Pitt, with 100 men of the 42^{d} Regm^{t} to take possession of Fort Chartres in the Ilinois Country.[3]

20th I sent of Huron Andrew Express to Cap^{t} Starling at the Ilinois, & with Messages to the several Nations in that Country & those on the Ouabache, to acquaint them of Cap^{t} Starlings departure from Fort Pitt for the Ilinois Country.

25th The Chiefs of the S^{t} Joseph Indians arrived and addressed themselves to Col^{o} Campbell & me as follows —

Fathers

We are come here to see you, altho' we are not Acquainted with you, we had a Father formerly, with whom we were very well

[1] "to"

[2] "faithful and dutiful children"

[3] See *post*, 91 *et seq.*

acquainted, & never differed with him, you have Conquered him some time ago, & when you came here first notwithstanding your hands were all Bloody, you took hold of us by the Hands & used us well, & we thought we should be happy with our Fathers,[1] but soon an unlucky difference happened which threw us all in Confusion, where this arose we dont know, but we assure you, we were the last that entered into this Quarrel, the Ind[s] from this place solicited us often to Join them, but we would not listen to them, at last they got the better of our foolish young Warriors, but we never agreed to it, we knew it would Answer no end, & often told our Warriors they were Fools, if they Succeeded in killing the few English in this Country, they could not kill them all, because we knew you to be a great People.

Fathers you have after all that has happened, received all the several Tribes in this Country for your Children, we from S[t] Josephs seem to be the last of your Children that come to you,[2] we are no more than Wild Creatures to you Fathers in understanding, therefore we request you'l forgive the past follies of our young people, & receive us for your Children, since you have thrown down our former Father on his Back, we have been wandering in the dark like blind people, now you have dispersed all this darkness, which hung over the heads of the several Tribes, & have Accepted them for your Children, we hope you will let us pertake with them of the light, that our Women & Children may enjoy Peace, & we beg youl forget all that is past, by this Belt we remove all evil thoughts from your Hearts. A Belt.

Fathers when we formerly came to Visit our late Fathers the French, they always sent us home Joyfull, & we hope you will have pity on our Women & young Men who are in great want of Necessarys, & not let us return home to our Village[3] ashamed.

Col[o] Campbell & I made them the following Answer[4]

Children I have heard with Attention what you have said, [& am glad][5] to hear that you have delivered up the Prisoners at Michilli-

[1] "brethern"

[2] "to you to beg mercy."

[3] "towns"

[4] "Colonels Campbell and Croghan made them a favorable answer, and added presents of powder, lead, vermillion, clothing, and two kegs of rum, ending the interview with these remarks:" The Hildreth copy contains only the last paragraph of the above speech, beginning: "Children, I take this opportunity" etc.

[5] Supplied from the Franklin copy.

makinac, Agreeable to my desire, as the other Prisoner who I always th[ought] belonged to your Nation does not, but the Man who has him resides now in your Country, I must desire youl do every thing in your power to get him brought to me, nothing will give me greater pleasure, than to promote the good Works of Peace, & make my Children the Indians happy, as long as their Conduct shall deserve it. I did not know what to think of your Conduct for some time past, but to convince you of my Sincere desire to promote Peace, I receive you as Children, as I have done the other Nations, & hope your future Conduct may be such, as will Convince me of your Sincerity.

A Belt.

Children Sometimes bad people take the liberty of stragling into your Country, I desire if you meet any such people to bring them Immediately here, likewise I desire that none of your young Men may Steal any Horses out of this Settlement as they have done formerly, we shall see always strict Justice done to you, & expect the same from you, on that your own happiness depends, & as long as you continue to merrit our friendship by good Actions in promoting Peace & Tranquility between your young People & His Majesties Subjects, you may expect to be received here with open Arms, & to convince you further of my Sincerity, I give you some Cloaths, Powder, Lead, Vermillion & 2 Cags of rum for your young People, that you may return home without shame as you desired.

Children I take this Oppertunity to tell you that your Fathers the English are gone down the Ohio from Fort Pitt to take possession of the Ilinois, & desire you may acquaint all your people of it on your return home, & likewise desire you will stop your Ears against the Whistling of bad Birds, & mind nothing else but your Hunting to Support your Familys, that your Women & Children may enjoy the Blessing of Peace. A Belt.[1]

[1] The following paragraphs follow in the Hildreth copy: "26th. I left Detroit and arrived, October 3d, at Niagara. Here I met some Senecas with whom I had a meeting, and informed them of my transactions with the several nations; and desired them to inform their people of it on their return home, which they promised me they would.

"October 11th. Set off from Niagara, and arrived the 17th at Ontario, where I met the Bunt and several sachems of the Onondagas, with whom I had a meeting, and informed them what had passed between me and the western nations.

"19th. I set off from Ontario, and arrived at Fort Stanwix the 21st."

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, November, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.66, f. 218—C.]

SIR

Having now returned from executing the Service I was sent on by his excellency General Gage, namely the obtaining the Indians consent to our possessing the important Posts at the Ilinois.

I present your honor with a Journal of my transactions with the several Nations and tribes in that Country for your perusal.[1]

In the Scituation I was in at Ouiatonon, with great numbers of Indians about me, & no Necessaries such as Paper & Ink, I had it not in my power to take down all the Speeches made by the Indian Nations nor what I said to them, in so particular a manner as I could wish, but hope the heads of it as I have taken down, will meet with your Approbation.

In the Course of this Tour through the Ind^{n} Countrys I made it my study to Converse in private with Pondiac, & several of the Chiefs of the different Nations, as often as Oppertunity served, in Order to find out the Sentiments they have of the French & English. Pondiac is a shrewd Sensible Indian of few words, & commands more respect amongst those Nations, than any Indian I ever saw could do amongst his own Tribe. He & all the principal Men of those Nations seem at present to be Convinced that the French had a view of Interest in stirring up the late differance between His Majesties Subjects & them & call it a Bever War, for neither Pondiac, nor any of the Indians which I met with, ever pretended to deny but the French were at the Bottom of the whole, & constantly supplyed them with every necessary they wanted, as far as in their power, every where through that Country & notwithstanding they are at present Convinced, that it was for their own Interest, yet it has not changed the Indians Affections to them, they have been bred up together like Children in that Country, & the French have always adopted the Indians Customs & manners, Treated them Civily & supplyed their wants gener-

[1] This, of course, refers to the official journal. The first few lines, namely to this note, are not included in the board of trade copy and are therefore not to be found in those transcripts printed from it. (*New York Colonial Documents*, 7: 787.) This is also true of the last part of the letter as noted *post*, 55. Hildreth's copy had these extra parts, although there are slight variants in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and even phraseology, but not of sufficient importance to be noticed. The board of trade copy is the original of the above transcript for the body of the letter; the rest is supplied from the Franklin copy.

ously, by which means they gained the Hearts of the Indians & commanded their Services, & injoyed the Benefit of a very large Furr Trade, as they well knew if they had not taken this measure they could not enjoy any of those Advantages. The French have in a manner taught the Indians in that Country to heat [*sic*] the English, by representing them in the worst light they could on all Occasion, in particular they have made the Indians there believe lately, that the English would take their Country from them & bring the *Cherokees* there to settle & to Enslave them, which report they easily gave Credit to, as the Southern Ind[s] had lately commenced War against them. I had great difficulty in removeing this Suspition, & convincing them of the falsity of this report, which I flatter myself I have done in a great measure, yet it will require some time, a very even Conduct in those that are to reside in their Country, before we can expect to rival the French in their Affection. all Indians are Jealous, & from their high Notion of Liberty hate power. those Nations are Jealous & prejudiced against us, so that the greatest care will be necessary to convince them of our honest Intention by our Actions. The french sold them Goods much dearer than the English Traders do at present, in that point we have the Advantage of the French, but they made that up in large presents to them for their Services, which they wanted to Support their Interest in the Country, & tho' we want none of their Services yet they will expect favours, & if refused look on it in a bad light, & very likely think its done to distress them for some particular Advantages we want to gain over them. they are by no means so Sensible a People as the Six Nations or other Tribes this way, & the French have learned them for their own Advantage a bad Custom, for by all I could learn, they seldom made them any general presents, but as it were fed them with Necessaries Just as they wanted them Tribe by Tribe, & never sent them away empty, which will make it difficult & troublesome to the Gentlemen that are to Command in their Country for some time, to please them & preserve peace, as they are a rash inconsiderate People and dont look on themselves under any Obligations to us, but rather think we are obliged to them for letting us reside in their Country. As far as I can Judge of their Sentiments by the several Conversations I have had with them, they will expect some Satisfaction made them by Us, for any Posts that should be Established in their Country for Trade. But you will

be informed better by themselves next Spring, as Pondiac & some Chiefs of every Nation in that Country intend to pay you a Visit. The several Nations on the Ouiabache, & towards the *Ilinois*, *S^t^ Josephs*, *Chicags*, *Labaye*, *Sagina* & other places have Applyed for Traders to be sent to their Settlements, but as it is not in the power of any Officer to permit Traders to go from *Detroit* or *Michillimakinac*, either English or French, I am of Opinion the Ind^s^ will be supplyed this Year chiefly from the *Ilinois*, which is all French property, & if trading Posts are not Established at proper places in that Country soon, the french will carry the best part of the Trade over the *Misisipi*, which they are ditermined to do if they can, for I have been well informd that the French are preparing to build a strong Trading Fort on the other side Misisipi, about 60 miles above *Fort Chartres*, and have this Summer in a private manner Transported 26 pieces of small Cannon up the River for that purpose.[1]

The duty on which I was sent and the distance I was at, not permitting me immediately to hear the Charges[2] which were laid to me as soon as I was made acquainted with them I resolved on taking the earliest oportunity which my Duty would permit of doing myself Justice, by enquiring into the cause of such false and scandalous Reports, and exposing the authors to the contempt they justly deserve.

Nothing but my ardent desire of effecting the Service on which I was sent, and which I have now happily effected, could have induced me to neglect even 'till this time doing myself Justice, and as I scorned to avail myself of any pretext for neglecting a hazardous design. I flatter myself I am now fully intitled to inquire into the Origin of these Reports so scandalous and injurious to me, and that I have a right to demand some satisfaction on that head; the rather as I have always avoided the imputation of a Money maker from which I can sufficiently acquit myself ever since my appointment in the Indian department in which (strange as may appear) I have often embarked my own Money and Credit for the good of the Service, and sometimes have

[1] Undoubtedly St. Louis.

[2] Charges were made to Gage that Croghan was associated with Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan in the Indian trade and that he had used his official position to get their merchandise conveyed to Pittsburgh with the Indian gifts he was carrying with him. As a matter of fact the Philadelphia firm did send their merchandise with Croghan's consignment; but, upon investigation, Gage seems to have been convinced that there was no ground to make a complaint against the Indian agent. (See *ante*, 1:509, 522.) The last two paragraphs are not in the board of trade copy.

not been reimburs'd. this permis'd [*sic*] I must beg leave to enquire of you, Sir and thro you of his excellency the General, who were the first persons that presumed to assert these falsities, and to be informed what are the proper steps for me to do Justice to my Character and to make the public acquainted with my whole conduct without giving Offence by any indirect proceeding.

I am your Honours Most obedent Humble Servant G: C:

To The Hon^{ble} Sir William Johnson Barr^{t} His Majestys Sole Agent & Superintend^{t} For Indian Affairs in the Northren District of North America. Copy

[*Endorsed:*] Col. Croghan's Journal 1765.

List of Indians Met at the Detroit Conference, August, 1765[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.66, f. 209—C.]

A list of the Indian Nations met at Detroit

August, 1765.

Weyondotts.

Sesteraggio, Boabe, Teatta — Chiefs with 65 Warriors from their settlement on the Miamies River and Sandusky, including those of this place.

Ottawa's.

Pondiac, Wasinola, Mohichen, Cuttaway, Eloranga, Ottaway, Monilon — Chiefs, with 176 Warriors from their Several Villages on the Miamies River.

Chipeways.

Wasson, Abattoe, Capicomica — Chiefs with 49 Warriors from their different Villages betwixt this place and S^{t} Josephs.

[1] This is a leaf inserted in the Franklin copy between the dates, August 28 and 29. Hildreth's copy also contained this list but he did not print it.

Wabicomica — Chief from Niagara with 13 Warriors, with Messages from Sir William Johnson to Pondiac and the other Nations.

Puttewattamies.

Nineway, Manamack, Washad — Chiefs with 37 Warriors.

Sagginna Indians.[1]

Ashewabemy. Chief with 27 Warriors.
La Cheas. Chief from S[t] Josephs with 5 Warriors.

Twightwees.

La Greass., Gross Cope, Hairy thighs — Chiefs, with 49 Warriors.

Waweottonans.[2]

La Natt, Crooked Legg, the Goose. — Chiefs with 35 Warriors.

Pyankeshas.

The black fly. Chief with 10 Warriors.

Kickepoos.

Majawabia. Chief with Nine Warriors.

Musquattamies[3]

Majinoboa. Chief with 8 Warriors.
Deputies from the Six Nations Delawares, and Shawanese 12 Men.
Indians from Michillimackinac, and L'bay 22 Men.
In all 530 Men.

[1] An Indian village at the present site of Saginaw, Michigan. At first it was occupied by the Sauk, but at this time was settled by a band of Ottawa and Chippewa, known as Saginaw. *American Indians.*

[2] Ouiatanon or Wea.

[3] Mascoutens.

CROGHAN TO MURRAY, July 12, 1765[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 745—C.]

Copy of a Letter from M^r Croghan Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs to Captain William Murray of His Majesty's 42^d Regiment of Foot Commanding at Fort Pitt — Dated Weotonan, 12^th July 1765.

D^R SIR,

You will no doubt have heared; before this reaches You, of my being taken Prisoner and Plundered, by a Party of Eight Indians of the Kickapoo's, Musquetomys Nations, they Killed two of my Men, and three of the Deputies of the Shawnese, that was with me. Their Village is at this Post, where they brought me, and those with me; I got the Stroke of a Hatchet on the Head, but my Scull being pretty thick, the hatchet would not enter, so You may See a thick Scull is of Service on some Occasions.

I won't trouble You with any of my fatigues Since I have been taken, I am very hearty and well; Indeed I at first thought it a very unlucky Accident, which made me very grave, but Since I came here, and has been led a little into the mystery and Policy of the People of this Country, I am Confident it will turn out to be the best thing that could have happened for the English Interest.

You must know that the F----h has been this three Years with great pains & Expense, endeavoring to make a Confederacy of those Nations to oppose the English, and if Possible prevent their taking Possession of this Country, last fall they Effected it, and had got 18 Nations agreed to oppose our, either coming down or up the River; the F----h was cocksure that the Shawnese and Delawares, would never make Peace with us, so that it was to rest there, that the Settling matters, or Reconciling those Nations, depended on Our having Settled a Peace with the Shawnese Delawares and Six Nations on Ohio, which I happily did You Know before I left Fort Pitt, and had their Deputys with me to notify it to all those Nations, this party falling on us, and killing three of the Deputys has entirely broke up and divided this great Confederacy, and thrown the F----h into confusion. There is nothing those nations dread more than a War with the Shawnese, Delawares and Six Nations, and which will be the Consequence.

[1] Croghan mentions in his journal that he wrote this letter, among others, when he was at Ouiatanon. *Ante*, 41.

This fear has brought the five Nations settled on this River to reason, more than if I had given them five times the Quantity they robbed me off in Presents; They now come and beg of me to pity them, their Women and Children, and forgive them, and to use my Interest with the Shawnese Delewares and Six Nations, to make up the Affair, they have given me five Pipes of Peace, and offered me their Services to Conduct any Troops from Fort Pitt to the Illinois; And in the most Abject manner declared they would be for ever true & Faithfull Allies to His Majesty & his Subjects.

At the time this happened M^r^ Sinnott a Deputy of M^r^ Stuarts & One M^r^ La Gauterais, a French Gentleman, was at the Illinois with presents to the Indians on the same Business I was Sent on;[1] M^r^ Sinnott wrote me, that the Indians after he had Spoke to them, took five days to Deliberate, & had made no answer, that everything then was Doubtfull, but Since that I was Informed, that two Indians which I has Sent off by Land had arrived there, and informed the Nations that I had Settled matters with the Shawnese, Delawares, and Six Nations, and that their Deputies were coming with me, on which they gave M^r^ Sinnott a favorable answer, however something has happened since, for it's certain those Gentlemen was obliged to make their Escape in the night from the Illinois. As I have reconciled those Nations here, I go in two days with them to the Illinois, to deliver the Speeches I was charged with from the General, & hopes to be able to reconcile the Nations there, who I hear has only promised to M^r^ Sinnott, and M^r^ La Gauterais, to Suffer the English to come there on certain Conditions.

I am, Sir, &ca —

(Signed) GEO: CROGHAN

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from M^r^ Croghan Dep^y^ Agent for Indian Affairs to Capt. Murray of the 42^d^ Regt Commanding at Fort Pitt Dated Weotonan 12^th^ July 1765 In Maj^r^ Gen^l^ Gage's, of the 23^d^ Sep^r^ 1765. Concerning Indian Affairs on the Illinois Inclosure 3. in N° 2 Bundle E

[1] See *ante*, 1:405–417.

CROGHAN TO B. FRANKLIN, December 12, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.66, f. 165—L.S.]

PHILADELPHIA 12th Decemr 1765

SIR

As I am return'd to this City, after my long Tour thro' the Indian Country, I do myself the honor of sending you a brief Journal of my Transactions, As I am persuaded, you are deeply interested in whatever respects the welfare of America. Ever since the Cession of Canada and its ap[p]endages to the British Crown, it has been found, that the French Settlements, in the Illinois Country, have been, as so many repositarys, for Amunition & in order to enable the Indians in that quarter, on the Ohio, & the lakes &c to carry on a War, with the Inhabitants of these provinces — Wherefore, when Sir Jeffery Amherst commanded in America, he order'd a regiment, under Major Loftus, to ascend the Missisipi and take possession of Fort Chartres,— But the difficulty of the Navigation and the Opposition he met with, from the Indians, soon obliged him to drop his expedition and hasten back to Mobile.

The next Year, a general Indian War broke out;[1] when Colo Boquet and Colo Broadstreet were placed at the head of two Small Armys, to enter the Indian Country, by different Routs, in order to chastise them and facilitate the taking possession of the Ilinois.

How far they succeeded, is unnecessary for me to relate, as you are so well acquainted, with the History of that Campaign.

I returned from England last winter, when I found the General not a little distressed — In that, all his endeavours had hitherto failed, with respect to gaining the Ilinois. I therefore thought it the Duty of my Department, to propose to him that I would use my best endeavours with the Natives (with whom I had been long acquainted & flatterd myself, had some influence) to obtain their consent to His Majestys Troops, peaceably, possessing that Country.— Which proposition he chearfully accepted off. At the same time, that I meditated this plan, Major Farmer was under orders from the General, to proceed with the 34th Regiment to the Ilinois — But being informed of the Vigorous opposition, he was like to meet with, from the Natives,

[1] Croghan is somewhat mixed in his dates. General Amherst may have given the command to Loftus before he left America, but the latter did not make the attempt until 1764, almost a year after the Indian war broke out.

he and M^r^ Stuart (the latter, is Superintendant of Indian affairs, for the Southern department) dispatch'd M^r^ Ross, an English Officer, and M^r^ Hugh Crawford, an Interpretter to Fort Chartres, in order to negociate with them, and obtain their consent, to our Troops possessing that Fort. But these Gentlemen, had scarcely got there, before they were, at the Hazard of their lives, obliged to fly.

Upon their return, Major Farmer and M^r^ Stewart (with the Gen^ls^ approbation) sent a Second Deputation, which consisted of M^r^ Sinnot (the Latters Deputy) and one Mons^r^ La Gutrie, formerly an Officer in the French Service, and furnished them with Goods, to a very great amount, in order to facilitate their negociations. But notwithstanding Pondiac and the other Chiefs, thought proper to accept of their presents — yet they were deaf to every requisition, respecting the Cession of the Country, and obliged these Gentlemen, hastily to return to Mobile.

Wherefore, the 34^th^ Regiment has not yet been able to get to Fort Chartres.— My Journal will inform you Sir, what methods I pursued, in order to obtain the end of my embassy, and therefore, you will excuse my being here, more particular.

But no doubt, you must have heard of the great impediment thrown in my way, by the Lawless Inhabitants of Cumberland County, who bid difiance to all order and Government, by attacking and destroying a large quantity of Goods (part of which, I had bought for the Crowns Use and part belonged to Gent^n^ in Philadelphia) that were, by my orders, going forward to Fort pitt whereby I was reduced to the most unhappy Situation — not having a proper Assortm^t^ for *my presents*, nor scarcely any to open a trade with the Several Tribes, who came there, in expectation of it, from a promise made by Col^o^ Boquet.

It is scarcely credible, but so it was, as I am informed, that there was a set of Men in the Province, who had the hardiness, even to espouse those Highwaymen's Actions, nay threatned my life, if I returned into Cumberland County, and all this, only, because I judged it for the good of the Service, *with Gen^l^ Bouquets express approbation*, (as I have satisfactorily proved to his excellency General Gage) to desire some Gentlemen of this City, to send a Cargo of Merchandize to Fort pitt, there to be in readiness, to Suply the Natives, so soon as the trade was opened.

This faction I am also told, have taken many unwarrantable libertys with my reputation, wherefore, I wrote the letter to Sir W^m^ Johnson, which is annexed to my Journal. Thus much, I tho^t^ necessary Sir, to mention to you, as explanatory to this part, of that Letter.

In my public and private conferences with the Shawanese, Delawares and Weyondotts, and the Several other tribes, who had robbed and murderd our Traders, I very frequently represented to them, their unparalleled breach of Public faith, & that it, almost, compeled us to think them, unworthy of the least degree, of future confidence.

They as often expressed their sinsibility & Sorrow for it, and say'd, they were *not only very willing but anxious, to make a reparation* to the representatives of the unhappy Sufferers — Yet constantly urged, that they had no ways of doing it, except by a *Surrender of a part of their Country*, which they would *most chearfully* do, and especially of that part, which lies on this side of the River Ohio (on the back part of Virginia) as it was now, of no use to them, for Hunting Ground.[1]

In my return to New York, I called at Sir William Johnson's, where I was informed by him,— that when he settled the preliminaries of peace last Spring, with the Deputys, of the above Tribes,— he had also described to them, their faithless conduct towards the poor traders, and insisted, as one of the preliminary conditions of a pacification, that they should make them a restitution — to which, they as fully and chearfully consented, as they had before, done to me.— But alledged, at the same time, that they had no other manner of doing it, except by requesting the representatives of the Murdered Traders, to accept from them, *a part of their Country*, on this side of the River Ohio. In compassion and in Justice, to the Creditors of the Traders, I think it my duty to give y^u^ this informa^n^ — You will be best able

[1] Franklin underlined the passages in italics. Croghan refers here to the losses the merchants received at the outbreak of the Indian war. These merchants, mostly of Philadelphia, of whom Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan were most prominent, formed an association to promote their interests. They drew up a petition to the British ministry for compensation. This petition was carried to London by Croghan in 1764. They were able to bring sufficient influence to bear upon the Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix to force them to make a large grant of land in what is now West Virginia. This is the well-known Indiana grant, which was important in every later negotiation concerning the West. Benjamin Franklin was chosen as the agent of the company in London and pushed their interest whenever he could. Later the company besieged Congress with their petitions. Its later history may be followed in the *American State Papers*, consult index.

Sir, to determine, whether his Majesty's Minister's, will judge it proper, to confirm to them, this Cession, of the Indians.

In point of policy, I wo[d] most earnestly recommend, that it might be done, as it will be establishing, one of the very best Securities, for our future trade and of course, fixing a precedent, that will be of inexpressible importance to the Nation.— Indeed! from my knowledge of Indian Affairs, I am thoroughly convinced (as I can assure you, Sir William Johnson is) that no event could have happened, that will more effectually consolidate and Strengthen our Alliance, than the Completion of this — As they will ever hereafter, dread a declaration of War against us, from a Conviction, that no peace will be made with them, untill they Surrender, a part of their Country, as a consideration for their perfidy.

From the best observations, I was able to make in my progress thro' the Indian Country, I am fully of opinion, that they have the sincerest disposition to establish a permanent peace, with us. The effect of which, if properly improved, by us, will be a most extensive and profitable Fur trade, far exceeding, what I had any Idea of, before my excursion into the Ilinois Country.

It therefore, highly behoves the British Nation, immediately to put the Indian department, upon such a footing, as that the utmost attention may be paid to it, otherwise as the French are forming an establishment, on the West Side of the Missisipi, about Sixty Miles from Fort Chartres; they will again engross all the Traffic, with the numerous Nations to the Westward of us, and thereby deprive us, of *the present use*[1] of our Canada Conquest.

The principle objection, to the proper Regulation of the Indian department, is, I am told, the *Expence*.[2]— You will therefore, I am convinced Sir, pardon me, for a moment, whilst I mention to you — that a Duty of Five ℔ Cent, upon the trade, would raise more, than wou'd defray the whole disbursments, incurr'd by maintaining peace with the Natives, and regulating their commerce — This Tax Indeed! — would be none to the Merchants, for they would necessarily, add it to the price of their Goods, and therefore, of consequence, the Indians themselves, wou'd pay the whole expence, of our negociations

[1] Italics are Croghan's.

[2] This refers to the plan for the organization of the Indian department, printed *ante*, 1:273.

with them, and also of our superintending and regulating their Trade —of this, the Merch^{ts} here, are so fully sensible, that they have not, I assure you, the least Objection to it, as they thereby flatter themselves, a safe and advantageous commerce, will be secured to them.[1]

Upon referrence to my Journal, you will find, that a party of Keekapoo Indians, attacked me on the 8th of June, in which Affair, I was so unfortunate as to loose about £1500, Currency, great part of which, was is [*sic*] Specie, that I was under an unavoidable necessity, of taking with me, in order to carry on my negociations, with the Indians, at the French Villages.

I have therefore furnished the General, with my Account, and presented him with a Memorial, respecting the same, which he has promised to send to the Lords of the Treasury (as is always done, in similar Cases when any Losses are suffered by any Officers, in the Service) with his opinion, that I ought to be reimbursed. I therefore Sir, take the Liberty to request the favour of you, to afford me your good Offices in this matter, as I flatter myself, you will be of Opinion, that it is not reasonable, I ought to Suffer in my private fortune, whilst I was risqing [*sic*] my Life, for His Majestys Service.

I am with respect Sir Your very obed^{t} Hum[ble] Serv^{t}

GEO: CROGHAN

P. S. As I am doubtful whether Sir W^{m} Johnson sent a Copy of my Negociations to the Lords of Trade by the last packet. I wo^{d} just drop this hint that you may advert to it.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN Esquire.

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Col. Croghan Dec. 12. 1765 with his Journal. Indian Retribution in Lands His own Losses.[2]

[1] It is to be noticed that this was written at the time when the discussion about the stamp act was at its height.

[2] In Franklin's handwriting.

CHAPTER II

OCCUPATION OF FORT DE CHARTRES
JULY 24, 1765—NOVEMBER 16, 1765

THE TROOPS MUSTER AT FORT PITT — CAPTAIN STIRLING IS CHOSEN — GAGE AND JOHNSON BOTH WRITE — THE CESSION OF FORT DE CHARTRES — INVENTORY OF GOODS AT THE FORT — EDDINGSTONE DESCRIBES THE COUNTRY — STIRLING SENDS AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT — THE ILLINOIS PEOPLE PETITION GAGE FOR TIME — CONDITIONS TOO DISTURBED FOR THE TRANSACTION OF BUSINESS.

MACDONALD TO JOHNSON, July 24, 1765
[Johnson MSS., 11:50 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK, 24th July 1765.

SIR

I have the pleasure of forwarding you herewith, an Historical account of Colonel Bouquets Expedition the Year 1764,[1] &ca which I received from Ensign Hutchen's at Philadelphia the 20th Current: The same day, I was told by Mr Wharton, That Letters Arrived there, from Fort Pitt, with the Agreeable News of Captn Sterling two Subalterns and one hundred Mens having Embarked at that Place, for the Ilinois, In consequence of Advice received from Mr Croghan, who I am happy to Understand has been so Successful, As to accommodate matters with all the Indian Nations, so as to permitt that Detachmont to pass thro' their Country, a very convincing proof of his Interest and Influence with these People, Which I think, ought most justly to be duly considered, and entitles him to be well rewarded for so Singular a service; which in my opinion, could not be Effected by half the Troops on the Continent. It is said that Lieut Fraser is taken Prisoner, If so, it is to be hoped, Mr Croghan will prevail with the Indians to Releave him immediately.[2]

. . . . . .

Sir Your Most Obedient And Faithful Servant

JAMES MACDONALD

[1] The full title is: *An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the Year MDCCLXIV under the Command of Henry Bouquet* (Philadelphia, 1765). The authorship is now ascribed to William Smith.

[2] Two paragraphs, not relating to the West or to Indian affairs, and the endorsement are omitted. The original of this was burned in the Albany fire. The copy from which this transcript was made belongs to the Illinois State Historical Library.

SHUCKBURGH TO JOHNSON, July 25, 1765[1]

[Johnson MSS., 11:56]

DETROIT, July 25, 1765.

By this express to Niagara & to be forwarded, I am to congratulate you on the news of Col. Croghan's being alive and well, tho' sharply attacked by the Moscoutins & Kickapous to the number of 100(?) in his way to Illinois, Dr. Antoine fortunately being the only person unhurt, Mr. Smallman, his Nephew, mentions in a Letter to Lt. McDougal of this place that Col. Croghan is wounded in the head with a tomahawk of which he is recovered. . . . Crawford's Party, who went forward of Col. Croghan were all cut off: I suppose they were Traders.[2]

JOHNSON TO GAGE, August 9, 1765[3]

[Johnson MSS., 25:29 — Draft]

M[r] Bostwick,[4] and a Frenchman arr[*MS. burned*] few days ago Express from Michilimackinac, & bro[*MS. burned*] Letter from Capt Howard enclosing a Mem[l] they [*MS. burned*] delivered him, together with another to me, Signed by [*MS. burned*] Number of them, the Majority of whom were French, That "They had at a Great Expence brought there a [*MS. burned*] Quantity of Goods, & to their great disappointment & Surp[*MS. burned*] they Could not obtain permission to winter amongst th [*MS. burned*] which would inevitably involve Distress on themselves [*MS. burned*] they belonged to"[5] Concluding with Requesting I sh [*MS. burned*] might perish in the [*MS. burned*] supply their wants. [*MS. burned*] them by observing upon the Intentions [*MS. burned*] at home, & the Orders of the American Gov[rs] which [*MS. burned*] tted such a Trade, that I could

[1] This extract, the original of which was completely destroyed by the fire at Albany, was made by Mr. Carter.

[2] Probably Lieutenant Fraser's party.

[3] This is one of the many manuscripts that were partially burned in the Albany fire. The first part of it is completely destroyed. We print all that is in any way legible.

[4] A Mr. Bostwick, probably the same, was greatly interested in the development of the mines in Lake Superior. A company was formed and the royal consent to the undertaking obtained.

[5] An interpretation of the meaning of this will be found in a following letter by Gage (*post*, 69). The merchants were prohibited under the regulations for carrying on trade, to sell their goods elsewhere than at the posts. See *ante*, 1:401.

not take upon me to [*MS. burned*] them any such indulgence but would lay the same [*MS. burned*]e you, I likewise Wrote fully on the Subject to Cap[t] Howard, observing that nothing but the absolute necessity of affairs should induce him to suffer any person to leave the post for that purpose, promising that he should speedily hear from you thereon, so that I must request the fav[r] of your Instructions or Advice on this head.

A Letter from an officer at NYork informs me that M[r] Wharton told him that M[r] Croghan was arrived at the Illinois, & that in consequence of a Letter from him to Lt-Coll Reid[1] the Latter had sent Capt Sterling, 2 Sub[s] & 100 Men to take possession of that place, I wish this intelligence may be true, but I should imagine if so you must have heard of it before any body else.

His Excellcy Gen[l] Gage

[*Endorsed:*] August 9 [*MS. burned*] Letter to Genr[l] Gage

Gordon[2] to Johnson, August 10, 1765[3]

[Johnson MSS., 11:73—A.L.S.]

Schenectady, Aug. 10, 1765.

. . . . . .

By Crawford[4] lately returned from Pensacola to New York we had the accounts of Lieut. Fraser being taken out of the Commandants House at Fort Chartres by the Indians and delivered to Pondiac. His party was sent down the Mississippi and arrived at the camp of

[1] Probably not the later commandant at the Illinois.

[2] Harry Gordon of Knockespeck, Clatt, Aberdeenshire, in Scotland, entered the army in 1744; became captain in the Royal Engineers in 1758, major in 1772, lieutenant colonel in 1777, and colonel in 1782. He served for several years in America and married Hannah Meredith of Philadelphia. He died in Eastbourne, August 23, 1787. Gordon, like his relative, Lord Adam Gordon, was interested in land speculation. In 1765 he applied for a grant of ten thousand acres in New York. He is well known in the annals of the West. In the spring of 1766 he with Ensign Hutchins of the army, accompanied the representatives of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, a firm of Philadelphia merchants, to the Illinois country. Gordon continued his journey from Kaskaskia down the Mississippi to New Orleans. See *post*, 290 for journal kept by Gordon on this expedition. See also Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2: 6, 39, 40, 51, 55, 61.

[3] The original of this extract, made by Mr. Carter, was completely burned at Albany.

[4] Hugh Crawford was the merchant who accompanied Lieutenant Ross to the Illinois. For his declaration see *ante*, 1:483.

the 34th Regiment at Ibervile about 20 Leagues above New Orleans. Crawford likewise met between 4 & 500 traders &c with a large convay of goods a great way up the Mississippi on their way to the Illinois, whither he was sent with one Lieut. Ross by Major Farmer— and where he remained (at Fort Chartres) from the end of Feb. to the 8th of April, in safety, notwithstanding the endeavours of the French to stir up the Indians to destroy Him — The French neither spare expense nor Trouble to bar that entry against us, which makes me apprehensive of some accident to poor Croghan. Had they not passed up such a Quantity of Goods I looked upon Mr. Croghans success as very probable. But when they spare no Expense and we starve the Cause, as well as make other mistakes, I mean in the fighting way, it is not certain their influence will prevail.

. . . . . .

GAGE TO HALIFAX, August 10, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 681 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK August 10th 1765.

MY LORD

I am to acknowledge the honor of your Lordship's Letter of the 8th of June, together with a Copy of a Memorial to your Lordship, from John Haynes Ship-builder, desiring Payment for a Vessel built by him at Oswego, in the year 1756, with Articles of Agreement between said Haynes and General Shirley's Secretary, relative to the same; and the General's Instructions to him thereupon. This Matter shall be enquired into as your Lordship has been pleased to direct, and such satisfaction made to the Memorialist, as shall appear to be justly due to him.

Captain Loring, His Majesty's Commissary for Superintending the building of Vessels upon the Lakes, made Application in the Spring for Leave to go to England, but as his Department was to be put upon a Settled Footing on each of the Lakes respectively; many Regulations to be made therein, and some new Craft to be built; his personal Attendance to such Material Services, could not be dispensed with. His Request for Leave of Absence shall be complied with, as soon as the Service he is now employed in is over, for as long a Time as there shall be Occasion for the Settlement of his private

Affairs, and that his Department shall receive no Prejudice by his Absence. With respect to any Materials that may be wanted for the Craft upon the Lakes, which must be procured in England, the Captain's personal Attendance in England on that Account, can not be very Necessary.

I have the honor to transmit your Lordship a Copy of a Memorial presented to me by one Stephen Landry, in behalf of himself and sundry French Neutrals, late of the Province of Nova-Scotia, who since their Transportation from that Country, have resided in the Provinces of Pensylvania and Maryland. The Memorialist pretends, that he could engage for near 500 Familys, who would settle on any spot, which suited their Constitutions. Upon some Places being pointed out to him, he made objections to the heat of the Climate, or the Vicinity of Indians, and shewed that their Inclination was to return to Nova-Scotia, or to settle in the Province of Quebec.

Our Affairs seem now very well settled with the several Nations and Tribes of Indians, everywhere, except about the Detroit and Missilimakinak. The French Traders have yet a free and open Communication from the Ilinois, with all the Nations, inhabiting the Country South-West of the Lakes; and they have spared neither Cost or Pains to prevent their treating with us, and to excite them to War. Belts importing the most notorious Falsehoods, are continualy carried amongst them, they are plentifully supplied with Ammunition, and everything they stand in need of. The Indians in general find Belief, as fast as the French can invent storys, but the Pouteatamies of S^{t} Joseph, and a Tribe of Chippewas of Saguinam, appear the most forward and ready to commit Hostilities. The Officer Commanding at Missilimakinak, has received Intimation of a Design to surprize the Fort; and thinks the Information so well grounded, as to deserve his Care and Attention to frustrate any Design of that Nature. By the latest Accounts we learn, that there was a very considerable Number of Indians at that Post, either on Account of Trade, or under Pretence of Trade; but the Officer is upon his Guard, And I trust he will make them repent, any Attempts they shall make upon his Garrison. Sir William Johnson has informed me, that some of the Canadian Traders are also suspected of spreading idle Reports amongst the Savages; I imagine with a lucrative View of hurting the British Traders, who now share with them the Profits of the Furr Trade in the upper Coun-

try. It is no easy Matter to obtain Proofs sufficient to convict them, tho' all Endeavors shall be used, towards it.

A Trader named Crawford, who went with Lieutenant Ross of the 34th Regiment from Mobile to the Ilinois, is lately arrived here; and has given the Account, which I have the honor to inclose, of their Journey, and what passed during their stay at Fort-Chartres.[1] Lieutenant Fraser who left Fort-Pitt on the 22d of March, has not had it in his Power to send any Account of himself, but from Crawford's Declaration, who saw his Party at New Orleans, we find that he met with a worse Reception than Lieut Ross, but that Pondiac had taken him under his Protection, and kept him at the Ilinois till Mr Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy, who was to follow him, should arrive there. The French Commander at Fort-Chartres, in a Letter to the Governor of New-Orleans dated the 20th of May,[2] says, that Pondiac was pacifick, and had taken Lieutenant Fraser with him to Detroit; tho' it's most probable, that he will carry him to meet Mr Croghan at the Ouabache. Mr Croghan left Fort-Pitt on the 15th of May, accompanied by several of the principal Shawnese. He was at the Sciota River on the 26th of that Month, and I have the honor to transmit Your Lordship an extract of his Letter[3] to me from thence. From that Time No Account has been received of him. A great deal is expected from his Influence with the Western Indians, and that he will be able, with the Assisstance of the Shawnese, to bring them all into our Measures: And the Resolutions lately adopted in our Favor by the Six Nations & other Indian Clans, with whom the Peace has been settled and fixed, will probably pacify those Western Tribes, who still shew so much Disaffection towards the English. Messengers have been dispatched in the Name of the whole to all the Western Nations, to demand the immediate Delivery of all the War-Belt's in their Possession, to exhort them strongly to Peace, and to tell them, if after this Warning given them, any of them shall notwithstanding, continue their hostile Dispositions, and occasion further Disturbances, they must not be surprised, if they in a Body, should join against them.

The Circumstance in Crawford's Declarations, relative to the Fort the French are building at the Mouth of the Missouri, does not look

[1] For this account see *ante*, 1:483.

[2] We have not found this letter.

[3] Printed *ante*, 22.

like ceding the Country to the Spaniards; and if it is not ceded, the erecting that Fort will be the best thing the French can do, to be a Check upon us, and extend their own Trade. They mean, no doubt, in this Case, to draw away as many Inhabitants & Indians as they can from the Ilinois, to form a new Settlement; and they must Naturaly for a long Time, retain an Influence with such French Inhabitants, that shall remain with the English; and the Vicinity of our Posts, will facilitate their Intrigues. The Position they have taken is a good one; It will protect their own Side of the Mississippi, and prevent our Trade going up the Missouri: The Ilinois River is also at present open to them on our Side of the Mississippi, and we shall be obliged when we get to the Ilinois, to have a Post at the Mouth of that River, or they will push their Merchandize in Spite of us into the Lakes, and trade under our Forts: which will not be difficult for them to do, as long as they can retain the Influence they now have, with the several Nations round the Lakes.

The 34th Regiment was encamped near New-Orleans on the 11th of June, and it was thought would not move from thence, till about the 20th of that Month. The Regiment had suffered a good deal by Desertion, and the Officers thought proper to present a Memorial thereupon to Monsieur Aubry, who returned them an Answer, not at all Satisfactory to their Complaint. I have the honor to send herewith a Copy of the Officers Memorial, and of the Governors Answer.[1]

Lieutenant Governor Colden haveing strongly represented to me, the Necessity of a Military Force to garrison Fort-George in this City, that he might be enabled to quell Tumults amongst the Populace, or Insurrections of the Negroes, I ordered a Company of the 2d Battalion of the Royal American Regiment to march here from Crown-Point. The Officers of His Majesty's Customs have likewise made Application for a Military Force, to assist them in the Execution of their Duty.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, and most humble Servant, THOS GAGE

RIGHT HONBLE EARL OF HALIFAX, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretary's of State.

[1] Printed *ante*, 1:498, 512.

[*Endorsed:*] New-York 10th Augt 1765. Major Genl Gage. R 6th Septr (Extract sent to the Board of Trade the 28th Septr 1765.) Informing of the State of Indian Affairs at Detroit & Missilimakinak — The French building a Fort at the Missowri — thinks it would be proper we should have a Fort at the Mouth of the Illinois to prevent the French trading up to the Lakes. with 4 Inclosures Bundle E No 1

GAGE TO JOHNSON, August 12, 1765
[H.C.L., Gage's Letter Book]

NEW YORK, August 12th, 1765

DEAR SIR,

I am favored with your's of the 25th ulmo inclosing Intelligence from Missilimakinak, and the Articles subscribed to by the Shawnese. It is very plain that the French are Intriguing; but we must have Patience, and see how the Messages from the six nations &c will operate amongst the Western Indians. The Miamies have delivered their Prisoners and the Ottawas some Deserters, this looks like comeing to good Terms and I hope that Lt Colo Campbell will improve these good Beginnings. Lieut. Fraser's Belts of Peace were accepted by Pondiac, Ilinois, Pouteatamies & Chippewas he ran a great Risk, from different storys that were propagated, and Mr Croghan not arriving, Pondiac at first was going to kill him and afterwards saved his Life & protected him. Messengers were sent to the ouabache to look for Mr Croghan not hearing of him had like to prove of bad Consequence to Lt Fraser. These Circumstances are related by Mr Fraser to Major Farmar in Letters to the 17th of May[1] on what acct He left the Ilinois I don't know, but am told by Monsr. Aubry in a Letter received this Morning that Lt Fraser arrived at Neworleans on the 19th of June, he supposes that not hearing of Mr Croghan, he Lt Fraser did not choose to trust himself any longer to Pondiac's Mercy least he should live in Expectations, and think he had only told him Lyes about Mr Croghan's comeing. It is unlucky that Mr. Fraser's Precipitancy carried him away before Mr Croghan; or that the other was so long detained before he could follow him for had Mr Croghan been there in Time, all would have gone on smoothly and well; and I don't doubt that he will manage

[1] See *ante*, 1:491–497, 515, 519.

everything very well on his Arrival. The greatest Difficulties he will meet with, will be the French Convoy. L^t^ Fraser says some Boats were arrived, and the Indians so constantly drank, that he was in great Danger. It is Time to hear of M^r^ Croghan the last Letters from F: Pitt of the 24^th^ July, no News but Indian Intelligence about Fraser, all false and there was one acc^t^ of Croghan's Arrival at the Ilinois, and had settled everything and made Peace; and that he would be at Fort Pitt on the 9^th^ of August; but it is not authentick.

You received I hope & forwarded my Letter to Niagara, wherein I desire Relief might be given to the Senacas in Provisions.

I am with great Regard Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

THO^S^ GAGE

T. WHARTON[1] TO B. FRANKLIN, August 14, 1765

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 1: 156 — A.L.S.]

PHILAD^A^ August 14^th^ 1765

MY DEAR FRIEND BEN^J^ FRANKLIN

I had the pleasure of writing thee a few Lines on the 16 July ℔ Cap^t^ Clapp, since which, We have had the satisfaction of finding, by thy Letters of the 8^th^ June that it would not be long, before the Petition would be deliverd, and We sincerely hope its Prayer will be Speedily Answered.

since my last We have further Occasion to dread the Mischevious Consequences which must (if not timely Prevented) flow from the Conduct of those wretched frontier Inhabitants; "Our Governor has received a Letter from Thomas Magee informing Him, that some of those People had kill'd an Indian Lad, & that the Delawares had declared, unless they receivd Satisfaction for the Murther & a stop was put to those practices, as well as the abuses they suffer,

[1] Thomas Wharton was a brother of Samuel and even better known, but he does not play so important a part in the development of the West. He was born in Philadelphia, January 15, 1730, and acquired great wealth as a merchant. He was a partner of Galloway and Goddard in publishing the *Chronicle*. He at first, like many other Quakers, sympathised with the colonists in their opposition to the mother country, but he withdrew his support when an appeal was made to force. In 1776 he was exiled to Virginia and lost his estate under the confiscation act. He died near Philadelphia in the winter of 1782.

by some of those People, Carrying out of bad Liquours & other Goods, they should be under the absolute necessity, of entring into another War," Nor can I learn that any steps are taking to sett this Matter right.

Three days past, advice was receiv'd from George Croghan, that in Pursuing his Passage down the Ohio, He was sett upon, by a party of Indians belonging to Pondiac, in which engagement He lost Three of the Shawanese Chiefs, that Himself & Nephew were slightly wounded, that as soon as Pondiac's People knew who they were, they expressd great Concern at what had hapned, & promis'd to give Him no further Obstruction in his Passage; He was then within two or three days March of the Illinois and doubted not of succeeding in the Engagement He had undertaken.

I have understood that for some *Sundays* past there has been a Letter read, by the Parsons of the several Dutch Churches in this City which its said was wrote them by the Queens Chaplain, importing, that thou had given out amongst the Great, that thou had lost thy Election, by those People introducing a vast Number of the Dutch to Vote, who were not entituled thereto, either by reason of their Poverty, or not being Naturaliz'd, and that thy Enmity to them, was so great, that thou had obtaind the Additional duties, being laid on the Dutch Papers &c I do not think the charge can give thee any Concern; yet judged it Prudent to Advise thee thereof.

On the 11th Inst Died William Plumsted after a short Illness of four or five days, His disorder was singular, being at first Attack'd by 2 or 3 Biles on the back of his Neck, which Swelling the Parts stopp'd the Circulation of the Blood to the Brains &c threw Him into a Dilirium, attended with a Fever; since whose decease many Conjectures have arrose, who will succeed in the Office of Probate for Wills; its generally Asserted that B. Chew or L Lardner, will be Appointed; but I should think if a Change takes place, some Persons, who have been less tied to Pr—ry Measures & more for a Royal Government will better deserve it, of the Ministry, and its of so Valuable a Nature, that I know of none of thy Friends, but would be Pleasd with it.

John Dickinson the last week published an Advertisement, informing the Electors of this Country, with his determination of declining the Service.

Thy Family are well my father desires his best respects may be presented thee, & please to Accept the same from

thy Ass^{d} & real fr^{d}

THO WHARTON

JOHNSON TO LEAKE, August 16, 1765

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:820]

JOHNSON-HALL Augst 16th 1765.

SIR

As I have Just heard from M^{r} Croghan I would not omit giving you the particulars of his Information.

On the 8th of June last he (with his party of ab^{t} 14) were attacked on the *Ohio* near the *Wabache* by 80 *Kickapous* & Mascoutens who Killed Two White men, and Three shawanese Chiefs besides Wounding M^{r} Croghan, and all the rest they alledged they did this at the desire of their Fathers (the French) and took him & the survivors prisoners to *Ouiatonon* where meeting with sev^{l} Indians with whom he was acquainted they upbraided the rest for what they had done, which induced them to take care of his Wounds, & shortly after to release him, begging he would use his interest to prevent the *Shawanese*, *Delawares* and *Six Nations* from attacking them in revenge for their behavior; In short this affair may prove of good consequence & M^{r} Croghan was to set forward to the *Illinois*, the 14th Ult^{o} where he had reason to Expect he should settle all matters.

M^{r} Byrne informed me that the Commissaries were to have a Tract of Land each, & has since wrote to me requesting I would remind you of it, & if possible point out some place; for my part I know none better at present than that part of *N. Hampshire* lately made a part of this Province, the method directed at present for obtaining Indian Lands is both difficult & Expensive, neither was it intended that the free Grants of the Crown should be made in any Quarter within Claim of the Indians. I hope you have had agreable acc^{ts} from home I had not a line by the last Packquet w^{ch} I am surprised at.

I sincerely wish you all happiness, and am y^{r} Hearty Freind & Humble Serv^{t}

W^{M} JOHNSON.

ROB^{T} LEAKE Esq

GAGE TO JOHNSON, August 18, 1765
[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK, August 18th, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I was yesterday favored with your's of the 9th Inst;[1] and realy don't know what answer to give to the affair you mention concerning the Petition of the Traders at Missilimakinak.[2] The Governors have in general given Certifi[cates] to the Traders on certain Conditions; and I should judge that the Governor of Quebec had done the same thing, by Capt Howard's refusing to let them winter with the Indians. I understand that part of the new Regulations so much talked of, and so long expected, was to prevent the Traders, trading anywhere but at the Posts. It's true that the French always did winter with the Indians, and by that means obtained so much Influence over them; and it seems to me pretty plain, that they will by continuing the same Methods, worm the English Traders entirely out of the Trade; for there is nothing so vile and bad which they will not attempt, to keep the Trade in their own Hands. The main affair seems to me is to know how far it is necessary, to pursue those Methods, and why more Necessary at Missilimakinak than at the other Posts? upon the whole I don't see that I can well intermeddle in it at present; but if upon due Information, and a thorough Examination of that Trade you shall be satisfied and convinced that such Measures are proper we must represent it accordingly.[3] In the mean Time, I should be glad you would direct Capt Howard to give our Reasons to the Indians, why this new Method is observed, and to make it as strong as possible in appearance for their Interest, that no other should be observed — you may be assured that the Canadian Traders as well as some of our own, will set the Indians upon speaking to Capt Howard on this Subject; As the French pursued other Methods than what our Regulations allow, not confining their Trade to the Posts, but going amongst the Nations every where, cajoling the Indians and trying who should have most Interest with them, the Canadians will oppose the new Regulations as much as they can in every other Place as well as Missilimakinak. and if they succeed, there will be an

[1] Printed, *ante*, 66.

[2] See preceding letter.

[3] Later, in 1766, permission was granted the Michillimackinac traders to go to the winter quarters of the Indians.

end and a total one of our Regulations; and the Posts and Forts will be of no more Consequence. It would not be worth the Expence to fortify or appoint Commissarys for Trade, indeed the last would be entirely useless. I give you my sentiments on these Matters, but when you shall have received all the Information in it which you shall require; you will then be able to form a better Judgement of the whole; and we must act accordingly, and if it is found out that the Trade at the Posts only will not answer so well, as to let the Traders loose; and at Liberty to go where they please, that method must be adopted, and the present one abolished. But I do apprehend that the French Traders will then entirely get the better of all ours and still retain their Influence amongst the Nations, and not impossible but they may get some of them killed, and draw us into Quarrells. There is nothing so scandalous as they would not do for a temporary Advantage.

The inclosed Letter from M^r^ Croghan to Captain Murray[1] at Fort-Pitt, with the speeches of the Indians of the ouabache will acquaint you of the Accident that happened at the Mouth of the ouabache. Mr Croghan has wrote likewise to M^c^Kee,[2] a copy of which I am told M^c^Kee has sent you; but there is little Difference between the two Letters. His Dispatches for you and me were sent to Detroit, but I apprehend they have been stopped; as I have received a Letter from Lieut Colonel Campbel in which he relates the Information he had received from an ottawa and a Huron concerning Mr. Croghan; but says nothing of the Letter. They may appear perhaps hereafter, Mr. Croghan's Messenger might not be Arrived.[3] In the Report made of this Affair at Fort-Pitt by a Shawoe, sent by that Nation, after the arrival of the Shawnese who made their Escape, a Circumstance is mentioned by them, which M^r^ Croghan does not take notice of; viz. that Croghan's servant was taken Prisoner two nights before he was attacked haveing been sent to look for Wood. That they all imagining he had only lost himself in the Woods, waited for him all the next Day; and the Morning following, the Attack happened. I mention this to shew, if it is true, The Kikapous must have known what his Party consisted of and their Excuses are frivolous. No Doubt these Rascals were set upon this action by the

[1] Printed, *ante*, 58.

[2] Not found.

[3] As was said *ante*, 41, n. 2, these letters have not been found.

French, and the Temptation of Plunder. It was publickly known ever since Lieu[t] Fraser got to the Ilinois, that Mr Croghan was to follow him and these villains must have way-laid him. The Shawnese have sent two Chiefs and a Number of their Warriors to the Ilinois, as soon as they got advice of what had happened. The Nation was very angry, but Lieut. Col[o] Reid had desired them to do nothing till he hears from me. It seems to me proper to keep them up a little in their Animosity, at what has happened; but to restrain them from Hostilities till M[r] Croghan returns with those of their Nation from the Ilinois. We shall then be better able to Judge what will be best to do, whether to encourage them to war, or to interfere, and restore Peace amongst them. We must however, I think, take Advantage of this Rupture of the Confederacy; and endeavor to perswade them that these Rascals were set on by the French Traders, in order to embroil the Nations who had made Peace with us. Of these Matters I hope to have your Opinion as soon as convenient.

I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant, THO[s] GAGE.

STUART TO POWNALL, August 24, 1765

[Lansdowne MSS., 60 — C.]

A Letter from J. Stuart to J. Pownal concerning his transactions with the Indians

CHARLES TOWN 24th Aug[t] 1765

SIR,

. . . . . .

Major Farmar set out from New Orleans the 9th June, on his Expedition to take Possession of Illinois, & I have received Advice that Mo[r] Lagautrais with M[r] Sinnot, my Deputy, were met 30 Leagues below Fort de Chartres the 13th of May last; but I have had no Accounts from either of said Gentlemen since they left Point Coupé.

Lieut. Lord of 34th Reg[t] & M[r] John M[c]Intosh set out about the 1st June; the first to head 100 Chactaws, the latter to head 100 Chickasaws, to escort Major Farmar. I inclose Copies of their respective Instructions.

. . . . . .

I have the Honor to be &c[a] JOHN STUART

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from John Stuart Esq[r] to John Pownal Esq[r] dated Charles Town August 24[th] 1765 N° 18

MacDonald to Johnson, August 27, 1765[1]

[Johnson MSS., 11:93]

New York, Aug. 27, 1765.

Since my last I understand that Mr. Wharton was certainly misinformed with regard to the Troops said to have gone from Fort Pitt to the Ilinois. It gave me real Concern to hear of my worthy friend Mr. Croghan's being wounded. But I am Happy to Learn That he & Mr. Fraser are safe and out of danger. A short time will I know thoroughly convince every one of the success of the formers Journey and his interest with the Indians; the good effects of which has already appeared.

Hutchins[2] to Johnson, August 31, 1765[3]

[Johnson MSS., 11:97]

New York, Aug. 31, 1765.

. . . . . .

The news you were pleased to favour me with in regard to Mr. Croghan had reached this city before I was honoured with your Letter, but notwithstanding I have the greater pleasure in the Confirmation of his Safety, as his Success I heartily wish, and sincerely hope that his Wound, and every difficulty that must unavoidably

[1] The original from which Mr. Carter made this extract was burned at Albany.

[2] Thomas Hutchins was born in Monmouth County, New Jersey, in 1730. Being left an orphan while still in his teens, he chose the military profession as his life work and joined the colonial forces engaged in the French and Indian War. He was with General Forbes's army when Fort Duquesne was captured. From that time on most of his service was in the West. In 1762 he became ensign (later lieutenant) in the regular British army and was with Colonel Bouquet in his campaign against the Indians. Hutchins had early shown an interest in engineering and his maps of the West mark a very great advance in the general knowledge of that region. In 1766 he was sent with Captain Gordon to the West to examine the fortifications and later he was stationed at Fort de Chartres. (For information concerning his activities at this period, see indexes to later volumes.) At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he sided with the colonies and was appointed, 1781, geographer to the United States. After the war he was employed in surveying the land north of the Ohio River. He died April 28, 1789. For a good account of his life, see the introduction to Hutchins, *Topographical Description* (Hicks ed.).

[3] The original from which this extract was made by Mr. Carter was destroyed by fire at Albany.

attend so great an undertaking may add to the Credit of so meritorious an Act (as well as reflect the greatest Honour upon himself) as the accomadation of a peace with the Western Indians who I esteem more difficult to conquer with a armed Force than the taking of a dozen such places as the Havana with its Moro Castles.

. . . . . .

I make no doubt of your hearing that 100 men of the 42 Regiment hold themselves in readiness at Fort Pitt to embark for Fort Chartres, as they have been in orders for some time. I fancy their delay is owing to their not receiving so favorable accounts from Mr. Croghan as they could wish.

. . . . . .

GAGE TO JOHNSON, September 8, 1765

[Johnson MSS., 25:39 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK Sep^{t} 8th 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I am favored with your Letters of the 20th of July and 28th of August.[1] I don't know where the first has lain, I received a Letter of the 5th July from Niagara by the same opportunity with the seal tore off. Those Letters have not had fair Play. You are of the same opinion as myself concerning the Traders wintering with the Indians; What you mention of the English Traders employing the French as their Factors, I know to be the Case. Many of them would have been content to have let the Canadians Trade at the Time of the Insurrection of the Indians, and which the French endeavored at in the most strenuous manner, by setting the Ottawas of Missilimakinak to demand that Priviledge of me at Montreal for the French, when the Trade was stopped for the English. Cap^{t} Claus can give you a particular account of that affair. I realy think with you if the Indians were properly talked to on that subject, that they would perceive how they are imposed upon in their winterings, and would be pleased with the scheme of trading only at the Posts. It is a Novelty to them at present, and on that Acc^{t} disagreeable, but they would soon find their advantage in it.

You will receive inclosed the Copy of a Letter from M^{r} Croghan

[1] Not found.

to Mr McKee[1] at Fort-Pitt, in which he acquaints him, that the Nations have agreed, to our takeing Possession of the Ilinois, we may expect Letters soon from Mr Croghan from Detroit. Lieut Colo Reid on Receipt of the Letter, sent away a Detachment of 100 men under Capt Stirling[2] a very good & proper Person for such a Business, to take Possession. A Dozen Indians are gone with the Party but the Traders did not chose to go till they should hear of their arrival. But they are building Boats at Fort-Pitt to follow them. The Detachment may be too hasty, tho' I hope matters will turn out well. The 34th Regt left New-Orleans the End of June, since which Time, I have no News of them. The 42d must get first to the Ilinois. When we get Possession the French Influence will decline apace.

I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant, THOS GAGE

SR WM JOHNSON Bart

[*Endorsed:*] New York 7br 8th 1765 Genrls Gages Letter

VOLSEY PETITIONS FOR CONFIRMATION OF LAND TITLE

September 9, 1765

[C.H.S., Schmidt Collection — D.S.]

A Messieurs de St ange Capitaine Commandant pour le Roy au pays des ilinois.

Et le febvre subdelegué de Mr Lordonnateur de la loüisianne juge En la jurisdiction Royalle des ilinois.

[*Translation*]

To MM. de St. Ange, captain commandant for the king in the Illinois country, and Lefebvre, deputy of the *ordonnateur* of Louisiana and judge in the royal province of the Illinois.

[1] Not found.

[2] Captain Thomas Stirling had a long, active military career. In 1758 he came to America and served in the Canadian campaign. After the failure of Major Loftus to take possession of the Illinois by way of the Mississippi, Stirling succeeded by going down the Ohio from Fort Pitt, reaching Fort de Chartres in October, 1765. He was shortly afterward relieved by Major Farmar. In 1767 Stirling went to England, but he returned later to serve with the British forces during the Revolutionary War. Before his death he reached the rank of general and very late in life he succeeded to the baronetcy of Ardoch. *Dictionary of National Biography; New York Colonial Documents*, 7:786, n.

Pierre francois de volsay Ecuyer lieutenant Commandant au poste des Caokias a lhonneur de vous Representer quil y quatre ans quil a Etably un terrain aux poste des Caokias du domaine du Roy, lequel terrain Le S^{r} forget abbé de la mission du d^{t} poste qui avoit droit de donner les concession a toujours neglige de luy donner celle de son dit terrain, et est party de ce pays sans luy avoir donné aucun titre, Et comme le supliant ne sest Etably quavec laprobation de vos predecesseurs et quil luy ont accorde verballement le dit terrain contenant Cent Cinquante pied en quarré sur chaque face quil s'y est Etably Et a basty une maison Et autre Batimens; ce Consideré Messieurs.

il vous plaise accorder au d^{t} s^{r} de volsay la Concession du d^{t} terrain de toute sa grandeur lequel tien par devant a la rue du Rigolet par deriere au Nommé sansquartér dun Costé a S^{t} aubin, et de lautre Costé a une Rue de traverse, pour que le supliant puisse en faire, jouir, et disposer Comme de son propre Bien et que personne ne puisse l'y troubler par la suite des temps Et ferés Bien AUX ILINOIS le 9. 7^{bre} 1765.

DE VOLSEŸ

[*Translation*]

Pierre François de Volsey, esquire, lieutenant commandant of the post of Cahokia has the honor of stating to you that four years ago he took up a lot at the post of Cahokia in the king's domain and that M. Forget, abbé of the mission of said post, who had the right to grant the concession, always neglected to give him the title to his said lot, and has left this country without giving it to him. And since the petitioner did not establish himself except by the consent of your predecessors and since they granted him verbally the said lot containing one hundred and fifty feet square where he has established himself and built a house and other buildings; after considering this, gentlemen:

May it please you to accord to the said M. de Volsey the patent for the said lot in all its extent, which borders in front on the street du Rigolet, at the back on the named Sansquatér, on one side on St. Aubin, and on the other on a cross street, in order that the petitioner may do with it, possess it, and dispose as his own property and in order that no one can disturb him in it in the future, and you will act justly.
THE ILLINOIS, September 9, 1765

DE VOLSEY

Vû l'Exposé en la presente Requete Nous avons par ces presentes concedé Et Concedons a Monsieur De volsay le terrain mentionné En sa dite Requete pour enjouir comme de son propre Bien a titre de Concession, ayant une parfaite Connoissance qu'il a Etably le d^{t} terrain du consentement et aux lagrement de nos predecesseurs et que cest par negligence du s^{r} abbé forget sil a Resté jusqua present sans titre, deffendons agir que ce soit de ly troubler lequel terrain doit contenir Cent Cinquante pied sur chacune des quatre face. Donné AUX ILINOIS le 9. 7^{bre} 1765.

LEFEBVRE S^{T} ANGE

Nous Colonel Commandant pour sa majesté Britannique aux Ilinois. En vertû de la Concession de l'autre part accordée au sieur de Volsey pour Le terrain Et maison y mentionnée Nous avons aprouvée Et aprouvons La ditte Concession pour Enjoüir par mon d^{t} sieur Volsey Sans que personne puisse Le troubler En aucune maniere dans La possession du dit Bien, Et sera Libre Le dit sieur de Vendre Les dits biens Comme bon Luy semblera en observant

[*Translation*]

Having examined the statement in the present petition, we have by these presents granted and we do grant to M. de Volsey the land aforementioned in his said petition to enjoy as his own property by title of grant, since we have certain knowledge that he has taken up the said lot with the agreement and consent of our predecessors, and it is by the negligence of Abbé Forget that he has remained up to the present without title. We forbid anyone to disturb him in it. The lot should contain one hundred and fifty feet on each of the four sides. Given at the ILLINOIS, September 9, 1765

LEFEBVRE ST. ANGE

We, colonel, and commandant for his Britannic majesty at the Illinois, by virtue of the grant on the other side, accorded to M. de Volsey of the land and house therein mentioned, have approved and do approve the said grant to be possessed by the said M. de Volsey so that no one may disturb him in any manner in the possession of the said property, and the said M. de Volsey shall be free to sell the said property as will seem good to him, taking care to send

d'En envoyer le Contract de vente au gref de Cette Jurisdiction ainsy que La presente Requeste Et Concession.
fait AU FORT CHARTRES ce 4 Juillet 1766

JN. REED Col
L. C. 34 Regim[t]

H. SEDGWICK
Sec:

[*Endorsed:*] 1765. Requete Et Concession accordé a M[r] de Volsey par M[r] de s[t] ange aux Kaskias En 1766. Kahokia [?] N° 32

[*Translation*]

the deed of its sale to the clerk of this province as well as to have copied the present petition and grant.
Done at FORT DE CHARTRES, July 4, 1766

JOHN REED colonel
lieutenant colonel, Thirty-fourth Regiment

H. SEDGWICK
secretary

[*Endorsed:*] 1765. Petition and grant given to M. de Volsey by M. de St. Ange at Kaskaskia in 1766. Cahokia. no. 32.

JOHNSON TO WALLACE,[1] September 18, 1765[2]

[Johnson MSS., 11:120—A.L.S.]

I have just had the favour of Your Letter of the 8th, & I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that Mr. Croghan is now at Detroit with Pondiac and a number of Indians whom he met near Illinois, and with whom he settled all matters for obtaining possession of that important place, in consequence of which Capt. Sterling & 100 men are marched there from Fort Pitt, this Affair is the more important, as it has been long attempted in Vain, and the gentleman sent up lately by the Mississippi in lieu of expecting anything were obliged to escape in the night & retire to New Orleans.

[1] Hugh Wallace.

[2] The original from which Mr. Carter made this extract was burned at Albany.

GAGE TO CONWAY,[1] September 23, 1765
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 723 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK Sep^{t} 23^{d} 1765.

SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 12th of July, in which you are pleased to acquaint me, that The King had been graciously pleased to deliver to you the Seals for the Southern Department, upon the Resignation of the Earl of Halifax, And to signify to me His Majesty's Commands, that my Dispatches should be henceforward, directed to you I shall not fail to pay due Obedience thereto, and beg at the same Time, that you will permit me to offer you my Congratulations, upon this distinguishing Mark of the Royal Favor.

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you, that our Differences with the Western Indians begin to subside very fast; and that the last Accounts from the Lakes were favorable. The Trade went on at Michillimakinak without Interruption, and the discontented Nations who had entertained Thoughts of Surprizing that Fort, had been there to desire our Friendship, and make their Peace. Only one small Nation appeared still disatisfied, and it was hoped, they would be very soon reconciled.

The takeing Possession of the Illinois by Treatys, Conferences, and Intrigues with the Savages of that Country, and other Western Tribes, in order to obtain their Consent and approbation to our seating ourselves in that Country, and relieving the French Troops posted there, has been attended with a good deal of Difficulty and very great risk, to the Persons employed in that Business. The French Traders and Inhabitants, found means privately to obstruct our Endeavors, and destroyed in a few Hours, every Advantageous Disposition and Resolve, we could gain of the Indians, by dint of Pres-

[1] General Henry Seymour Conway made his reputation in the army before he entered politics. His first association in politics was with the Old Whigs, but he was closely associated later with William Pitt. At the time of the writing of the above letter, he was secretary of state of the southern department in the Rockingham ministry. Conway seems to have been generally unfavorable to rapid westward expansion, although when he became a member of the Chatham ministry in 1766, his unstable nature seems to have been persuaded to more radical views. He held a position in the ministry until the formation of Lord North's ministry in 1770. Personally Conway was one of the most popular men of his day, but his vacillating temperament made him inefficient both in the army and politics. *Dictionary of National Biography;* Walpole, *Memoirs of George III.*

ents fair speeches and Promises, and the Assistance of some Friendly Nations. I have the honor to transmit you the Accounts which have been received of the several Emissarys, who have been sent up the Mississippi, and down the Ohio, in order to reconcile the Indians to our Measures Most of them were obliged to fly to save their Lives; and the last, M^r^ Croghan, a Deputy of Sir William Johnson, was attacked before he got there. Three Shawnese Chiefs who accompanied him from Fort-Pitt, were killed in the Attack; Himself and the rest of the Party taken Prisoners. Tho' this last circumstance should appear as a final Conviction, of the impracticability ever to possess the Ilinois, by any other Means than by Force of Arms; it has turned out otherwise in it's Consequences. The Nations concerned in the Attack, dreading an immediate War with the Shawnese and their Allies, on Account of the Murder of the Chiefs; released their Prisoners, and sollicited the Mediation of the English in the most abject Manner, to pacify the offended Nations, and soften their Resentments M^r^ Croghan improved the Dilemma they had brought themselves into, to our Advantage, and procured a numerous meeting of the Chiefs of the Ilinois and other Tribes, who had strongly opposed us; Wherein they agreed, that the English should take Possession of the French Posts in their Country without opposition; and that the Principal Chiefs should go to Detroit to ratify and confirm this Resolution, in Presence of the Officer Commanding at that Post. M^r^ Croghan sent an Account of the Success of his Negotiation to Fort-Pitt, from whence Captain Stirling, with one Hundred Men of the 42^d^ Regiment was immediately detached down the Ohio, in order to relieve the French Garrisons without Delay; and not to trust to the uncertain, and slow Movements of the 34^th^ Regiment pushing against the rapid Stream of the Mississippi.

The 59^th^ and 29^th^ Regiments from Ireland, have relieved the 45^th^ and 40^th^ Regiments in the Garrisons of Newfoundland, Louisbourg S^t^ John's Island, Halifax, and the Bay of Fundy, and the two last Regiments, are sailed for Ireland. The 52^d^ Regiment arrived at Quebec the beginning of August, One of their Transports had the Misfortune to be wrecked in the River S^t^ Lawrence about two Leagues above the Island of Coudres, but by timely Assistance, the Men were happily saved, as well as a Quantity of Provisions and Baggage. The 44^th^ Regiment was to embark the beginning of this Month, and I conclude

they have sailed from Quebec. The last Ships from West-Florida gave Information of the Arrival of the 21st and 31st Regiments in the Harbour of Pensacola; but it's a considerable Time, since any Dispatches have been received from that Province. The 34th Regiment left New-Orleans the End of June, and proceeded up the Mississippi since which Time, No News has been received of their Progress.[1]

. . . . . .

I have the honor to send herewith a Return of the present Distribution of the Troops in North America, which will serve to shew you how greatly they are scattered and divided, over this vast Continent, and that very few could be collected in Case of sudden Emergencys, in any part, except in Canada.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard Respect and Esteem, Sir, Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THOS GAGE.

RIGHT HONBLE H: S: CONWAY one of His Majtys Principal Secretary's of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York. 23d Septr 1765. Majr Genl Gage. R 28th Octr Informing of the Difficulties with the Indians on the Illinois — They at last agreed to a Peace — Our Troops take possession of the French Posts—And giving an Account of the Disturbances & Clamours on Account of the Stamp Act. with 7 Inclosures.

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, September 28, 1765[2]

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 125 — L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL Septr 28th 1765

MY LORDS

I had the honour of writing to your Lordships in May, and July[3] last, the former of which was very full, & if it appeared incoherent it must be attributed to the situation I am generally in when I write, with a number of Indians about me & constant interruptions.

[1] The remainder of the letter, which is omitted, contains a long and general survey of the disturbances over the stamp act in all the colonies.

[2] Published in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:765.

[3] Printed *ante*, 1:500, 522.

In my last I gave an account of Mr Croghans having set out for the Illinois, and I have now the pleasure to congratulate your Lordships on his having succeeded in Obtaining possession of that important Settlement, tho' not without much risque and difficulty.

On the 8th of June last as he descended the *Ohio* he was attacked by *Eighty* Mascoutens and Kickapous, who firing upon his party consisting of but Fourteen persons, Deputys from the Northern Indians killed *Three* Shawanese, and Wounded himself and all the rest whom they made Prisoners and carryed to *Wawiaghtono*[1] on the *Wabache* The Indians who attacked had received belts &c. from the French for that purpose, but on bringing him and his party to the last mentioned place, the Indians there who were well Acquainted with him Expressed their dissatisfaction therewith in terms which produced a thorough repentance on the part of the *Mascoutens* &c who implored his interposition with the *Shawanese* and *Six Nations* to prevent a breach which they had so much reason to expect in consequence of their behavior, this was attended with all the good Effects we could have Wished for, *Mr Sinnot* Who was sent from Mr Stuart with a very large present having been plundered & after being with difficulty preserved from the Indians fury at *Fort Chartres* was obliged to Escape in a Boat in the Night & return to *New Orleans*, But Mr Croghan availing himself of the Confusion produced amongst the Indians by the murder of the Shawanese, prevailed upon them so, as his Wounds were healed to proceed with him for the *Ilinois* and Assist in obtaining the possession thereof, he accordingly set out with them in the middle of July for that place, near which he was met by *Pondiac*, with the Chiefs of the Neighbouring Country, with whom he, at length prevailed to agree to give up possession of the Posts there, held by the French, but with a strong reservation of their rights to the Lands about them, and *Pondiac* agreed to put himself into our power and return with him to *Detroit.* Mr Croghan imediately dispatched an Express to *Fort Pitt* from whence the Commanding Officer agreable to former orders from the General detached a Captain with One hundred Men to take possession of *Fort Chartres &c.*

On Mr Croghan's arrival at Detroit he had a Treaty with all the

[1] Ouiatanon.

Western League, who were assembled before his arrival, and by the Light in which he placed affairs effectually settled their minds & dissolved the League lately formed by the French with *Eighteen* Nations and he is now on his way to this place, after whose arrival I shall be enabled to Transmit your Lordships the whole of his Transactions and the present State of Indian Affairs in that Country.[1]

This is an Important Transaction, & the Alliance of these Nations must be Carefully cultivated and Cherished, under the management of prudent persons properly Supported otherwise the Whole may fall to the Ground, and as yet I have not been honored with any Orders neither can I undertake any thing there, or Elsewhere 'till I receive your Lordships commands.

In my Letters of *May* and *July* last I wrote your Lordships so fully respecting the Objects of Public attention, that any thing farther at present will be a needless repetition. I must however beg the favour of knowing (when I am honored with a Letter from your Lordships) whether these Letters of *May* & *July* were received Least they might have miscarried, or fallen into the hands of some Curious persons, (as has been the case in times when partys raged as at present) the Generals Letters having been lately opened. Indeed I should not be much surprised at any such thing after the late Violent conduct of the Colonists, with which your Lordships will doubtless be acquainted before this reaches London. Amidst all these Troubles I have the pleasure to think they will not Judge it Elligible to Extend their Malice to me, but as for all other Officers of the Crown in their Clutches who have not changed their principles I think they run an imminent risque of their propertys and even their Lives. Had I coincided with their levelling System I might long since have acquired a very large property here, and have been the Idol of a party, but my Sentiments of Government &c are long Established and known, and as they were never Subservient to my Interest, I am determined they never shall be so. It is not Extraordinary that the Members of the Law should be Violent, & take pains to Excite the People on account of an Act containing some Dutys upon Law Proceedings that must in a great measure lessen

[1] Croghan's journals are printed *ante*, 1 *et seq.;* Johnson's later letter, *post*, 117.

their practise by giving a Check to that Litigious Spirit amongst the Common Americans to the Ruin of many Familys, & the aggrandizing a body of Men, whose power and Influence are already become dangerous. How far these Violent Measures may Extend can only be conjectured, but doubtless unless checked by proper Authority, Officers of the Crown can not answer the Intentions of Government as the Event will Shew, Should these Turbulent Spirits succeed in their Scheme for Limitting the power of the King & Parliament.

I have been lately applied to by a Committee of the Proprietors of *Kayaderosseras* to bring about an Accommodation with the Indians to Effect which they offered to Quit Claim to part of that Tract, and the Indians being very sollicitous to have something done therein, and not having heard from your Lordships thereon, I judge it best to lay the proposal before them that the Dispute may be in some manner terminated.

My Son now accompanys Lord Adam Gordon to see England. I don't know whether I can recommend him to give your Lordships any farther particulars, as his Youth, Country Education, and Diffidence may render him perhaps unequal to such a Task. Lord Adam has made an Extensive Tour thro' this Country, & has made many remarks & observations worthy attention.

I shall take up no more of your Lordships time at present, as I so shortly Expect to transmit M^r^ Croghan's Transactions with the Agreable news of our being in actual possession of the *Illinois*.

I have the Honour to be My Lords, Your Lordships most Obedient And most Devoted Humble Servant

W^M^ JOHNSON.

THE R^T^. HONBLE THE LORDS OF TRADE.

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant^s^ Genl.* Letter from S^r^ Wm. Johnson to the Board, dated 28 Sept^r^ 1765, relative to M^r^ Croghan's transactions, & the State of Indian Affairs within his district Rec^d^ Nov^r^ 1765. Read K. 6.

Cession of Fort de Chartres, October 10, 1765

The French Copy

[N.Y.S.L. — C.]

Louisianne.

10. 8^{bre} 1765.

Procès-verbal de la Cession du fort de Chartre à Monsieur Sterling nommé par Monsieur Degage Gouverneur de la nouvelle Yorck, Commandant les troupes de sa Majesté Britannique dans l'Amérique.

Aujourd'hui dix Octobre mille Sept cent soixante cinq, nous Louis Saint Ange de Belrive, Capitaine d'infanterie, Commandant pour sa Majesté très chrétienne au dit fort de Chartre et Joseph Lefebvre, Garde des magasins du Roi et fesant fonction de Commissaire au dit fort en conséquence des ordres que nous avons reçu de Messieurs Aubry, Chevalier de l'ordre royal et la Louisianne et Foucault Commissaire contrôleur de la marine, ordonnateur en la dite province pour céder à M^{r} Sterling, nommé par M^{r} Degage, gouverneur de la nouvelle Yorck et commandant général des troupes de sa Majesté britannique dans l'Amerique et dans toute la partie gauche de la province de la Louisianne suivant le septième article du traité definitif de la paix conclue à Versailles le 10 février 1763, Entre sa Majesté très chrétienne

The English Copy[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 99 — C.S.]

Verbal Process of the Cession of Fort Chartres, to Captain Thomas Stirling of His Majesty's 42^{d} Regiment, appointed by General Gage commander in Chief of all His Britanick Majesty's Forces in America.

This 10th day of Octo^{r} 1765; We Louis S^{t} Ange, Captain of Infantry, and Commandant of the Said Fort Chartres, on the part of His Most Christian Majesty, and Joseph Le Fievre, King's Commissary, and Store keeper of Said Fort. In Consequence of the Orders We have rece'd from Monsieur D'Aubry, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of S^{t} Louis, Commandant of the Province of Louisianne, and Foucault, Commissary Comptroller of Marine and Ordon-

[1] Printed by C. E. Carter in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1907, p. 211. This is not a translation of the French, but the original English description made at the same time as the French one.

de france et de Navarre et sa Majesté Britannique, le dit fort de Chartre.

Nous avons procédé à la dite cession ainsi qu'ill suit:

Savoir

Le dit fort de Chartre, situé la face au fleuve au sud à quatre cents lieus environ de la nouvelle Orléans.

Le fort de Chartre

Le bastion du sud Est, jusqu'à celui du Sud-Ouest inclusives quartre vingt toises et demi et deux pieds.

Face d'Ouest avec ses bastions Dix neuf toises et demi

Du flanc du Bastion Cinq toises, et demi

Des Latrines Trois toises, un pied

Face entre les deux bastions des latrines inclusivement Cinquante six toises

Face du Nord Vingt quartre toises

Face d'une Courtine au Nord Cinquante neuf toises et demi

[*English Copy*]

nateur in Said Province; We Deliver to Monsieur Stirling aforesaid .... the said Fort Chartres .... Viz[r].

	Measure
From the S. E. Bastion to that of the S.W. Inclusive	84 toises[1] & ½ & 2 feet
West face with it's Bastions	19 d° ... d°
Flanks of d°.	5 d° ... d°
Necessary House	3 d° ... "...1 d°
Face between the Two Bastions, with Necessary House Included	56 d° ... "..."
North Face	24 d° ... "..."
Face of the Curtain	59 d° ... ½..."
East Face from the N. E. Centry Box	26 d° .....
N. E. Curtain	61 d° ... ½..."
The great Gate of Entry, it's Heigth to the Vault	10 Foot
The Arch of the Vault above the Gate	5 Feet high 6 d° broad 2 Toises in depth.

[1] Toise is 6.39 feet.

Face de l'Est à commencer de la guérite Nord-Est Vingt six toises

Courtine du Nord-Est Soixante et une toises et demi

Hauteur de la porte au sud jusqu'a la voute. Dix pieds de haut.

L'Arcade de la voute au dessus de la Porte. Cinq pieds de haut, Dix pieds de large. Deux toises de profondeur garnie d'une guérite à chaque côté, une plate forme audessus de la porte de pierre de taille de trois toises de long et deux de large avec deux gouttiers en plomb garnis d'une galerie de bois, le portail de la porte en pierre de taille, deux embrasures sur la plate forme ouverte, une escalier de dix neuf marches faites de moitous et planches, avec un garde fou de moitou pour monter à la dite plate forme, un vent fort de chaque côté de quatre bornes de pierre de taille, deux en dedans, deux en dehors.

Corps De Batiment

servant de Magasin et logement au grade-Magasin.

Côrté du Sud.

Quatorze toises de long, quartre toises à l'Ouest et quatre à l'Est, Cinq fenètres au Sud en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et pentures de fer ainsi que de leurs chassis, à la mansarde deux fenètres

[*English Copy*]

with Two Centry Boxes on Each Side, a Platform upon the top of the Whole; built with Free Stone 3 Toises in length, and two in breadth, with two Leaden Spouts, a wooden Gallery, the Arch of the Gate likewise in Free Stone, 2 Embrazures upon the Platform, a Flight of ten Steps, & a Wooden Ladder to Ascend said Platform, a Renfort on Each Side the Gate, with 4 Corner Stones, two without & 2 within to prevent Carriages, hurting the Wall.

Buildings, Serving as Stores, and Lodgings for the Magazine Guard, 14 Toises in length, 4 toises on the W. and 4 on the East End. 5 Windows on the South, built with Free Stone, furnished with their Barrs, shutters &ca.

Upon the Roof 2 Wooden ditto with ditto

At the Gable End 1 d° in Stone. . . . ditto.

North Side 2 Chambers and a Closet for the Magazine Guard, 2 Ditto Serving as Stores, with a Stairs, three doors built in Stone, with their Locks, &ca upon the Roof, three Windows in Wood, with Shutters Barrs &ca. and 1 double Chimney—

South Side, 14 Toises long, 4 toises on the West, 4 d° on E. end, 5

en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et pentures, au pignon de l'Ouest une fenètre en pierre de taille garnie de ses contrevents et pentures.

Côté du Nord.

Deux chambres, un cabinet pour le logement du garde magasin, deux dito servant de magasin avec un escalier, trois portes en pierre de taille, garnies de leur contrevents et chassis et pentures à la mansarde trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrure, une cheminèe double.

Corps De Garde

Côté du sud.

Quatorze toises de long, quatre toises, à l'Ouest et quatre toises à l'Est, cinq fenètres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et furrurres, au pignon de l'Est deux fenètres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde deux fenetres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, au pignon de l'ouest une porte en pierre de taille pour entrer au Corps de garde garnie de ses ferrures.

Façade du Nord

Une chambre pour le Corps de garde, une chambre pour l'Officier, une chambre pour le Canonnier avec un escalier pour monter au grenier, deux chambres et une cabinet pour la Chapelle et logement du missionnaire, un éventail au dessus de celui de la Chapelle, quatre fenètres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde trois fenétres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures une cheminée double et une simple.

[*English Copy*]

Stone Windows with Shutters &ca. at the end 2 d°, Upon the Roof 2 d° in Wood, at the West end a Door built in Stone to Enter the Guard, with a Lock &ca

North Face one Chamber for the Gunner, with a pair of Stairs to ascend the Loft. 1 Chamber for the Guard, 1 D° for the Officer, 2 Chambers & a Closet for the Chapel, a Lodging for the Missionary, a Sash Window above the Door of the Chapel, 4 Stone Windows with Shutters &ca, 3 d° in Wood upon the Roof with ditto, 1 double & 1 Single Chimney.

Governors S. Face

13 Toises & ½ & 5 d° to the W. 4 Stone Windows with Shutters &ca, 2 d° doors one of which has a Sash above it, both furnished with Locks

Gouvernement

Face du Sud.

Treize toises et demi et cinqu toises à l'Ouest, quartre fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, deux portes en pierre de taille, une en éventail, garnies de leurs ferrures, un tambour avec un escalier dedans pour monter au grenier, deux chambres, trois cabinets, garnis de leurs portes et ferrures, une cuisine avec un four dedans, un cabinet garni de leurs portes et ferrures, une cave, à la mansarde trois fenêtres en bois garnies.

Face du Nord.

Une porte en pierre de taille garnie de ses ferrures, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, un oeil de beuf, à la mansarde deux fenetres en bois garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, au pignon de l'Ouest, une chambre, un Cabinet, une fenetre en pierre de taille garnies de ses contrevents et ferrures, deux toises de hauteur de mur, deux cheminées double, une remise à l'Ouest, un colombier de deux toises, cave à trois toises de haut avec un grand puit dedans en pierre.

Intendance.

Face du Sud.

Treize toises et demi et cinq toises à l'Ouest, deux portes en pierre de taille, une à eventail garnies de leurs ferrures, quatre fenetres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, à la mansarde, trois

[*English Copy*]

&ca, an Entry with a Stairs to ascend the Loft, 2 Chambers & 3 Closets with Doors & Locks, a Kitchen with a small Oven, a Closet with a door &ca, a Cellar, Upon the Roof 3 Windows in Wood with Shutters Barrs &ca.

N: Face.

A Door in Stone with it's Lock &ca, 5 Windows d° with Shutters &ca a Skylight upon the Roof, 2 Windows in Wood with Shutters &ca, at the West End a Chamber, and a Closet, a Window in Stone with Shutters &ca, 2 toises the height the Wall, 2 double Chimneys, a Shed at the W. End, a Pidgeon House 2 Toises Square, under which is a Well.

Intendant's S. Face.

13 Toises and ½ & 5 toises at the W. End, 2 Doors in Stone, above one of them a Small Sash, with their Locks &ca, 4 Stone Windows

fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs pentures et contrevens, un tambour avec un escalier pour monter au grenier, deux chambres et trois garnis de leurs ferrures, une cuisine, avec un four dedans, et un cabinet, garnis de leurs portes et ferrures, une cave, à l'Est deux fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, une chambre, et un cabinet.

Au Nord

Une porte en pierre de taille garnie de sa ferrure, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies, de leurs contrevents, et ferrures, deux cheminées double, un four pour les troupes.

1er Corps De Caserne.

Face de l'Est

Vingt toises et deux pieds, au nord deux toises et deux pieds, trois portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, deux Corridors, un escalier, dans un pour monter au grenier, trois chambres de Caserne, deux chambres et deux cabinets pour logement d'Officier garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, neuf fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents pentures, à la mansarde, six fenêtres de bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures.

Face de l'Ouest

Deux portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde

[*English Copy*]

with Shutters &ca. Upon the Roof 3 Wooden ditto, an Entry with a Stairs to Ascend the Loft, 2 Chambers & 3 Closets with their Doors and Locks, a Kitchen with an Oven, a Closet with it's Door and Lock, a Cellar, at the E. 2 Windows in Stone with Shutters &ca, a Chamber & a Closet.

N. Face.

A Door in Stone with a Lock &ca, 5 Windows in Dº with Shutters &ca, 2 double Chimneys, and an Oven for the Troops.

Cazerne.

20 Toises and 2 feet, to the N. 2 toises and 2 Feet, three Doors in Stone with their Locks &ca, 2 Entries, in one a Ladder to mount the Loft, 3 Chambers de Cazerne, 2 Chambers and 2 Closets for officers with doors &ca, 9 Windows in Stone, and Six in Wood upon the Roof with their Shutters &ca.

trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, au nord un appeti avec une porte en bois garni de sa ferrure et trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et pentures, au sud une fenêtre en pierre de taille garnie de son contrevent et penture trois cheminées doubles.

2e Corps De Caserne

Face de l'Ouest.

Vingt toises et deux pieds et cinq toises au sud trois portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, deux corridors, un escalier dans un pour monter au grenier, trois chambres de Caserne et deux chambres et deux Cabinets pour logement d'Officier garnies de leurs portes et ferrures, neuf fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde, six fenêtres de bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures.

Face de l'Est.

Deux portes en pierre de taille garnies de leurs ferrures, cinq fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, à la mansarde trois fenêtres en bois garnies de leurs contrevents et ferrures, au sud une fenêtre en pierre de taille garnie de son contrevent et ferrure, trois cheminées double, un four pour la troupe.

[*English Copy*]

W. Face—

2 Stone Doors with Locks &ca, 5 Windows d° with Shutters &ca, 3 Wooden d° in Roof with d° a Shed with a Wooden door with Locks, 3 Windows d° with Shutters at the S. a Window in Stone with Shutters &ca, 3 double Chimneys.

2d Cazerne

20 Toises and 2 feet, & 5 Toises to the S., 2 Doors in Stone with their Locks, 2 Entrys with a Stairs in One to ascend the Loft, 3 Chambers de Cazerne & 2 Chambers & 2 Closets for the Officers with Doors and Locks, 9 Windows in Stone, & Six in Wood upon the Roof with Shutters &ca.

E: Face

2 Doors in Stone with Locks, 5 Windows in d°, & 3 d° in Wood upon the Roof with their Shutters &ca, at the S. End a Window in Stone with Shutters &ca, 3 double Chimneys and an Oven for the Troops —

Poudrier

Quartre toises de front avec sa porte en pierre de taille garnie de deux portes, une en tôle et l'autre en bois garnies de leurs ferrures, cinq toises et demi de large, six toises de long, un corps de bastiment, deux toises de haut, une fenêtre de haut en pierre de taille garni de ses contrevens en bois et un de fer.

Boulangerie

Sept toises du nord, onze pied de haut, deux pignons de deux toises chacun, quatre fenêtres en pierre de taille garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, deux chambres et un cabinet garnis de leur portes et ferrures, deux chambres et un cabinet garnis de leur portes et ferrures, deux fours dedans un escalier avec son garde fou en bois pour monter au grenier, deux cheminées simple un puit devan la boulangerie en pierre.

Prison

Face du Sud.

Six toises, quartre cachots en pierre de taille garnis de leurs portes et ferrures, deux portes en pierre de taille garnie de leurs ferrures, une à l'Ouest et l'autre à l'Est, quartre fenêtres en pierre de taille, garnies de leurs barreaux de fer et contrevents et ferrures, deux au sud et deux au nord avec deux escaliers double, en bois avec un petite galerie a chaque une cheminée double.

[*English Copy*]

Powder Magazine

4 Toises in front with it's doors in Stone & Lock. Two others in wood with 5 d° broad & 6 Toises long within, 2 Toises high a window upon the East, with it's Shutters &ca.

The Bake House

7 Toises to the North 11 feet high the 2 Ends, 2 Toises each, 4 windows in Stone with Shutters &ca, 2 Chambers & a Closet with Doors &ca, 2 Ovens, a Ladder to ascend the Loft, 2 Single Chimneys, and a Well before the House.

Prison S. Face.

Six Toises, 4 Prison Rooms with their Doors &ca, 2 doors in Stone with D° One on the West, and the other on the East, 4 Windows in D° with Shutters &ca, 2 to the South, and 2 to the N. with 2 wooden Stair Cases, & 2 Small Gallerys, and on [*sic*] double Chimney.

Une Grande Porte De Decours Au Nord Egale
A Celle Du Sud.

Deux latrines au Nord en bois, et deux à l'Ouest en pierre de taille garnie de leurs portes et ferrues.

La hauteur des murs du Fort est de dix huit pieds, Courtine du Sud du bord du fleuve, de huit pilastres et quarante sept créneaux, dto celle du nord de huit pilastres et quarante sept créneaux, [dito celle du Nord de huit pilastres et cinquante créneaux] dito celle de l'Est de dix pilastres et cinquante cinq créneaux, dito celle de l'Ouest de dix pilastres et cinquante cinq créneaux.

Bastion de la boulangerie au sud d'Est huit pilastres et cinquante créneaux et huit embrasures, dito celui de la prison sud-Ouest huit pilastres, quarante neuf créneaux, huit embrasures, dito celui de Nord-Ouest, huit pilastres et quarante huit créneaux, huit embrasures, dito celui de la poudriers Nord-Est huit pilastres, cinquante créneaux et huit embrasures, le tout en pierre de taille, une guérite dans chaque bastion, sortant dehors du mur en pierre de taille à cul de lampe avec une corniche au dessus et voutée, sept dégrés en pierre de taille pour y monter.

[*English Copy*]

A Large Gate upon the North Side Equal in demensions to that upon the South.

2 Necessary Houses to the North in Wood, and 2 to the W. in Stone with Doors and Locks, the Height of the Walls of the Fort is 18 Feet.

The S. Curtain near the River . . .	8 Pilastres	& 47 loopholes.	
N	8 . .	and 50	"
E	10 . .	and 55	"
W	10 . .	and 55	"
Bake House Bastion to the S.E.	8 . . .	50 . . .	& 8 Embrazures
Prison . d° . .	8 . . .	49 . . .	8
N.W.	8 . . .	48 . . .	8
P. Magazine . .	8 . . .	50 . . .	8

Hangard
à Quarante toises du Fort.

de porteaux en terre, trois toises au pignon de largeur, dix toises de longueur, couvert en bardeau, une grande cheminée de pierre dans le milieu soutenue par quartre piliers de bois, une grande porte double, cinq fenêtres garnies de leurs contrevens et ferrures, tous les batimens ci-dessus détaillés couverts en bardeaux.

Lesquels bâtimens et ouvrages de fortifications mentionnés au présent procés-verbal, nous Officier ci-dessus nommé, avons ce jourd'hui remis a Monsieur Sterling, nommé par Monsieur Degage, Commandant Général des troupes de sa Majesté Britannique dans l'Amérique et dans toute la partie gauche de la Louisianne.

Au fort de Chartre ce 10 8^{bre} 1765.

Nous Commandant les troupes de sa Majesté Britannique au fort de Chartre et nous Commissaire nommé par sa Majesté Britannique, nous certifions que les deux copies que Mr de S^{t} Ange et Mr. Lefebvre ont signé quoique écrites en Anglais sont conformes au present.

Signé Tho^{s} Sterling.

Signé Rumsey.[1]

[*English Copy*]

All in (a kind of) Free Stone
A Centry Box in Each Bastion falling on the Outside of the Wall, built in Free Stone and Vaulted above with Steps to Ascend them—
A Pent House for the use of Savages at 40 Toises from the Fort 10 Toises long and 3 Broad, with a large Stone Chimney in the Middle, a large double door, & 5 Windows with Shutters &ca —

Which Buildings and Fortifications, we the Above named Officers have delivered into the Hands of Monsieur Stirling, Appointed by His

[1] At this time James Rumsey was an officer and commissary to Captain Stirling. Seeing the possibility of trade development in the Illinois he was easily persuaded by George Morgan to enter the services of the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Later he fell out with Morgan and seems to have entered into some agreement with Colonel Wilkins. Many letters from him are printed in these volumes. (See general index.) The name is the same as that of the inventor of steamboats, but a comparison of handwritings in extant letters proves that this James Rumsey and the inventor are two persons.

[*English Copy*]

Excellency General Gage Commander in Chief of all His Brittannick Majesty's Forces in America —

FORT CHARTRES[1] 10th Octo[r] 1765.

(Signed) S[T] ANGE LEFEBVRE J RUMSEY D Commissary THO[S] STIRLING

true Copy THO[S] GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] Verbal Process of the Cession of Fort Chartres to Capt[n] Thomas Stirling of His Majesty's 42[d] Regiment of Foot — Dated Fort Chartres 10th Octo[r] 1765. In Maj[r] Gen[l] Gage's, of the 16th Inclosure 2 in N° 3 Bundle F

[1]The following description of the ruins of Fort de Chartres is found in the Surveyors Records of Monroe County, Illinois, v. D, p. 33: "Surveyed Old Fort Charters out of cureasity, which is now in ruins. It appears from what remains to have formed a square and the other corners or Bastions are washed away by the Mississippi River which is said to have run along near the fort but which is now some distance off. The checkers or small squares is a representation of thier houses about 16 feet square all the doors of which open on the inside of the wall into the large square said to be the parade ground There were said to be four iron gates marked X leading from the parade ground to the four wells one of which is now in use and the water is good.

"On the most easterly Bastion stands a house arched over with stone and is standing entire except the cut stone on each side of the door and the arched stone over the door which have been taken away. This is said to have been thier Magizine.

"The entrance from the outside is supposed to have been fronting the prairie as marked. The outside wall is about 2 feet thick and between 12 and 15 feet high some part of which appear to be the entire height.

"The houses appear to have been about the same height some parts appear to be the entire height.

"The walls of this old Fortres cannot be gotten apart without considerable labor this shows the cohesive quality of the lime with which it was built.

"This Fortress was built by the King of France and from its construction evinces considerable skill and wisdom from the formation of the Bastoins the enemy can not stand anywhere along the wall without being in fair gunshot.

"The time this Fort was built is not known exactly as there is no date to be found on any part of it.

"On the 14, day of June 1723. a grant was made to Philip Renolt in order to enable him to be able to support his establishment. and this fort was built before this date it is said that Laclede and his comrades came and wintered at Fort Charters and in the spring him and his party went and laid out St Louis and established a trading post.

April 1847. THOMAS SINGLETON
C. S. M. C.

"Note. — This Survey was made from the author's great love of the antiquities of his country and fearing that this remnant of a past age might be consigned to oblivion it entered his fertile brain to consign it to immortality by placing it among the records of this ill begotten offshoot of the Sucker State."

Inventory of the Goods at Fort de Chartres[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 95 — C.S.]

Inventory and State of the Untensils [*sic*], Military Stores &ca, delivered this day by le Sieur le Fievre, Commissary on the part of His most Christian Majesty, to Thomas Stirling Esq[r] Captain Commandant of His Brittannick Majesty's Troops and bearer of the Orders of His Excellency General Gage, which Stores have been Verify'd, by Lieutenant James Rumsey of the 42[d] Regiment appointed Commissary on the part of His Brittannick Majesty, by Capt Thomas Stirling Aforesaid.

Fort Chartres Oct[r] 1765.

In the 1[st] Apartment

2 Bedsteads
1 Small Press with 2 drawers
28 Rush botton Chairs
1 Table with a drawer
2 Common ditto
1 pair of Iron Dogs
1 Fire Shovel
3 Buckets
1 Large Kettle
1 Pair of dogs
1 Fire Shovel
1 Pair of Tongs
1 Table
1 Small Press
1 Bedstead
1 Straw Bed
4 Bedsteads with Bottoms & One without

2

13 bad chairs
2 Arm ditto
2 d°
13 Common d° } Serviceable

1 Table with a Cloth
1 Small folding d°
2 Bedsteads
1 Press
1 pair of dogs 1 Shovel & Tongs

3[d]

1 Press
1 Bedstead
2 ditto
1 large Table & 2 Frames for d°
1 Small d° with a drawer
1 Arm & 8 Common Chairs
2 bad Chairs, 2 Small Presses & a large Table

4.

5 Chairs
2 Folding Tables
1 Large Bufet
1 Large Bedstead
1 Bucket
1 pair of dogs
1 Shovel & Tongs, & One Small Press—

[1] Printed by C. E. Carter in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1907, pp. 214 *et seq.*

5.

2 Presses, 1 Rack for Arms
2 bad Straw beds, & a Bedstead

6.

1 good & 2 bad Bedsteads
1 Large Press & 1 Small
1 Table with a bad Cloth

7

1 Bedstead & 3 Presses
4 Chairs & One Table with a drawer
2 Bedsteads without Bottoms
1 Buckett

8

1 Large and 1 Small Press
2 Folding and 1 Common Table
4 Chairs, one of which is bad

9

3 Common Bedsteads without bottoms
1 Rack for holding of Arms
1 Shelf to hold the Mens Bread &
1 Trough

10

7 Common Bedsteads
1 Large Table for the Soldiers,
1 Rack for Arms
1 Shelf for Bread, 1 Bench, & 1 Straw Bed — bad

11

7 Common Bedsteads
1 Rack & Soldiers Table, with 2 bad & 1 good Chair

12 Hospital

4 Bedsteads with & 3 without bottoms
1 Soldiers table. 2 benches, & a shelf for Bread
1 Bucked [*sic*] & 2 small tubs
2 pair Coars Sheets
4 Buffaloe Skins
14 Blankets, all much Used, & some very bad
1 large pewter Soup dish
2 d° Plates & a Small bason
1 Brass Candlestick
1 good & 1 bad Strawbed
1 Iron pot & 1 frying Pan bad
1 Knife, Hatchet, & Spoon
1 Rack for Arms, & 2 cloth biers for the Sick

13

1 Soldiers Table
4 Bed steads with & 3 without bottoms
1 Rack 2 benches & a Kettle
5 bad chairs, 1 Iron Pot, 1 Bucket
2 Shelves for Bread, & a small tub.

14

6 Bedsteads & 5 Strawbeds
1 Kettle, 1 Table, 2 benches, & 1 Rack
2 Buckets & 2 Iron Potts —

15 Bake House

3 large Tables for the bread
1 Small d° with a Drawer
2 Kettles with Covers
1 Stopper for the Oven
2 Iron Potts
1 Small Brass d°
8 bad Blankets to cover the Bread

10 Cloth covers for d°
1 Iron to draw the bread
2 Cloth bags
2 Buckets, 1 Tub, 1 pair of Scales with Weights
2 Rollers, 2 Prickers, 1 Sieve 5 Tables & 7 Chairs

16
1 Bedstead & bench
1 Large & Small press

17 Guard Room
1 Guard bed, 1 Rack & Table, 1 Bench, 1 Bucket & a Brass Cup—

18 Officers Guard Room
1 Table & Arm Chair

19 Prison—
1 Bedstead, 1 Strawbed & a Table

Artillery Stores

N° of Cannon—		lb	lb
1	6 pounder	Powder	255 50 damaged
3	4 d°	Ball	619
1	3 d°	Bar Lead	298 & 1 Tin Measure
1	2 d°		
1	1½ d°	lb	
7		143 in Iron	
5 Swivels		122½ in Lead	
4 Wheels		N B Most of these Articles tho' mentioned good were originally of a very bad Quality	
4 Sides			
4 Coins			
4 Linstocks			

Omitted

One Brass pair of Scales for Powder Room
1 Bell and a large Writing Table, 32 platforms & 482 plank

(Signed) S[T] ANGE LEFEBVRE (Signed) THO[S] STIRLING J RUMSEY D Commissary

Je Soussigné Certifie avoir donné á Monsieur Sterlin generalement toutes les Munitions de Guerre, qu'ils se sont trouvé dans le Fort De Chartres, et pays Illinois le jour de la prise de possession. AUX ILLINOIS ce 10 8 [bre] 1765.

(Signé) LE FIEVRE.

true Copy THO[S] GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] INVENTORY of Stores and Utensils delivered to Captain Thomas Stirling of His Majesty's 42d Regiment by the French Commissary of Fort CHARTRES. In Majr Genl Gage's, of the 16th Janry 1766. Inclosure 3. in N° 3 Bundle F

EDDINGSTONE TO ———, October 17, 1765[1]

[P.R.O., Chatham MSS., Bundle 97 — C.]

Copy, Letter from Lieut Eidington [*sic*] of the 42 (or Royal Highland) Regiment, one of the four officers who with a hundred of that Regimt took Possession of Fort Charters, dated Fort Charters, 17th October 1765.

I wrote you from Fort Pitt before I left that Place, giving you an account of the long Journey I was about to undertake; we left the above post August 24th and did not arrive here till the 9th Instant; and we have found the Distance to answer the French account which is five Hundred Leagues, The Passage was pleasant enough, untill we came to the Missisipi, but after that it became immencely fatiguing from the Rapidity of the Stream.

I believe I mentioned to you the great Chance there was of our being cutt off, from the Capriciousness of the Savages, and their not being accustomed to the English, and from the great regard they always have Shewn to the French, who have no Doubt used every Method to prevent the English getting Possession of the Illinois Country; from whence I may Almost Say one third of the Fur Trade of North America Centers, but as good luck would have it we passed the Numerous Nations of Indians, and even came here in the most Critical Season of the year, and that when all the Savages was out a Hunting, and have got Peaceable Possession of one of the Prettyest Stone Forts I ever Saw, tho' that is indeed Saying all of it, for we neither found Ammunition nor any other Stores, that are useually Expected in Such a place, and if everything of the Necessary kind can't be got before the Spring which is the great time of the Indians to come to Trade, and Should they take anything in their heads the Garrison must be left to their Mercy, and what can one Hundred men do without Provisions, against three or four Thousand Indians,

[1] Printed by C. E. Carter in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1907, pp. 201 *et seq.*

but this is only the worst Side of things, and now for the Inhabitants and Country &c.

The French have Dispersed themselves through the country in Several Small villages, and have had Several Small Forts, that is to Say at the chief of their Towns, they however withdrew their Troops from all the above posts, Except Fort Charters, where they had a Captain & another Officer and about Forty men, with a Commissary and Some other Petty officers; The French Troops we relieved here might be called anything else but Soldiers, in Short I defy the best drol comick to represent them at Drury Lane.

Monsieur Saint Ange who is the French Commandant removed his Garrison to the other Side of the Messisipi, where the French Merchants have built Several Towns, and either has or is to remove to the Spanish Side, their Reason is too plain to need any explanation — and can be with no other view, than that of Depriving us of the chief benefit of our new Country, namely the Indian Trade.

The above will no doubt be a Bone of Further Contention, and of course business for us.

The Merchants and Inhabitants make us pay an immoderate price for everything we have occasion for, and as the English Merchants have not yet arrived nor can they now till the Spring, it will be attended with a great expence, they have Indeed but little here for they are doing us a vast Favour when they lett us have a Gallon of French Brandy at Twenty Shillings Sterling, and as the price is not as yet regulated, the Eatables is in proportion.

The only thing we Sollace ourselves with is that of being relieved, which we hope very Soon, the thirty Fourth Regiment we daily expect for that purpose, but Should they not arrive in a Short time, it will be impossible for them to come till the Spring.

The Country here is indeed very fine and Praise-worthy and capable of Raising any thing, but it is by much too flatt to be healthy, for it is not uncommon for Plains here of two or three hundred Miles on a Stretch, all of which is well Stocked with Baffelo [*sic*], and all Sorts of Game.

As I think there is now a great chance of this never coming to your hand, I have not been So particular or exact as I otherwise would, and must refer you to my next when I shall have it more in my power.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of letter from Lieu[t] James Eidrington *America* 1765

STIRLING TO GAGE, October 18, 1765[1]
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 105 — C.]

Extract of a Letter[2] from Captain Sterling commanding a Detachment of the 42[d] Regiment, at Fort Chartres, in the Ilinois Country; To His Excellency General Gage. Dated, Fort Chartres, October 18[th] 1765.

I have the Honour to Acquaint Your Excellency of my arrival at this Post, with the Detachment under my Command, on the 9[th] Instant, after having been Forty Seven Days on the way, the lowness of the Ohio made the Navigation Extreamly difficult and tedious, and tho' I made the utmost Expedition, it was not in my Power to do it sooner, I mett a French Trader about Forty Miles below the Ouabache with Two Boats loaded and Thirty Men and the Shawanese Chief who Lieu[t] Fraser mentioned in His Letter to have come to the Illinois with a talk from M[r] d'Aubre, He is very much in the French Interest, and did every thing in His Power, to disswade the few Indians that accompany'd the Party from Fort Pitt, from proceeding, and to intimidate us, he had likewise perswaded the French to fire on the party which they had agreed to do, if they had not found it too strong, this I was assured of by an Indian who was with them, and run away, when they had taken that resolution, as he would not be present when the English were Struck, finding the French in this Disposition I thought it necessary to send Lieu[t] Rumsey by Land with two Indians and two of the French who undertook to conduct him to Fort Chartres, from Fort Massiac, with a Letter to M[r] S[t] Ange to acquaint Him of my Approach, and likewise that he might send Me notice in case the Indians were ill disposed, by some accident they lost their way, and Lieu[t] Rumsey did not get there for Ten Days, so that with the diligence we used in getting up the Mississippi, the Detachment was within a League of the Village of Caskaskias before they had the least intelligence of our approach, which allarmed both the Savages and Inhabitants prodigiously, the former after having consulted, agreed to meet us with their Pipes of

[1] Printed by Mr. Carter in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1907, p. 203.

[2] Copies of this letter were sent on the same date by Gage to Secretary Conway and Lord Barrington, and another copy of it was sent by the latter to General Conway on March 17. The above is transcribed from Gage's original copy sent to Conway.

Peace, which they did next day, but no sooner saw our numbers than they began to be very insolent, and I am much convinced that our coming so unexpectedly was the luckiest thing that could have happened, for tho' Mr Croghan wrote that He had mett and Concluded a Peace at Ouiatonons with the Illinois Chiefs, I Am very well assured that not one of the Chiefs of the Nations living here were there, I arrived next day at Fort Chartres with my whole Detachment and took possession of it, Mr St Ange had received Orders from Mr d'Aubrie so soon as he had delivered up this Country to the British Troops, to go with His Garrison to the other Side of the River, but as he expected to be relieved by Major Farmer whose approach he would have had some notice of, he was quite unprepared to go away immediately therefore beg'd some little time which I could not refuse him, as I imagined it could not be of any hurt to His Majesty's Service, being in possession of all the Posts and Country of the Illinois. The Fort of Caskakias having been abandoned by the French since the treaty of Peace, it is almost in ruins, one face of it having fallen down, which prevented my sending a Detachment there, and indeed my party is so small and the Indians so Numerous, so easily assembled, and so insolent, that I thought it for His Majesty's Service not to divide my little Force, The Indians have not been accustomed to have Troops among them since the Peace, so that they have been quite Masters here, and treated the Inhabitants as they thought proper, which has drove several of them to the other Side of the River, where there is two Villages, One Opposite to Caskaskias Settled about Fourteen Years ago called St Genevieve,[1] and has about Twenty five Familys, the other about Twenty Leagues higher up, called St Louis, and has Forty Familys, it is esstablished since the Cession of this Country to the English, by those who either did not like to be under our Government, or were frightned for the Indians; I Order'd a Detachment and went myself to Caskaskias to have Your Excellency's Proclamation read,[2] and to make the Inhabitants take the Oath of Fidelity, the whole presented a Memorial[3] praying for Nine Months to Settle their Affairs and to determine themselves whether they would continue under the British Govern-

[1] Ste. Genevieve was settled about 1732.

[2] For proclamation see *ante*, 1:395.

[3] Not found.

ment before they should be obliged to take the Oath which I flatly refused them, and they seemed resolved to go over immediately, as I imagined it would be a very great detriment to this Colony to have it depopulated,—I at last agreed to grant them to the 1st of March, they taking an Oath of fidelity to His Majesty during their residence under His Government, which they all consented to and took; and I suppose will be the terms the rest of the Inhabitants will stay on, as this is the principal Village, not one yet having given in their Names to go away. I hope Your Excellency will approve of what I have done, as it was what I Judged for the best, I intended sending an Officer to Cauho,[1] it being the next considerable Village, the Prairiech Rocher, and St Phillip, having only a few Inhabitants, the Village of this Place is quite depopulated, the River having run away with half of it, and every one is of Opinion that it will carry away the Fort next Spring, it having carry'd off more of the Land betwixt it and the Fort last Year, than what remains, which is great pity, as it is one of the best constructed Forts against Indians in America, and able to contain 200 Men, Mr St Ange's Troops Consist of One Officer, and Twenty Men, who are all here, and I expect He will be ready to leave this in a few Days, and I shall take care that no French Soldiers continue in this Country, there is Numbers of reduced Officers, but as they have no pay and are commenced Traders, I allowed them the same terms as the Inhabitants, I found no judges nor any Police, I have made some few Regulations with Regard to that, I have not been able to get an exact Account yet of the Numbers of Inhabitants, but shall transmit that or any thing else I may learn by the first Opportunity.

I beg leave to represent to Your Excellency the disagreable Situation I am in here without an Agent or Interpreter for the Indians, or Merchandize for presents to them which they all expect, I brought a few things from Fort Pitt, but they were neither Sufficient nor proper, and I have been obliged to take up some Goods from the French Merchants at a Dear rate, Your Excellency in Your Instructions to Me Supposed that Mr Croghan would be here, but I learn from Detroit that He is gone down to our Colonies, Numbers of the Indians have already come in to receive presents, and I've been obliged to put them off with some small things, and Promises of

[1] Cahokia.

more in the Spring, when there will be great Numbers of them on that Account, and to Sell their Skins, it is therefore of the greatest Consequence that Major Farmer should be here before they assemble, as a respectable Body of Troops will keep them in awe, and they would not have it in their power to obstruct His Passage, I have received a good deal of Assistance from M^r^ S^t^ Ange in quieting the Indians, and I am convinced He has had no hand in the Commotions the French may have been stirring up with the Indians, to the contrary He saved M^r^ Croghan's Life when they had determined to burn him, by sending an Express with Two Belts to the Savages, for which I have seen M^r^ Croghan's Letter of thanks.

M^r^ S^t^ Ange hesitated a good while before he delivered up the Ammunition and Artillery Stores as He said His positive Orders were, to give up the Fort with Ten pieces of Cannon, however, he has at last agreed, Your Excellency will see by the Inventory I have the Honor to send You how little Value they are of, and how small a quantity of Powder he had: When I left Fort Pitt Colonel Reid did not think it Necessary I should have much Ammunition with Me, as I should find it here, therefore gave me little more than Sixty Rounds, I have therefore applied to the Merchants and they have agreed to spare Me a little with the Proviso I take goods likewise, they put it out of my Power of laying my Hands upon it, as they Transported it to the other Side.

I have just now received a Petition[1] to be transmitted to Your Excellency from the Inhabitants of Caskaskias which they insist I should, as it was in hopes of Your granting them that, that made them accept of the terms I allowed them.

I likewise send Inclosed the Verbal[2] Process of the Cession of the Fort, and the Inventory of the Artillery and Stores of every kind, Signed by M^r^ S^t^ Ange and Me, and likewise by the French Commissary and Lieu^t^ Rumsey, who I appointed to Act as Commissary, there is a Declaration added that all the Stores belonging to His Most Christian Majesty at the time of our taking Possession has been delivered up. M^r^ S^t^ Ange just now put a Protest in my Hands against my taking the Powder which is contrary to His Instructions, and when I expostulated with Him about it, He told Me it was only

[1] See the following document.

[2] Printed *ante*, 91.

to exculpate Him in case He should be found Fault with, by disobeying His orders.

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter from Captain Sterling Commanding a Detachment of the 42d Regiment at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois Country, To His Excellency General Gage. Dated Fort Chartres October 18th 1765. In Majr Genl Gage's, of the 16th Janry 1766. giving Account of his taking Possession of the Illinois Country & of the Situation of Affairs there. Inclosure 1 in N° 3 Bundle F

Memorial of the Illinois French to Gage[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 91 — C.]

A son Excellence Thomas Gage Gouverneur General de l'Amérique Septentrionale, Colonel du Vingt deuxiéme Regiment, Amiral du Pavillon bleu.

Monsieur,

Mr Sterling vous aura Sans doute appris, qu'il a pris possession de ce Païs sans aucune Difficulté, et nous pouvons hardiment avancer, que si ceux qui ont tenté de le faire avant lui, s'y étaient pris de même, ils auraient infailliblement réussi, et par la nous auraient evité les horreurs de la Disette dans la quelle nous nous sommes trouvés; ce qui joint aux horreurs d'une Guerre que nous avons aussi senties, a porté le plus grand Découragement dans ce Païs, et nous a impêché

[*Translation*]

To His Excellency, Thomas Gage, governor general of North America, colonel of the Twenty-second Regiment, admiral of the Blue Flag.

Sir:

M. Stirling will have doubtless informed you that he has taken possession of this country without any difficulty, and we can boldly advance the opinion, that if those who attempted to do it before him had gone about it in the same way, they would have succeeded without chance of failure; and thereby would have taken from us the horrors of privation which we have experienced. This joined to the horrors

[1] A very inaccurate transcription of this document is published in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1907, pp. 219 *et seq.*

de pouvoir prendre aucun arrangement définitif, principalement ceux d'entre nous, qui peuvent être dans le Cas de passer dans la Partie Française ou Espagnole. Nous avons eu l'honneur de faire, à cette Occasion, nos justes Représentations à M^r^ Sterling, et lui avons demandé un Delai de Neuf Mois, pour attendre que les Commerçans Anglais étant arrivés, et la Confiance rétablie avec le Commerce, ceux d'entre nous qui voudront quitter, puissent tirer Parti de leurs Biens fonds et Maisons. Comme il n'a pas cru pouvoir prendre sur lui d'accorder que jusqu'au Mois de Mars prochain, il nous a promis d'appuyer, auprès de Votre Excellence, la Justice de nôtre Cause, ainsi que l'Impossibilité de rien vendre dans le Moment présent. L'entière Confiance que nous avons en Sa Parole, nous borne à remettre seulement Sous vos yeux, que Personne n'a pu prendre des arrangements antèrieurs à l'arriveé des Troupes Anglaises dans ce Païs, que nous étions tous les Jours prêts d'abandonner, par les Violences des Savages enhardis par notre petit Nombre. Votre Pénétration vous fera Connaître qu'ils Sont encore dans l'Impossibilité d'en prendre aucuns, puisqu'il n'y a ni Monde pour acheter, ni Argent;

[*Translation*]

of a war which we have also felt has brought the greatest discouragement into this country and has prevented us from being able to make any definitive arrangement, particularly those of us who might be able to pass to the French or Spanish side. We have had the honor of making, on this occasion, our just representation to M. Stirling and have asked him for a delay of nine months in order to wait until the English merchants have arrived so that, when confidence in commerce is reëstablished, those of us who wish to leave can draw a profit from their land and houses. Since he did not believe that he could assume the responsibility of granting longer than March next, he has promised to uphold the justice of our cause to your excellency and point out the impossibility of selling anything at the present moment. The entire confidence we have in his word limits us to bringing to your notice only the fact that no person has been able to make any arrangements previous to the arrival of the English troops into this country which we were ready to abandon any day on account of the acts of violence committed by the savages who were emboldened by our small number. Your penetration will make you understand that they are still without

Ce qui nous fait vous prier, Monsieur, qu'il plaîse à Votre Excellence, accorder à ceux d'entre nous qui voudraient se retirer, un Delai de Neuf Mois, à compter de ce Jour; ce dont nous vous répondons, ils conserveront une eternelle Reconnaissance, ainsi que nous répondons, de la Fidelité de ceux qui demeureront sous la Domination de S. M. B. qui vous supplient vouloir leur envoyer des Prêtres Romains du Canada, et tous d'un commun Accord, avons l'Honneur de nous dire avec Respect,

De Votre Excellence Monsieur Les Très humbles & très Obéissans serviteurs. Les Habitans des Illinois.

ROCHEBLAVE.[1] LA GRANGE.[2] GAVOBERT, PLASI.[3] DU LUDE.[4] CHARLEVILLE.[5] AUBUCHON FILS. CERRÉ[6] H. BRAZAUX,[7]

[*Translation*]

the means of making any preparations since there is neither anyone to buy nor is there any money. This causes us to pray, sir, that your excellency will be pleased to accord those of us who wish to withdraw a delay of nine months counting from this day. We will be accountable to you for this: that they will preserve an eternal gratitude, and we will also be responsible for the fidelity of those who will remain under the dominion of his Britannic majesty; and the latter pray you to send them Roman priests from Canada; and all with common accord have the honor of calling ourselves with respect your excellency's very humble and very obedient servants, the inhabitants of the Illinois.

DE ROCHEBLAVE[1] LAGRANGE[2] GAVOBERT DUPLASY[3] DU LUDE[4] CHARLEVILLE[5] AUBUCHON, Junior CERRÉ[6] H. BRAZEAUX[7]

[1] For note on De Rocheblave see later volumes.

[2] The earliest notice of Jean Lagrange that has been found in the Kaskaskia MSS. is of the date July 19, 1756. From that date his name appears frequently on the documents. He was evidently a man of property, for he bought the house and land belonging to the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères at Cahokia, when it was sold by Abbé Forget in 1763. (*Ante*, 1:48; Alvord, *Cahokia Records* [*I. H. C.*, 2], 449, 507.) This he later sold to Jautard. Lagrange was appointed judge of the Illinois country by Captain Stirling, but no records of his judicial activities have been preserved (*post*, 124). He died December 24, 1776. Kaskaskia MSS.

[3] Joseph Duguay Duplasy. For a sketch of his life, see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, 5), 18, n. 5.

[4] There was a Charles Michel Huet *dit* du Lude, son of Joseph Huet *dit* du Lude living at Kaskaskia as early as January 20, 1736.

[5] On the Charleville family consult *ibid.*, index.

[6] Gabriel Cerré. Consult *ibid.*

[7] Probably Joseph Brazeaux, who was in Kaskaskia as early as February 22, 1758, when he bought some land there. He had three children, Louis, Joseph, and

Gandoüin J. Batiste Beauvais.[1] Bloüin.[2] Tessier dit La Vigne. Mere Pilette. Batiste Myot.[3] Jacques Billeront, Hubert La Ru. De Girardo. Calamanderie. J. M. Mercier. Lonvale Janis. La Chanssée. J. La Source.[4] Fr. Ricard.

[*Endorsed:*] Memorial of the Inhabitants of Kashatsias in the Illinois. In Maj^r^ Gen^l^ Gage's, of the 16^th^ Jan^ry^ 1766. praying a delay of nine Months for the removing their Effects. Inclosure 4 in N° 3 Bundle F

[*Translation*]

Gandüoin. J. Baptiste Bauvais[1] Bloüin[2] Tessier *dit* La Vigne Mere Pilette Baptiste Myot[3] Jacques Billeront Hubert La Rue De Girardot Calamanderie J. M. Mercier Lonval Janis Lachanse J. Lasource[4] François Ricard

[*Endorsed:*] Memorial of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia in the Illinois, in Major General Gage's of January 16, 1766, praying a delay of nine months for the removing of their effects Inclosure 4 in no. 3 Bundle F

Françoise. At the time of the appearance of George Rogers Clark in 1778, he was a captain of militia. He was killed by the Indians in 1779 and buried on June 4, of that year. See Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, 5), index; Houck, *Missouri*, 2:53.

[1] See index of Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, 5).

[2] Daniel Bloüin was one of the most important citizens of Kaskaskia during the period of the British régime. He was married to Helene Charleville which connected him with one of the most influential families of the region. When the dispute between the citizens and Colonel Wilkins broke out, Bloüin took the leading part and was selected by his fellow citizens to present their grievances to General Gage (see later volumes and indexes). He remained in the East for some time and was instrumental in drawing up a plan of government for the Illinois, and may have had a hand in the publication of the pamphlet about the Illinois country, printed in a later volume (see also Alvord and Carter, *Invitation Serieuse*). It is not known when or under what circumstances he returned to the Illinois, but probably not until after the occupation by the Virginians, since Joseph Chauvin *dit* Charleville acted as his attorney March, 1777, and his own name does not appear on any of the documents of the Kaskaskia MSS. until 1781, when a Bloüin, perhaps a son, signs a petition to the governor of Virginia. He probably died shortly afterwards as the documents show that his minors are interested in his estate on February 23, 1782. Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, 5), 239, 243.

[3] He married at Kaskaskia on January 17, 1747, Magdeliene Pilette. He died some time in 1781, when occurred the settlement of his estate.

[4] For Pierre de Girardot, Nicolas Janis, Lachanse, and J. Lasource, see *ibid.*, index.

GAGE TO CONWAY, November 9, 1765
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 807 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK, November 9th 1765.

SIR:

It gives me great Concern that I am to acquaint you of the Loss the King's Service has Sustained in the Death of an excellent and worthy Officer; Brigadier General Bouquet, who died at Pensacola the Beginning of September, a very few Days after his Arrival there. Although no direct Accounts of this Accident have been transmitted to me, from Florida, it has been ascertained so many different ways, that I can't doubt the Truth of it. I have endeavored to repair this Loss to the King's Service as well as is in my Power, by Appointing Colonel Reed, the eldest Field Officer in Florida to act as Brigadier General of the southern District, till His Majesty's Pleasure shall be further known. And I am to hope the Measure I have taken in this respect, will meet with the King's Approbation. A very severe Sickness attacked the 21st and 31st Regiments, soon after they landed at Mobile and Pensacola. The former lost a Captain and a Lieutenant; some few Men dead, and 173 sick, the beginning of September. The 31st Regiment have lost a Captain, Lieutenant, and a Surgeon, and Eleven private. And 153 sick. The Regiment at Pensacola was upon the Recovery; but we have found Mobile to be very unhealthy from our first possession of it, and to be subject to Disorders every Autumn.

Mr Croghan Sir William Johnson's Deputy, who was sent to settle matters with the Ilinois Indians, and attacked by the Savages of the Ouabache in his way thither, is returned; And has at length settled Affairs with the Western Indians so much to Sir William Johnson's Satisfaction; that he says, Everything has a very pleasing Appearance, and that the Satisfaction expressed at this Period, by the Indians from Mr Croghan's Measures and Assurances to them, seems a Presage of our future Tranquility, if we take Pains to preserve it. And that the late Transactions in the Ilinois Country, have given a new Turn to the Minds of those Indians. I wait with great Impatience to have news from Captain Stirling, who went from Fort-Pitt with a Detachment of the Royal Highland Regiment on the 24th of August to take Possession of the Ilinois; as it is now Time to have some Accounts from him. The 34th Regiment is also moving to the Ilinois up the Mississippi, but had only got to the Point of Ibbeville

on the 21^{sc} of July last. They proposed leaving it in a few Days, and by Estimation it would take them between two and three Months to reach Fort-Chartres in the Ilinois Country.

If we get Possession of the Ilinois, and find Means to reconcile those Savages to the English Interest, we shall be in perfect Harmony with all the Nations throughout the Continent, and I mean to take into Consideration the Multiplicity of Forts and Posts in the upper Country, and to abandon as early as possible in the Spring, as many of them as it shall be adviseable to abandon; in order to lessen Expences, and to be able to collect a few of the Troops, so widely dispersed, over an immense Tract of Country. The Forts and Posts, which I have immediately in my thoughts to abandon, are Forts William Augustus, and Edward, with the Posts on the East and West End of the Oneida Lake, and at the Onondaga Falls. I hope likewise that the Numbers may be diminished in the other Forts, tho' the French having a Settlement at the Detroit, requires more Troops there, than were there Indians only at that Place.

Difficultys have arisen in Canada about quartering the Troops in that Country agreeable to the Mutiny Act[1] passed last Sessions of Parliament, for quartering the Troops in North-America. The Legislative Body of that Province, has no Power to raise Taxes even for Provincial Services; and The Governor and Council, have applied to Major General Burton, to answer the Expence on Account of the Crown: But he has refused to interfere in it, as he looked upon it entirely belonging to the Civil Power to provide Quarters. I have as yet heared no more of this Matter, but that Governor Murray would lay the Affair before His Majesty's Ministers and receive His Majesty's Orders thereupon.

I have the honor to be with great Regard, Respect and Esteem, Sir, Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO^{S} GAGE

RIGHT HON^{BLE} H: S: CONWAY one of His Maj$^{ty's}$ Principal Secretary's of State

[*Endorsed:*] New-York 9th Nov^{r} 1765. Maj^{r} Gen^{l} Gage. R 11th Dec^{r} Informing of the Death of Gen^{l} Bouquet.—The Troops sickly in Florida—The Illinois Indians peacable—Some Forts & Posts ought to be abandoned—Difficulties have arisen in Canada about Quartering the Troops.—Bundle E. N° 6.

[1] Printed *ante*, 1:484.

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, November 16, 1765[1]
[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 129 — L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL 16th Novbr 1765

MY LORDS

My last[2] recommended to the care of Lord Adam Gordon, informed your Lordships of Mr Croghans having Arriv'd at *Detroit* from the *Ilinois*, and of the Success of his Journey and the great risque attending it.

A few days ago he Arrived here, and delivered me his Journal & Transactions with the Indians, from which I have Selected the principal parts,[3] which I now Inclose to Your Lordships, the whole of his Journal is long, and not yet collected because after he was made Prisoner, & lost his Baggage &ca, he was Necessitated to write it on Scraps of Paper, procured with difficulty at *Post Vincent* and that in a disguised Character to prevent its being understood by the French in case through any disaster he might again be plundered.

Your Lordships will observe from what I now Inclose the Principal Circumstances in his Journey, the Sentiments of the Indians in the Neighbourhood of the *Ilinois* and the reasons they opposed our possessing that Country 'till Mr Croghan had Settled Matters with them. The importance of this Acquisition will be better known in a Year or Two, by which time if these Indians are properly Treated I have good hopes they will be weaned from their Dependance upon and Friendship for the French Inhabitants of that Country which is at present so great that the latter engross not only all the Trade in that Quarter but also draw away the greater part of the Furr Trade from the Lakes to the *Ilinois* and are constantly sending very large Cargoes up the *Missisipi*, the better to maintain their Influence.

I have frequently observed to Your Lordships that His Majesties Subjects in this Country seem very ill Calculated to Cultivate a good understanding with the Indians, and this is a Notorious proof of it, for notwithstanding the Expence of transporting Goods from New Orleans to the *Ilinois* is greater than by the Lakes, and Consequently French Goods are in general dearer than ours, yet such is the Conduct of all persons under the Crown of France whether Officers, Agents, or

[1] Published in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:775.

[2] Printed *ante*, 87.

[3] This is the so-called "official journal" printed *ante*, 38.

Traders that the Indians will go much farther to buy their goods and pay a much higher price for them. This all Persons acquainted with the Nature of the Commerce to the Westward can fully Evidence.

Now altho' there is little reason to Expect that our People in general will ever treat the Indians with the like kindness and Civility, yet I don't at all despair of Weakning the Influence of the French Inhabitants & Traders, when the Department is Settled, so that some proper persons may always reside there, and a regular Visitation of the several Posts be formed together with a certain General present given Annually to each Confederacy. Indeed from the present Extent of our possessions and Alliances I am persuaded there is no other Method can be pursued with any probability of Success, and I have no doubt of your Lordships Concurrence in Opinion with me on a Subject I have repeatedly laid before the Board strengthened with Observations drawn from the Power Conduct Disposition and Policy of the Indians, to all which I have so long attended.

In my last Letters I laid before Your Lordships the Conduct of the French at *N. Orleans* and the Ilinois, the Artful Suggestions they made use of to Create an Opposition in the Indians to our taking Post in the last mentioned Country, for which purpose they had formed an Association of 18 Indian Nations and 'twas to this we may attribute the failure of the Troops in their Attempts up the *Missispi*, as well as those lately made by M^{r} Sinnot a Dpt^{y} Agent from the Southward, who was plundered of a Consid[era]ble present and oblidged to Escape in a Boat by Night: this Conduct manifests itself in the Actions of the French in every Quarter, those even from Canada &ca trading to the Lakes, are by reason of their influence and our inactivity become factors for our Traders, and amongst the Indians assume to themselves the Merit of their having any Trade at all, the better to Effect which, they are making repeated application for liberty to go from the Outposts into the Indian Country, where they know our Traders must stand but a poor Chance, and they have sett up the Indians to demand permission for that purpose. by these Methods, by their Superior Adress, and knowledge of the different Languages, they maintain their Influence, enjoy the Major part of the Trade, whilst our Traders are considered as Interlopers, and have it not in their power to acquire the good Opinion, or even a proper Acquaintance with the Indians, nor can I see how this will be prevented with regard

to those French who are now become Brittish Subjects, and will demand all priviledges as such. and what is still more injurious to our Commerce and dangerous to our Security, is that the French from *N Orleans*, *Ilinois* &ca as before observed are continually in the Indian Country to the Westward with immense Cargoes of Goods and perpetually instilling the most pernicious sentim[ts] into the minds of a Credulous People, who believe all they say, whilst between Misconduct or Neglect on our Parts they are confirmed in their Opinion. but what induces me to think they have something farther than Trade in View, is, that they give high prices for most of our Goods, and frequently buy them from our Traders which with the Expence of Transportation must raise them to an exorbitant price, and even allowing for the Indians partiality and blindness in dealings with the French, the profits of the latter must frequently be too inconsiderable for them to carry on such a Trade, unless encouraged by the hopes of future prospects, or even supported privately by France, which the conduct of the French Command[ts] &ca however specious on some Occasions gives me great reason to apprehend. and altho' the *Spaniards* should possess N. Orleans &ca and are a less active people yet the French will still remain, and act the same part under the Spanish Government which they practise under their own, whilst those at the *Ilinois* (now Brittish subjects) having a property & Interest in that Country and being all Traders, will doubtless act in Conjunction with them, and thereby divert the Trade from the proper channel to the great prejudice of the Crown, and the Mercantile people, for preventing all which or at least giving a check therto, the presence of proper Officers in my Department becomes every day more and more Necessary, but the plan for regulating Indian Affairs, not being as yet Established, no Appointments are or can be made here, and I am without any other Assistance than my three Deputys who have more than Sufficient Employment in and about this Quarter which can by no means be neglected, besides that the proposed Service requires persons of good Capacity to be constantly residence there to keep up a regular Correspondence and be Subject to a Visitation of myself or Deputies occasionally.

The proposed Residents will not only be able to manage all Indian Affairs at their places of abode, but also, will acquire such an Interest with the Indians, if Men of parts and acquainted with the Language,

that they will discover all their Secret Schemes and those Established at and about the *Misisipi* will over and besides have early intelligence of any designs formed by the French or any other power possessing the West side of that River, for that Schemes will be formed by such powers to rival us, or even to Monopolize the Trade there, is to me a matter of no doubt, and the French have already carried up Cannon & are erecting a Post near the Mouth of the *Missouri*, where a Frenchman is now Established who carries on a vast Extensive Trade, and is acquiring a great influence over all the Indian Nations, which with the French Inhabitants at the Ilinois, Assumpt[n],[1] Post Vincent, Ouiatonon, Miamis, Detroit, &c. are more than Sufficient to Engross all the Trade in them parts.

Excepting some threats thrown out by a few Tribes against those who are most Attached to us during the late Troubles, every thing is Tranquil here at present, but to the Southward I am not without Apprehensions of some fresh disturbances, M[r] *Faqiere* Lieut. Gov[r] of Virginia, some time ago laid before me the losses Sustained by the *Cherokees* &c. by the War which the Six Nations and Western Indians have long Maintained, & still cary on against them and strongly recommended it to me, to bring about a Peace between them, to which end they would send deputies to me to propose an Accommodation with the Indians in my District, this I communicated to the Six Nations &c, but (found indeed as I expected) that altho' they agreed to receive the Deputies, they were not at all inclined to hearken to a peace, that their hatred for those people was not to be removed without the utmost difficulty and that even shou'd they agree to a Pacification it would not be long observed, all which I represented to the Gov[r] of Virginia Assuring him I would notwithstanding use all my influence with the Northern Nations on that Occasion, At the same time I wrote to M[r] Stuart concerning it, but altho I put some off the War the much greater part still continue it, nor is it prudent to use many more Arguments against it as they are so suspicious a people that it might create some thoughts disadvantagious to us, The Western Nations have sent out several large parties this Year, and the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas & Oneidas, have lately sent out many more, some of whom are returned back, & have reported thro' all the Nations that on their way thro' the back parts of Virginia the In-

[1] Fort Massac, see *ante*, 1:3, n.

habitants appeared in Arms and threatned to Attack them, of which they Judged it Necessary to give those at home notice, from all which I am apprehensive some Mischief may be done in or about that Province, and should it so happen it is not an easy matter to prevent it going greater Lengths. I have spoke with the Chiefs of several Nations on the Subject and shall Omit nothing in my power to prevent it, but I know their are faults on both sides, the Inhabitants will be imprudent, the Indians impertinent, the latter think they have a just right to carry on a War against their Antient Enemy's, and perhaps it would be good Policy not to Interrupt them, the former having a Confirmed hatred for all Indians are glad of every Oppertunity that offers for insulting their small parties, whose general rout is thro' the back parts of Virginia, and when any insult is offered there are always indiscreet Indians who will readily retaliate fourfold, this cannot be easily prevented for the back Inhabitants to the Southward have lately (as Mentioned in a former Letter) given many Instances of their disregard to the peace and Contempt of the Governments they live under, and the Indians cannot be prevented from going that way but by measures very Impolitic & dangerous, or unless the Southern Indians will acknowledge themselves to be totally conquered, and give up the right of their Country to the Northern Indians. Now as this War is of very long standing, and between Ind^{n} & Ind^{n} I am humbly of opinion we had best not interest ourselves in it other than as Mediators between them, but in case their quarrel cannot be settled, let them carry it on as they please on both sides provided it does not Affect the persons or property's of any of His Majesties Subjects, for by this means we take off many dangerous Spirits who cannot be kept at peace in either of the Districts, but particularly to the Northward where the Ind^{s} are more Numerous, and much more Warlike, however as the Gov^{ts} of *Virginia* & I presume *Carolina* are desirous to obtain a Peace for the Southern Nations, this matter must be referred to your Lordships Consideration, but shou'd this differance with the Virginians come to any thing or any disturbances threaten to Arise in any other Quarter I am totally at a loss how to Act under the present restrictions without hazarding my fortune, which at present I cannot afford, & prudence forbids me to risque having formerly suffered greatly thereby, of which the large Sum still Justly due to me by this Province will serve as one

proof. I mention this because it may be sometimes in my power to prevent a very large Expence by timely incurring a very small one, & when the case may not admit of waiting for Orders, but your Lordships will doubtless be of Opinion that if I cannot take any thing upon me but in cases of Extremity, the Expence must not only be much greater, but my Success much more uncertain, and at present I cannot safely send Belts or see any Number of Indians without risque, as every Indian employed must have his reward, and no Individual can come on the smallest Business & return Empty. The Services of Indians, the many things Effected & prevented by them for several years, if not fully known, can be clearly and Circumstantially proved, as well as the inconceiveable pains I have taken to lessen the Expences, tho' lower than that incurred with the smallest Body of Troops &c. I have always applied the Public Money to the interest of the Public, & studiously applyed myself to the true knowledge of that Interest, to which my private Concerns, Health & Amusements have always given way, and I shall continue to discharge my trust in the same manner, nothing doubtfull of your Lordships protection. I should not have given your Lordships the trouble of reading the last parargraphs, if my Character did not oblidge me to it, least I should be hereafter deservedly Censured for neglecting to make Just & due Representations of all Affairs under my Superintendance.

I flatter myself with a Continueance of your Lordships favour, whilst I remain true to the charge reposed in me, and Yours Lordships Most Obedient & Most Devoted Humble servant

W^M^ Johnson.

P. S. I enclose a Copy of a letter from a Frenchman at Fort Vincent on the *Wabache* to his Father in Law the Original was intercepted by M^r^ Croghan and will serve to shew the Sentiments & desire of the French.

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant^s^ Gen^l^.* Letter from S^r^ William Johnson to the Board, dated Nov^r^ 16 1765, containing remarks on M^r^ Croghan's Transactions with the Indians on his journey to the Illinois, & on the State of Indian Affairs within his district. Rec^d^ Feb^ry^ 5 Read } 1766.
K 7. 2 papers

CHAPTER III

THE COMPLETION OF THE OCCUPATION
DECEMBER 13, 1765— APRIL 6, 1766

FARMAR MAKES A START — STIRLING'S FIRST IMPRESSION — ST. ANGE CROSSES TO ST. LOUIS — FARMAR ARRIVES — FORT DE CHARTRES BECOMES FORT CAVENDISH — THE AID OF THE INDIANS — FARMAR TELLS HIS STORY — GAGE AND JOHNSON JUBILANT — AUBRY SENDS THE NEWS TO FRANCE — JOHNSON SENDS SOME MORE THOUGHTS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS — A PROCLAMATION — BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN HAVE TROUBLE IN SHIPPING THEIR GOODS — THE FIRST MERCHANDISE UNDER JENNINGS GOES TO THE ILLINOIS.

RECEIPT OF FARMAR, December 13, 1765

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.675, f. 22 — C.]

FORT CAVENDISH[1] 13th. December 1765

Received of Robert Leake Esq[r] Commissary General of Stores and Provisions for North America, Twenty seven Thousand nine hundred and Sixty five pounds of Flour, Seventeen Thousand three hundred and Sixty pounds four ounces of Pork, two hundred and ten pounds of Beef, One hundred and Twenty six pounds of Butter, Eight Hundred and fifteen Gallons of Pease, One Thousand and Eighty six pounds fourteen Ounces of Rice, Eighty four Gallons seven pints and a half Gill of Oyl, Two thousand six hundred and twenty seven Gallons two Gills of Rum, Forty nine Gallons and a half of Vinegar; Amounting in the whole to Twenty Four Thousand four Hundred and Eighty four and a half Rations, Exclusive Rum and Vinegar, for the use of His Majesty's 34th. Regiment under my Command Destined to take possession of the Illinois in the passage from New Orleans to the River Yassow in West Florida, Commencing the 25[th] of May 1765 and ending the 31[st] August instant inclusive; which provisions agreeable to His Excellency General Gage's Order is not to be paid for; having sign'd three Receipts of this Tenor and Date.

ROB[T] FARMAR
Maj[r] of 34th. Regim[t]

The foregoing and above is a true Copy taken from the Original.
ROB[T] LEAKE. Com[ry] Gen.

[1] The British rechristened Fort de Chartres, Fort Cavendish.

STIRLING TO GAGE, December 15, 1765[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 223 — C.]

Extracts of a Letter from Captain Stirling of His Majesty's 42^{d} Reg^{t} of Foot, to His Excellency Major General Hon^{ble} Thomas Gage, Commander in Chief in North America—Dated, Ilinois 15th Dec^{r} 1765

"Mons^{r} S^{t} Ange withdrew on the 23^{d} with all the French Troops in this Country, to a village called S^{t} Louis on the Spanish side, opposite to Caho, having Orders to that purpose from Mons^{r} Aubrey, he had no Soldiers in any of the Posts Except this, a Reduced Officer acted as Commandant at Caskaskias, and another at Caho, they have both left this Side likewise.

"The only Judges here, was one LeFevre who was Judge, King's Commissary, and Garde du Magazin, and another who acted as procureur du Roi;[2] All Causes were tried before them, and their Sentence Confirmed or reversed by the Council at N. Orleans, in case of Appeal, the Commandant decided all Small disputes, yet every Complaint was Addressed to him, and he Ordered the Judge to try them; Those Two are gone to the Spanish side being continued in their Employments there. I was therefore obliged to appoint one M^{r} La Grange[3] to decide all disputes that might arise amongst the Inhabitants According to the Laws and Customs of the Country, with liberty to appeal to me, in case they were not Satisfied with his decision; I first consulted the principal of them, if he was agreeable to them which they all told me he was, however if I may take the Liberty to give my Opinion, it will be necessary that Judges be sent here to administer Justice, as M^{r} La Grange knowledge of the Law, is not Sufficient to fill that Employment as it Ought to be. The Captains of Militia have the same Power as in Canada.[4] The Inhabitants Complain very much for want of Priests, there is but One now remains, the rest either having died or gone away, and he stays on the other Side,[5] he

[1] Printed by Mr. Carter in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1907, p. 216.

[2] This was Joseph Labuxiere, concerning whom see Alvord, *Cahokia Records* and *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, 2 and 5), index.

[3] See *ante*, 113, n. 2. For a discussion of the right to inaugurate a civil government in the Illinois, see Carter, *Illinois Country*, ch. 2.

[4] The captains of militia in each of the villages of French Canada were officers of justice, hearing petty cases and putting into execution the decrees of superior courts.

[5] Father Meurin, some of whose letters are printed *post*.

was formerly a Jesuit & would have been sent away likewise if the Caskaskias Indians, to whom he was Priest; had not insisted on his Staying, which the French allowed him to do upon his renouncing Jesuitism, and turning Sulpitien, this Priest might be of great Use to us, if he was brought over to this Side, which I make no doubt might be Effectuated, provided his former appointments were allowed him, which were 600 Livres p^{r} Annum from the King, as Priest to the Indians.

"I have not been able to get an Exact Account of the Number of the Inhabitants, as there is always many of them at N Orleans, trading with the Indians, or Hunting, which they go to as regularly as the Savages, the Village of Caskaskias has about Fifty Familys, and at Caho, about Forty, those of Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, & S^{t} Philip are almost totally Abandoned; This Settlement, has been declining Since the Commencement of the War, and when it was Ceded to us, many Familys went away for fear of the English, and want of Troops to protect them from the Indians, they have formed a Settlement Since the Peace Opposite to Caho called S^{t} Louis where there is now About Fifty Familys, and they have another opposite to Caskaskias, which has been Settled Thirty Years ago, Called S^{t} Genevieve about the same number of Familys, to these two Places they have retired; M^{r} Neon who Commanded before M^{r} S^{t} Ange was very Active in Enticing the Inhabitants of this Side, to go over to the other, I wrote Your Excellency that few or none had given in their Names, to go away, which made me hope they intended staying, but I have found since that, that was only a blind, for many of them drove off their Cattle in the night and carried off their Effects and grain, which I did everything in my power to prevent, but as I was not in a Condition to send partys to the two Ferrys of Caho and Caskaskias, Considering the Disposition of the Indians, a good deal of Cattle and some Grain has been carried off, and if the gentlest methods are not used with those that Stay, who are the best, we shall lose them too; There will be a Necessity of Building a Fort[1] at Caskaskias, the former one being Ruinous, ill Situated and no water, and likewise one at Caho, as these are the places opposite to the Spanish Settlements and where the Ferrys are, besides in all probability, the Mississippi will carry away this Fort by the Month of June, it

[1] See *ante*, 1:4.

is at Caskaskias where they Raise all the Grain for Supplying the Troops, the Country is very Level and clear of Woods, with the finest Meadow I ever Saw, in which we have advantage over the Spaniards, who have not room Enough to form one good Settlement, on the banks of the Mississippi, but they have the advantage of the Salt Springs, and Lead Mines with which this Colony is Supplied, on their Side, none of those has been yet found out here.

"I have Enquired into the affair of the Jesuits, and find that they were Dispossest, and their Estates and Goods Sold by an Order, from the Council at N Orleans, for the behoof of the King; Their Houses, Lands, and goods here, were Sold for a Hundred & some odd Thousand Livres, besides about Fifty Negro's that were send down to Orleans, and there Sold: They Carried away the Papers of Sale, so that I could not get an exact account, but so far I have learned from the person who was Employed in the Sale.[1] I have likewise learned that a Priest at Caho, named *Forget*, who was of the Mission Etranger of the Sulpitien, who was the only One remaining in the Country, did sell since the Peace, all the Effects of that Order in this Country, to the amount of above Thirty Thousand Livres, with the Consent of their Governor who was M^r^ Neon, tho' several Inhabitants Objected against it, and Ordered it to be remitted to the Superior in France,[2] He likewise gave three Negro's their liberty: As I did not know what Your Excellency's Sentiments with regard to it might be, I Ordered the person who bought them, to make no further Payments, till Your Orders Should arrive, He having Agreed to remit Annually so much till the whole should be Paid.

"I have not been able to find, that the French King had any Possessions in this Country, Except the Ground the Forts stands on, as no Lands were ever bought from the Indians, who Claim the whole as their property; As to their Numbers, the Caskaskias Indians, who live within half a League of that Village, are about a Hundred & Fifty Warriors; The Metchis & Peory as live one Mile from this Fort, the former have Forty, the latter about Two Hundred & Fifty Warriors; The Caho's are about Forty, likewise; These Indians I am informed, intend all going to the other side to live; The Caskaskias Indians told me in a Council they held before M^r^ S^t^ Ange, and me, that, that

[1] For the papers concerning the sale, see *ante*, 1:125, 129, 132.

[2] See *ante*, 1:45, 48.

was their Intention, the French Emissarys have spared no pains to debauch the Indians & Inhabitants to leave us; And a Report they have Spread that all the French Officers, are to be Continued by the Spaniards and the Government of the other side to be entirely French, has contributed not a little to it."

[*Endorsed:*] Extracts of a Letter from Captain Stirling to His Excell^cy General Gage Dated Illinois 15^th Decem^r 1765. In Maj^r Gen^l Gage's of the 28^th March 1766. Containing Particulars with regard to the Settlement of the Illinois and the French Settlements on the opposite shore. Inclosure 2. in N° 10 Bundle F 2

FARMAR TO [STUART], December 16, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.67, f. 65 — C.]

Copy of Major Farmar's Letter dated Fort Cavendish Illinois 16^th Dec^r 1765.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my safe arrival here the 2^nd Instant without the least opposition from the Indians; it would be too tedious for me to enumerate the many Difficulties and Hardships that accrued to me and the Soldiers during this Tedious Passage, which consisted of five months and five days; But I assure you, Sir, that the Navigation of the Mississippi is extremely difficult and intricate to those who have not been accustomed to the like Services, which was the Case of the Troops under my Command.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the scheme, which was concerted between you and me at Mobile, relative to the Chactaws and Chickasaws meeting me, has entirely answered our Expectations; three of the Eighty Chactaws, that accompanied Lieut: Lord to the Natches, came down and joined me at Iberville, where the Chilimashaws, Humas, and Alibamous visited me, they did not fail to tell them the reason of the many of their Nation assembling at Natchez, & were of great Service thereby; M^r M^cIntosh likewise met me at the Confluence of the River Margot with 125 Chickasaws;[1] I assure you, Sir, that by the judicious Management of these Indians, together with their Natural Temper, no set of People ever behaved better. M^r

[1] See *post*, 130, 214.

M^cIntosh & 14 of them accompanied me to this Place, & were of great Service in Hunting; & had it not been for the Buffaloe Meat, they & some others Hunters Supplied us with, the Expedition must have failed, being about five Weeks short of Provisions; they were of great Service here likewise; both French & Indians stand in great Awe of them. I have made them join Hands with the Illinois Indians; but it is only in consequence of their good behavior to the English.

The Cherokees according to your Desire, came to the mouth of the Ohio; but not finding me there, they proceeded to this place, & have killed some French Men; They have likewise carried off an Indian Woman of the Illinois Nation, which I could wish you would send back with a Chief or two to make Peace, which, according to their Request, I have promised them. As we have now got Possession of this place, it will be attended with bad Consequences, if the Cherokees continue to strike on this side of the River, as likewise upon the Ohio, as we expect to be furnished with Provisions from thence, which is a scarce Commodity in this Country, & by which River a communication from Fort Pitt will be opened in the Spring.

In my Passage up this River I distributed considerable presents to the Chilimashaws, Humas, Alibamous, Tonikas, Chactaws, Chickasaws, & Arkansas, which last appear to be a faithfull Nation, and great Friends to the English; I likewise gave considerable Presents to the party of the Illinois, that were at the Arkanza, who were well pleased at the treatment they received from me & sent to inform their Nation of it; which circumstance I believe was a great means of my not being opposed on my Arrival here. About Six weeks before I arrived here, Capt^n Stirling with a Detachment of the 42^nd Regiment from Fort Pitt had taken Possession of this place & had it not been for that Circumstance, I have great reason to believe the Inhabitants here would have done their utmost endeavors to have prevailed upon the Indians, here, to have opposed me; they tried all the Means they could to persuade them to attack Captain Stirling, but had not sufficient time, as he arrived within a few Miles of the Fort before they discovered him.

I have wrote to His Excellency Gen^l Gage,[1] that, in order to keep the different Nations Contiguous to this place in Peace and quietness, it would be absolutely necessary for some Indian Agent to come here

[1] Printed *post*, 131.

early in the Spring, with a proper assortment of Presents for them. I cannot as yet inform you of their disposition; this being the Hunting Season, but some reports fly about, that they intend to strike upon this place in the Spring.

I am sorry to inform you, that some time after my setting out from New Orleans great quantity of the Presents were damaged by the incessant Rains which we have had, & especially the blankets; but as I have not as yet had time to survey them, I cannot let you know what quantity, but shall not fail to do it first opportunity.

The Assortment of Presents, which I had, were spoiled by M^r^ Sinnot's not taking an Equal proportion of each kind; for which Reason I have been under the Necessity of purchasing others, an Account of which you will receive from Lieutenant Henry.

I am, Sir, your most Obedient and most Humble Servant,

(Signed) ROB^T^ FARMAR.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of Major Farmar's Letter, dated Fort Cavendish Illinois 16 Dec^r^ 1765. N° 43.

STUART TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, July 10, 1766[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.67, f. 107—E.]

. . . . . .

I have the pleasure to inform your Lordships that the Chactaws and Chickasaws punctually perform their engagements in sending considerable Flanking parties to attend the 34^th^ Regiment in its passage up the Mississippi to take possession of the Illinois.

The Message sent by the Chactaw Nation by their Deputies to the small Nations on the Mississippi had all the effect that could be wished in awing them from attempting to obstruct the Troops by threatening them with Destruction if they made any such attempt; and a Number of that Nation having marched to Fort Rossalie in the Natchez country to join the Regiment left no room to doubt of their Intentions; Lieut. Lord of the 34^th^ Regiment who headed the Chactaws behaved upon that occasion with great Perseverance and Prudence, he describes the Country formally inhabited by the Natchez Indians as the finest in the World.

[1] Printed also in *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 7: 238. The letter is a long one and describes the Indian situation in the Southwest minutely. In spite of the date, the letter is placed here as it is so closely related to Major Farmar's letter.

The Chickasaws under Mr John McIntosh commissary in that Nation to the Number of one hundred and twenty five, amongst whom their Great Leader Payamataha were also punctual to their Time & Place and met the Regiment when it had but Five Days bad Provisions left, but they supplied it plentifully with Buffalloe Bear and Venison, by which means it was enabled to proceed. Twenty five of the best Chickasaw Hunters with the Commissary attended it to Fort de Chartres.

I had also ordered one Hundred Cherokees to Rendez-Vous at the confluence of the Ohio & Mississippi which they performed but not meeting the Regiment at the stipulated Place went and lay round the Illinois Villages, & gave such employment to the French & Indian inhabitants as effectually prevented any attempt from them to obstruct the Regiment; for which Pieces of Service I have general Gage's Directions to return each Nation thanks.

The Regiment was Five Calendar Months and Five Days upon its Passage; a detachment of the Royal Highlanders commanded by Captain Sterling was ordered from Pittsburgh & had taken possession of Fort de Chartres, before the arrival of the Regiment, which also kept the French and Indians in awe, from whom every bad office was to be expected. . . .

Fraser to Gage, December 16, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 213—C.]

Extracts of a Letter from Lieut. Fraser of His Majesty's late [*blank in MS.*] Regiment of Foot, to His Excellency Major General Honble Thomas Gage, Commander in Chief in North America. Dated, Ilinois 16th December 1765

"Mr Beaujeu has taken considerable Presents for Pondiac from N. Orleans, such as I can scarce think they would bestow on him, for what he has done, did they not Expect he would yet prove Serviceable to them; Since his arrival in the Ilinois, he and Monsr St Ange are very busy amongst the Inhabitants that, what with promises & threats they will Scarcely leave any on our Side, such as they found Ignorant of Our Constitution, they Easily persuaded to quit their Habitations, for the Advantages of Enjoying their Ancient Priviledges and Laws, which they declare to be very Considerable when they are put in

Comparison with Ours, which they Say, leave them Exposed to the Extortions of Covetous Commandants, who they tell them have an Unlimited power over their Persons and Effects; Such as they could not decoy away by these falsehoods, they Endeavored to frighten by painting Major Farmar in the worst colours imaginable; They are also frightened with the thoughts, that the Indians who will come in the Spring, will kill their Cattle and Burn their Houses: The latter gives them the most Uneasiness, and most People are of Opinion, that all the Nations will not continue long, in their present Tranquility.

"The Indians have also left our Side, and gone to the Spanish Side; The great Chief of the Ilinois met us on his way to New Orleans, with no good Intention I believe, but the Threats of the Chickesaws brought him back after he had refused Major Farmar, He has Since prevailed on a few of the Caskaskias, to come to receive presents from Major Farmar, but none of the other tribes of the Ilinois has come in yet.

"That Nation (Chickesaws) can be very Usefull in case of Disturbances amongst the Northern Indians, as would not only cut of all Supplies, but would also Strike upon them with as many Men as we would Choose."

[*Endorsed:*] Extracts of a Letter from Lieut. Fraser to His Excellency General Gage. Dated Ilinois 16th Decemr 1765 In Majr Gen[l] Gage's, of the 28th March 1766. Concerning Intrigues of the French to persuade the Inhabitants to leave the Ilinois & to remove to the new Settlements on the West of the Mississippi. Inclosure. 3. in N° 10 Bundle F.

FARMAR TO GAGE, December 16–19, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 217 — C.][1]

Extracts of Letters from Major Farmar Commanding His Majesty's 34th Regiment of Foot, to His Excellency Major General Honble Thomas Gage, Commander in Chief in North America Dated, Ilinois, 16th & 19th December 1765.

"I have the Honor to Inform Your Excellency of my Safe Arrival here, the 2d Instt, after a Passage of Five Months and five Days; The

[1] Also in C.O., 323.18, f. 553 and C.O., 323.25, f. 297.

Hardships and immense Difficulties, that Accrued to Me, and the Soldiers, under my Command, during this tedious passage, is beyond your Excellency's Conception.

"While I was at the Akansa, my Pilot ran away, and having asked liberty from the French Officer Commanding at that Post for to hire another, was absolutely refused that favor; This greatly hindered Our progress afterwards, for as the Islands in this great River, form many different Channels, We could not be Judge which was the most Convenient for Us, being Unacquainted with the River.

"The Arrival of Captain Stirling, with the Detachment of the 42d Regiment at this place before me, was of the Utmost Service; I have the greatest reason to believe, that if Your Excellency had not Sent Him, the French Inhabitants here, might have prevailed upon the Indians to have Opposed me. They did their utmost Endeavors to persuade them to attack Him, but were too late, as He arrived within a few miles before he was Discovered.

"I am Sorry to Acquaint You, that this Fort is likely to be Carried away by the River, and by all Accounts it will probably be this Spring; I Shall wait Your Excellency's Orders upon that head, to know in that Case what must be done.

"I think it would be necessary to Establish a good Post on that River,[1] where the French had one that was lately burnt by the Chikasaws, It would also be necessary, to have a Garrison at the Kaskaskias, as I know the greatest Number of Inhabitants, and the most Substantial of them are Settled there; here the French always Landed their Merchandize, as the Kaskaskias River was a Secure Place for their Batteau's their being no other nearer the Fort.

"I am Sorry to Acquaint Your Excellency that there is likely to be a Scarcity of Provisions in this Country, in Consequence of which, I was obliged to Send Captn Stirling with his Detachment down the Mississippi, it being impracticable for them to Join their Regiment by the Ohio at this Season of the Year, agreable to Your Excellency's Orders & Instructions, I Hope You will not find the Route Attended with more Expence to the Government than the Other, as the Batteau's they take with them, will Serve in the Spring, to bring up the Recruits for this Regiment, which are now in West Florida.

"After the Strictest Enquiry, by assembling the Inhabitants,

[1] This refers to Fort Massac.

relative to a Supply of Provisions, I find the whole that we can be possibly Supplied with in this Country amounts to no more than Fifty Thousand Pounds of Flour, & One Thousand Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds of Indian Corn Meal, allowing the full Quantity to be furnished without waste or Damage by laying in Store, it may Serve the Garrison two Hundred & Twenty One Days, which will be some time in the Month of July, and no kind of Provision for the Indians who Assemble here in great Numbers in the Months of February, March, April, and May and if their Visit is Peaceable, they have always been Supplied by the French with double what We allow the Soldiers of these Articles, and also Meat; but in a smaller proportion, as the quantity that can be furnished of this Specie is quite Uncertain, it Entirely depends upon the Success the Hunters have, in killing Buffalo, which is the principal Maintenance of this Country; I Hope by these Remonstrances, your Excellency will fall upon some means to Relieve this Garrison, from the Distress it is likely to Suffer for want of Provisions, by Sending Us a Supply, which I presume will be by the way of Fort Pitt, being the Easiest access to this Country, and they Should be directed to come immediately to this Fort, to prevent the Indians cutting them off, in case their Visit is in Hostile terms, which I am Informed Several Nations intend, Should the Batteau's be discovered to halt on the main Land of either Side.

"I find it necessary to distribute considerable Presents to the different Nations of Indians inhabiting the Banks of the Mississippi; which I met with in my Passage, who seem well disposed towards the English, and particularly the Akansas, at which place I met with a Party of the Ilinois, to whom I likewise gave Presents, they were well pleased with the treatment they received from me, and sent to inform their Nation of it, which Contributed greatly to my not being opposed in my Passage.

"In my letter to Your Excellency of the 16st: Instant I Omited to inform You, that after my Pilot deserted me at the Akansas, I hired One out of a Canoe who was not Sufficiently acquainted with the River; this I was obliged to put up with, as the French Officer there one la Grand Cour, would not permit any of the Inhabitants to Engage with me, he also Confined in his Fort an old man, whom he imagined seemed Inclineable to serve me as Interpreter for the Akansas Indians, and Some of this Nation that I met there, he refused my giving

them presents at the Village, which obliged me to assemble them a few Leagues higher up the Mississippi, on the side Ceded to the English, where they told me that he (the French Officer) had told them, it would become them better to strike upon the English, than to take Presents from them.

"The French have many Agents here, that are constantly Employed in putting the worst and most foreign Constructions, on every Transaction, in order to prejudice the minds of the few Inhabitants, that remains here against the English Government, and to induce them to leave their Settlements, and go over to the other Side of the River, to the new Settlements they are forming there; The great attention they give to this new Colony, appears very Extraordinary, as they are Sufficiently apprized of its being Ceded to the Spaniards.

"There is many Houses with Lands belonging to them, abandoned by the French, who went off without paying any regard to an order Captain Stirling Published here, desiring such as Chose to go away would deliver in their Names; Queré do they forfeit their Lands, &ca."

[*Endorsed:*] Extracts of Letters from Major Farmar to His Excell^{cy} General Gage—Dated Illinois 16th & 19th Decem^{r} 1765. In Maj^{r} Gen^{l} Gage's, of the 28th March 1766. Informing of the State of the Settlements in the Illinois Country.

The Dispositions & designs of the French their forming of new Settlements on the West Shore of the Mississippi. Inclosure. 1. in N^{o} 10 Bundle F 1

A Deposition, January 4, 1766

[K. MSS.—D.S.]

par Devant Le Notaire Royal au poste vincennes Et en presence du sieur vodry interprete pour sa Maejesté britanique au dit poste y Résident fut present Le Nommé andre Le huron de present au dit poste Chargé des Lettre pour Le fort duquéne au Nom de Sa ditte

[*Translation*]

Before the royal notary at Post Vincennes and in the presence of M. Vodry, interpreter for his Britannic majesty in the said country residing there, was present one named Andrew the Huron at present at the said post intrusted with letters for Fort Duquesne in the

Maejesté Declarant Le dit andre devoir au sieur Latuemaville ou a son ordre porteur du present La somme de Cent vingt Livres En peltrie pour un Cheval que Le dit Latuemaville negotiant En le dit poste Luy a Reellement fourny pour faire son voyage pour Le Compte de sa ditte Maejesté Dont Le dit andré prie Monsieur Le Commandant des illinois pour sa ditte Maejesté De vouloir acquitter Le present fait au dit poste Etude du Notaire Lan Mil sept Cents Soixante six Le quatre janvier a deuse haures aprés Mydy Les Dits andré Et sieur vodry ont Declaré ne scavoir signé aprés Lecture faite suivant Lordonce

Marque Du dit + ANDRÉ
Marque Du dit + VODRY
PHILLIBERT Nte Rol

[*Translation*]

name of his said majesty and declares that he, the said Andrew, owes to M. Latuemaville or at his order to the bearer of the present the sum of one hundred and twenty *livres* in peltries for a horse which the said Latuemaville, merchant in the said place, has actually furnished him to make his journey for the account of his said majesty. And the said Andrew prays the gentleman commanding for his said majesty in the Illinois to pay the same. Made at the said post in the bureau of the notary, January 4, 1766, at two P. M. The said Andrew and M. Vodry have declared that they did not know how to sign; after reading was made in accordance with the ordinance.

Mark of the said + ANDREW
Mark of the said + VODRY
PHILLIBERT, royal notary

GAGE TO BARRINGTON,[1] January 8, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 69 — C.]

NEW YORK 8th January, 1766.

MY LORD,

Hearing that a private Ship is just going to sail for London, I take that Opportunity to transmit your Lordship the inclosed List of Promotions recommended to His Majesty; and likewise to acquaint You, that I have received Advice, that the Detachment of His

[1] Lord Barrington was at this time secretary at war. For sketch see *post*, 234.

Majesty's Royal Highland Regiment sent from Fort Pitt to the Ilinois Country, has relieved the French Garrison at Fort Charles [*sic*], and taken possession of the Country in His Majesty's Name. The particulars of this Affair I must pospone 'till the return of the Pacquet, which We daily expect. I have the honor to be with great Respect and Esteem My Lord Your Lordship's Most obedient and most humble Servant

THOS. GAGE.

RT. HONBLE. LORD VISCT. BARRINGTON His Majesty's Secretary at War.

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a letter from Gen: Gage to Lord Barrington New York. 8 Jan. 1766. Informing that a Detachment of the 42^{d} Reg^{t} had taken Possession of the Illinois Country in the King's Name. Bundle F. No 1.

GAGE TO CONWAY, January 16, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 83 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK, Jan. 16th, 1766.

SIR,

I have been honored with the Receipt of the Duplicate of your Letter of the 24th of October, the Ship of War which was dispatched with the Original is not yet arrived. Your having been pleased to acquaint me, that the Measures pursued here for restoring Peace and Tranquility amongst the Savage Nations, had met with His Majesty's Approbation; could not fail of giving me the highest Satisfaction. It is to be hoped that no Detriment has happened to the King's Service, from the general Meeting with the Western Indians, which was proposed by Sir William Johnson, being posponed. He will be made acquainted with the Sentiments of the Board of Trade on this head, and will act with respect to the said proposed Meeting as shall be judged best, for His Majesty's Interest.

The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury have transmitted me a Copy of your Letter to that Board, Signifying the King's Pleasure on the Subject of the Preparations and Works proposed in the Engineers Department in North-America And I shall not fail to Act in conformity thereto; No Expences will be incurred herein that can be avoided, as no works will be undertaken or Reparations made, but what the Service shall absolutely require.

It gives me great Pleasure that I am to acquaint you with the Success of our Endeavours to take possession of the Ilinois Country, after so many Attempts had failed, and I have the honor to transmit you a Copy of a Letter[1] to me from Captain Stirling of His Majesty's 42d Regiment who was detached from Fort Pitt down the Ohio for this Purpose, after he had relieved the French Garrison of Fort-Chartres, and taken Possession of the Country in His Majesty's Name. I also transmit two Copys of Inventorys,[2] taken at the Time of the Cession of the said Fort and Country, of the Stores, Artillery, and Sundry other Articles delivered over to the King's Commissary appointed for the Purpose, by the Commissary of His Most Christian Majesty, together with a Memorial to me, from the Inhabitants of the District.[3] With respect to the Memorial, there is not Time to wait the King's Pleasure thereupon, but as His Majesty was pleased to grant the Indulgence therein prayed for, to the Inhabitants of Mobile when in the like Circumstances; I have taken the Liberty to direct Captain Stirling, to act in like Manner with the Inhabitants of the Ilinois. As for the Demand of the Priest, I have posponed answering them directly in that Point, for the present. The Progress of the 34th Regiment up the Mississippi must have been very slow, but as it can't be imagined they could possibly have met with any Opposition, I must entertain Hopes of their having got to Fort-Chartres before the End of the Autumn; and brought the Supplys of Presents and Ammunition, which Captain Stirling seems in need of. An Interpreter has been sent off to him, and will make his Way to the Ilinois in the Winter, if it is possible.[4]

. . . . . .

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, Sir, Your most obedient and most humble Servant

THO^{S} GAGE

RIGHT HON^{BLE} H. S. CONWAY One of H: Majestys Principal Sec^{rys} of State

[*Endorsed:*] New-York. 16th Jan^{ry} 1766. Maj^{r} Gen^{l} Gage, R 14th March. Informing that the Illinois has been taken Possession of for

[1] Printed *ante*, 107.

[2] Printed *ante*, 91, 102.

[3] Printed *ante*, 111.

[4] A long account of the disturbances over the stamp act is omitted.

the King. He has granted the French Inhabitants nine Months time to remove their effects. An Account of the Situation of Affairs with Relation to the Stamp Act—The Designs & Tempers of the different Ranks of Men—The Tumults continue—His own Situation & Apprehensions. with 4 Inclosures Bundle F N° 3

JOHNSON TO GAGE, January 23, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 12:22 — E.]

Jan 23, 1766.

Private

I have to acknowledge the receipt of Your favors of 30th Ult & 13 inst. the former with the agreeable news of our being in possession of the Illinois, on which I congratulate you and hope we may peaceably enjoy it, & that Mr. Smallman & Mr. McKee may be a means of contributing thereto, altho' their journey is now somewhat late, and could the expense have been undertaken, it was doubly better to have sent them with the Troops. I have heard from Mr. Croghan on the occasion & sent directions for Mr. McKee respecting the condolance of Shawanese.

. . . . . .

AUBRY TO THE MINISTER, January 27, 1766

[A.N., C, C13A46:21 — L.S.]

[*Ministerial reference:*] 1766 M. Aubry Louisiane M. Dubuq.

A LA NELLE ORLEANS Le 27 Janver 1766

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay l'honneur de vous informer que Mr Sterling, capitaine dans le Regiment Royal montagnard Ecossois, et revetu des ordres de Mr

[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial reference:*] 1766. M. Aubry. Louisiana M. Dubuq

NEW ORLEANS, January 27, 1766

MY LORD:

I have the honor to inform you that M. Stirling, captain of the Royal Highland Scotch Regiment and empowered by orders of M.

[1] Copied by Mr. Carter before the Albany fire.

Gage, gouverneur general de la Nouvelle angleterre est arrivé du fort Duquesne aux illinois le 8. octobre, avec huit berges, trois officiers et 100 hommes; il a pris possession du fort de chartre, le 10 du meme mois aprés que M^r^ De S^t^ ange qui y commandoit a eu fait le procés Verbal de la cession du dit fort et de tous les effets qui etoient dedans. Les mesmes difficultés que les anglais nous ont fait lorsque nous leur avons livré le fort de la mobille ont été renouvellées aux Illinois; ils pretendent qu'en vertu du septieme article du traitté de paix, ils doivent prendre possession non seulement des forts et des Etablissemens placés sur la rive gauche du Mississipy, mais aussy des canons, effets et ustanciles qui sont dedans;[1] en consequence M^r^ Sterling s'est emparé de sept petites pieces de canon que nous y avions dont quatre mauvaises (ayant eu la precaution de faire passer les autres de l'autre bord.) de 250 Livres de poudre, dont 100. de mauvaise, et generallement de tout ce qu il y avoit au Roy dans le fort, dont j'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer l'etat, ce qui heureusement n'est pas considerable.[2] M^r^ de

[*Translation*]

Gage, governor general of New England, arrived from Fort Duquesne at the Illinois, October 8, with eight barges, three officers, and a hundred men. He took possession of Fort de Chartres the tenth of the same month after M. de St. Ange, who commanded there, had made the *proces verbal* of the cession of the said fort and of all the property which was within. The same difficulties which the English caused us when we delivered to them Fort Mobile have been renewed in the Illinois. They pretend that by virtue of the seventh article of the treaty of peace, they ought to take possession not only of the forts and establishments situated on the left bank of the Mississippi but also of the cannon, property, and utensils which are within.[1] Consequently M. Stirling took possession of seven small pieces of cannon which we had there, four of which were ruined (we had taken precaution to send the others to the other bank), two hundred and fifty pounds of powder, one hundred pounds of which was bad, and in general of everything in the fort that belonged to the king, of which I have the honor to send you a statement, which happily is not considerable.[2] M. de St. Ange, after having protested against the

[1] See *ante*, 1:36, 58, 205, 206, 207, 217.

[2] Printed *ante*, 102.

S^t^ ange, aprés avoir protesté contre le procedé du commandant anglais, a passé de l'autre bord suivant mes ordres, avec sa garnison qui consistoit en 35 hommes, deux officieres; Les Etablissemens qui sont sur la rive droite, ne consistent qu'en deux petits villages appellés S^te^ genevieve et pincourt, il a choisy ce dernier comme le plus convenable pour i rester jusqu'a ce qu il ait reçu de Nouveaux ordres, il a même été obligé de me rénvoyer 15 hommes, attendu que les anglais ont retenu toute la farinne qui etoit de leur bord, et qu'il ny en avoit plus suffisament du sien pour faire subsister sa petite garnison.

Je crois que Messieurs les anglais n'interpretent pas bien le sens du 7^eme^ article du traitté de paix, qui dit que le Roy trés chretien cede en toute proprieté et garantie a S.M. Britanique, la riviere et le port de la mobille et tout ce quil possede ou a du posseder du costé gauche du fleuve Mississipy. a l'exception de la ville de la Nouvelle orleans et de l'isle dans laquelle elle est située; ils se fondent sur l'expression de tout ce quil possede ou a du posseder et pretendent qu'en consequence, les canons et generallement tous les effets appartenans au Roy placés dans les forts qui leur sont cedés, doivent aussi leur appartenir;

[*Translation*]

procedure of the English commandant, following my orders, passed to the other bank with his garrison which consisted of thirty-five men and two officers. The establishments which are on the right bank consist only of two small villages called Ste. Genevieve and Paincourt [St. Louis]. He has chosen this last as the most convenient for a stay until he shall receive new orders. He has even been obliged to send me fifteen men, because the English have retained all the flour which was on their bank and he had no more than sufficient of his own to support his little garrison.

I believe that the English do not interpret correctly the sense of the seventh article of the treaty of peace which says that the very Christian king cedes in full propriety and guarantees to his Britannic majesty the river and the port of Mobile and all that he possesses or has a right to possess on the left bank of the river Mississippi with the exception of the town of New Orleans and the island on which it is situated. They base their interpretation on the expression "of all which he possesses or has a right to possess" and they pretend that consequently the cannon and all the property generally belonging to

si on avoit eu intention de les leur ceder, on auroit eu attention de le marquer expressement, et comme on n'en parle point, je crois que l'expression de tout ce qu il possede ou a du posseder, ne regarde que les forts et terres situées sur la rive gauche du fleuve.

M^r^ D'abbadie, considerant que la depense au fort de chartre etoit considerable pour le Roy, vu la facilité que les sauvages avoient d'y venir continuellement, ce qui n'auroit pas été de meme si le commandant avoit demeuré de l'autre costé du fleuve, avoit projetté de l'Evacuer et d'ordonner a M^r^ de S^t^ ange, de passer de l'autre bord avec sa garnison; ce n'est que les instantes prieres de M^r^ fermar, qui l'ont engagé a laisser une garnison dans le fort de chartre avec quelque pieces de canon, jusqu'a ce que les anglais en eussent pris possession. il ne me paroit donc pas juste que, les anglais prenant possession du fort, et que nous n'avons gardé que par une pure complaisance pour eux, s'opposent a ce que nous emportions avec nous, tous les effets appartenans au Roy.

M^r^ fermar, major du 34^eme^ regiment qui avoit eu ordre de monter

[*Translation*]

the king, situated in the forts which are ceded to them, ought also to belong to them. If one had had the intention of ceding these to them, attention would have been given to mentioning them expressly; and, since no mention is made of them, I believe that the expression "of all which he possesses or has a right to possess" means only the forts and lands situated on the left bank of the river.

M. Dabbadie, considering that the expense at Fort de Chartres was considerable for the king and seeing the ease with which the savages came there continually, a thing which could not have happened if the commandant dwelt on the other side of the river, had determined to evacuate the fort and to order M. de St. Ange to cross to the other bank with his garrison. It was only the insistent prayers of M. Farmar which have induced him to leave a garrison at Fort de Chartres with some pieces of cannon until the English should have taken possession of it. It does not appear to me just, therefore, that the English in taking possession of the fort which we have looked after only out of pure courtesy for them should be opposed to our taking away with us all the property belonging to the king. M. Farmar, major of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, who had been ordered to ascend

aux illinois par le Mississipy, sy est aussi rendu dans le commencement de decembre aprés un voyage de cinq mois; il n'auroit jamais pu y parvenir, si M^r^ Sterling, n'eut pas envoyé au devant de luy a plus de 100. lieux, des Vivres et des soldats pour l'ayder a monter.[1] aussitot que ce major a été aux illinois, M^r^ Sterling a derivé avec ces 100. montagnards ecossois, jusqu'a la nouvelle orleans ou il s embarque pour la Nouvelle yorck., deux bastimens de transport chargés de 160. hommes de troupes sont arrivés ycy de pensacole au commencement de decembre, ils vont jusques a manchac, (autrement dit la riviere d'hyberville,) que les sauvages avoient detruit comme j'ay eu l'honneur de vous le marquer et que les anglais vont retablir, ils y laisseront Un capitaine et 100 hommes, et les autres 60. hommes vont aux illinois sous les ordres de M^r^ Reed, lieutenant colonel du 34^e^ Regiment, ils m'ont demandé la permission de faire debarquer leurs troupes et de les faire camper vis a vis de la N^lle^ orleans, jusqu'a ce quils se fussent preparés pour leur voyage je la leur ait refusé tout net en leur disant que comme

[*Translation*]

to the Illinois by the Mississippi, also reached there in the beginning of December after a voyage of five months. He would not have been able to arrive there if M. Stirling had not sent to meet him, at more than a hundred leagues, some provisions and some soldiers to assist him in ascending.[1] As soon as this major was in the Illinois, M. Stirling set off with these one hundred Scotch Highlanders for New Orleans where he took passage for New York. Two transport boats loaded with one hundred and sixty troopers arrived here from Pensacola the beginning of December. They are going to Manchac (otherwise called the river Iberville) which the savages had destroyed as I have had the honor of telling you and which the English are going to reëstablish. They will leave there a captain and one hundred men and the other sixty men are going to the Illinois under the command of M. Reed, lieutenant colonel of the Thirty-fourth Regiment. They have asked me for permission to disembark their troops and have them pitch a camp opposite New Orleans until they should be prepared for their journey. I absolutely refused them saying that, as I was expecting the Spaniards every day, I feared that the latter would not find

[1] According to the English accounts, this assistance was given by the Indians, and this is probably the correct version. See *ante*, 127, 131, 133.

j'attendois les espagnols tous les jours, je craignois qu ils ne trouvassent pas bon que je les laissasse camper sur leurs terres; je leur ait aussi representé quil en resulteroit une grande desertion ce qui leur donneroit beaucoup d'embaras et a moy aussy.

Les nations du canada et de la belle riviere, qui etoient depuis longtems en guerre avec les anglais, ont été forcées par la misere ou elles se trouvoient reduites, de faire la paix avec eux; elles leur ont par la, facilité le moyen de se rendre aux illinois par la riviere Oyo., M^r^ fermar qui si est aussy rendu par le mississipy, n'at point trouvé d'obstacle de la part de celles qui sont placées sur le fleuve, attendu que je lay arestées et contenües; J'ay crû cette demarche necessaire pour ne point donner lieu aux anglais de se plaindre, et je l'ay fait en même tems pour le bien et l'avantage de la colonie; Depuis un an que j'y commande, j'y ay entretenu la paix et la tranquilité entre tout le monde, ce qui n'est pas une chose aisée dans un païs tel que celuy cy; J'ay arresté tous les sauvages et je les ay empeschés de frapper sur l'anglais qui, desesperé de ne pouvoir prendre possession des terres que nous leur avons cedé, et assés injustes pour penser que c'etoit a

[*Translation*]

it pleasing that I should have permitted the English to encamp on their territory. I also represented to them that it would result in a great desertion which would give them and me much embarrassment.

The tribes of Canada and of the Ohio which have been for a long time at war with the English have been forced by the want to which they were reduced to make peace; they have thereby made it easier to go to the Illinois by the river Ohio. M. Farmar who has also gone there by the Mississippi found no obstacle on the part of those Indians who are situated on the river, because I prevented it and held them in check. I believed this conduct was necessary in order not to give the English cause to complain, and I have done it at the same time for the benefit and advantage of the colony. For a year, I have commanded here and have maintained peace and quiet between all the world which is not an easy thing to do in a country such as this is. I have controlled all the savages and have prevented them from attacking the English who, despairing of succeeding in taking possession of the lands that we have ceded to them and being so unjust as to

notre instigation, auroient été capables de faire un coup d'Etat avant peu;

Comme ils se plaisent un peu dans le desordre, ils n'auroient pas manqué d'Exciter secretement contre nous les *Tchicachas, Tchactas, Cheraquis* et *alibamons,* nations puissantes qui dependent d'Eur et dont on fait ce qu'on veut avec des presens et de la Boisson, ces sauvages auroient pu attaquer nos Etablissemens qui se trouvent sans deffense, n'ayant que 300. hommes pour garder plus de 500 Lieux de pays; ils auroient defait aisement les voitures des voyageurs qui vont traiter des Pelleteries dans les postes Eloignés et dont depuis un an on a envoyé en france pour prés d'un million, d'un autre costé les sauvages qui nous sont attachés, n'auroient pas manqué de tuer les anglais quand ils en auroient rencontré sur le fleuve, aussi bien que leurs sauvages; Notre Pauvre colonie auroit été bientot reduite en un Etat deplorable, tout y auroit été en feu, et les flames de cette incendie, auroit pu aller plus loin. me trouvant a la teste de ce pays dans une circonstance aussy delicatte J'ay cru qu'il etoit de mon devoir de pacifier tout et de preparer la voix aux Espagnols, il y a longtems que

[*Translation*]

think that it was at our instigation, were capable of making a *coup d'état* in a little while.

As they became pleased a little with the disorder, they would not have failed to excite against us secretly the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Alibamu, powerful nations dependent upon them with whom they do what they wish by means of presents and drinks. These savages would have been able to attack our establishments which are without defense since we have only three hundred men to guard more than five hundred leagues of country. They would have easily defeated the boats of the *voyageurs* who go to trade in the distant posts for peltries nearly a million of which have been sent to France within a year. On the other hand, the savages who are attached to us would not have failed to kill the English as well as their savages when they should meet them on the river. Our poor colony would have been soon reduced to a deplorable state; all would have been in a fire and the flames of this conflagration might have gone much farther. Since I found myself at the head of this country in a circumstance so delicate, I believed that it was my duty to pacify

toutes les nations sont prevenües de leur arrivée, et quelles les attendent avec empressement; il est certain que si ils suivent la maxime des français, et si ils employent a leur service quelques officiers intelligens, qui ont la connoissance des sauvages, ils s'Etabliront trés tranquilement et tout ira bien. comme les anglais sont enfin parvenus a prendre possession des terres que nous leur avons cedé, il seroit bien a desirer que les Espagnols pussent venir promptement pour pourvoir egallement, s'Etablir sur les leurs; Le pays des illinois surtout, meritera beaucoup d'attention de leur part, la plus part des habitans qui i sont Etablis sur la partie anglaise, ont deja fait passer leurs bestiaux de notre bord, et attendu que les commandans anglais ne leur ont donné que quatre mois pour se decider, et quils ne sont point flattés du tout de rester sous leur joug;[1] sy dans ces circonstances les espagnols arrivoient, ils passeroient tous generallement de notre costé, et fortifieroient beaucoup cette partie quil est trés a propos d'Etablir aujourdhuy; Dans le memoire que je compte presenter a M[r] le gouverneur Espagnol, je luy dis que le salut de la Louisianne et du Mexique, en depend.

[*Translation*]

all and prepare the way for the Spaniards. For a long time all the tribes have expected their arrival and await them with eagerness. It is certain that if they follow the maxim of the French and if they employ in their service some intelligent officers who know the savages, they will establish themselves very tranquilly and all will be well. Since the English have finally succeeded in taking possession of the territory that we have ceded to them, it is much to be desired that the Spaniards come promptly in order equally to establish themselves on theirs. The country of the Illinois especially will merit much attention from them; the majority of the inhabitants who lived there on the English side have already sent their cattle across to our shore both because the English commandants have given them only four months to decide and because they are not pleased at all to remain under the English yoke.[1] If in these circumstances the Spaniards arrive, all these would generally pass to our side and greatly strengthen that territory which is very fitted for an establishment today. In the memoir which I am counting on presenting to the Spanish governor, I shall tell him that the safety of Louisiana and Mexico depends upon it.

[1] On this see *ante*, III, 125, 130.

Les anglais, placés aux illinois, et ayant fait la paix avec tous les hommes; Pouront a leur Volonté transporter de grandes forces pour le canada, ou la belle riviere; ainsy il est trés a propos que nos alliés etablissent solidement leur partie pour sopposer a des Voisins Ambitieux dont on aura tout a craindre.

Le commerce de la pelleterie qui a été florissant depuis deux ans, va tomber par larrivée des anglais aux illinois, si on ne cherche pas a le relever, en allant commercer dans le Nord-oüest de la louisianne, et le Nord du Mississipy qui ont été peu frequentés jusqu'icy, par les facilités que l'on avoit de commercer ailleurs; par la ferocité des nations, et la difficulté que l'on a de naviguer dans le Missoury qui est un des plus grands fleuves de l'univers, un des plus rapides, et dont on ne connoit que 400 lieux de cours. il ny a plus a reculer presentement, si l'on veut avoir des Pelleteries, il faut aller par la; le Mississipy venant du Nord et le Missoury du Nord-oüest, forment en se joignant un angle qui comprend un continent immense et contient des nations innombrables dont nous ne connoissons qu'un trés petit

[*Translation*]

The English situated in the Illinois country, after they have made peace with everybody, can at will transport great forces to Canada or the Ohio River, so it is very fitting that our allies should strongly establish their territory in order to oppose the ambitious neighbors from whom they will have everything to fear.

The commerce in peltry which has been flourishing for two years is going to take a fall on the arrival of the English in the Illinois country, if one does not seek to increase it by carrying the commerce into the northwest of Louisiana and the northern part of the Mississippi River, regions that have been but little frequented up to this time on account of the ease with which one carried on commerce elsewhere and on account of the ferocity of the tribes and of the difficulty of navigating the Missouri which is one of the greatest rivers of the universe and one of the most rapid, of which only four hundred leagues is known. It can no longer be put off now; if one wishes to have peltries, it is necessary to travel up it. The Mississippi coming from the north and the Missouri from the northwest form at their junction an angle which includes an immense continent and contains innumerable nations of whom only a very small number we know.

nombre; cette partie est presque la seule de la terre ignorée aujourdhuy, tout i est nouveau, aucun Voyageur ny a encore penestré, et les decouvertes que l'on y fera seront interessantes pour la geographie et pour le commerce; on en tirera de trés belles et rarres Pelleteries, et l'on se dedomagera par la, de la perte que l'on a fait de l'autre. Dans toutes autres circonstances, Jaurois Monseigneur, engagé sous votre bon plaisir, avec promesse d'une recompense, des Voyageurs de confiance et capables d'une pareille Expedition, a aller a la decouverte de la mer de L'oüest, qui, selon les apparences n'est pas bien loin des Sources du Missoury; cette gloire est reservée aux Espagnols, je les attend de jour en jour et desire avec le plus grand Empressement leur prompte arrivée; les Sauvages viennent bien de toutes parts pour s informer quand ils viendront, je leur aye promis qu'on les avertiroit aussitot quils seroient a la Nouvelle orleans. il ne seroit pas a propos de les rebuter, et de toute necessité il faut les nourrir quand ils viennent, et leur donner quelque chose quand ils s'en Vont, de sorte que telle Economie que l'on ait il en couste toujours. Malheureusement Je n'ay plus rien dans les magazins, et L'amunition qui est la chose

[*Translation*]

This territory is almost the only one of the continent unknown today; all is unknown; no traveler has penetrated into the region; and the discoveries which will be made there will be interesting for geography and commerce. One will take from there very beautiful and rare peltries and there will be compensation on this bank for the loss of the other which has been suffered. In any other circumstance, my lord, I should have engaged, with your consent, by promises of recompense, trustworthy and capable *voyageurs* for such an expedition to go to the discovery of the western sea which according to appearances is not much beyond the sources of the Missouri. This glory is reserved for the Spaniard. I await them day by day and desire with the greatest eagerness their prompt arrival. The savages come from all parts to ask when they will arrive. I have promised to inform them as soon as they are in New Orleans. It is not fitting to rebuff them, and it is absolutely necessary to nourish them when they come and to give them something when they go, so that it always costs something whatever economy one uses. Unfortunately I have nothing more in the store-houses, and ammunition which is the most

la plus precieuse manque aussy, de sorte que je me trouve dans le plus grand Embaras; si les Espagnols ne Viennent pas bientot. Je feray toujours Monseigneur, de mon mieux jusqu'a la fin, et je tascheray par une conduitte irreprochable et le plus grand zêle pour le service du Roy, de meriter Lhonneur de vos bontés et de votre protection, J'ose en meme tems Vous representer que, pour soutenir dignement la place que j'occupe je suis obligé de faire une depense qui passe de beaucoup mes forces; La bienseance, la politesse, et lhonneur de la nation, m'engagent a donner a manger a tous les officiers des detachemens anglais qui ne font que monter et descendre, M^r^ D'abbadie qui commandoit auparavant moy et qui avoit de trés forts appointemens, n'a jamais eu a essuyer les mesmes corvées, attendu quil en passoit trés peu de son tems; si vos bontés et votre justice ne me rassuroient, je pourois me regarder comme le premier gouverneur de colonie, qui dans ce tems se seroit ruiné au service du Roy.

Lorsque les Espagnols auront pris possession de ce pays et que j'auray donné a M^r^ le gouverneur Espagnol toutes les connoissances que j'en ait, je compte retourner en france pour avoir l'honneur de

[*Translation*]

precious commodity is also lacking, so that I am in the greatest embarrassment, if the Spaniards do not come soon. I shall always do my best, my lord, to the end, and I shall try, by my irreproachable conduct and the greatest zeal for the royal service, to merit the honor of your kindness and your protection. At the same time I dare to represent to you that, in order to maintain worthily the position that I occupy, I am obliged to make an expense much beyond my means. Benevolence, politeness, and honor of the nation compel me to invite to meals all the officers of the English detachments which are going up and down. M. Dabbadie who commanded before me and had a very large salary was never obliged to pay the same toll, because very few of them passed in his time. If your kindness and justice did not reassure me I should regard myself as the first colonial governor who in this time has been ruined in the service of the king.

When the Spaniards have taken possession of this country and I shall have given to the Spanish governor all the information which I have, I intend to return to France to have the honor of rendering to you there an account of my conduct and at the same time of reëstablishing

vous y rendre compte de ma conduitte et en meme tems y retablir ma santé extremement alterée par des blessures que j'ay reçu a la teste dont je me trouve fort incommodé, et aux quelles je ne puis procurer aucun soulagement dans ce païs.

J'ay Lhonneur d'estre avec un trés grand Respect Monseigneur Votre trés humble et trés obeissant Serviteur

AUBRY

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS Le 27e Janvier 1766.

[*Endorsed:*] N° 17 Cession du fort de Chartres aux Anglois qui prétendent que les canons et autres effets du Roy doivent leur appartenir suivant qu'ils interprettent le 7e Article du traité de paix

[*Translation*]

my health which has been considerably harmed by wounds in the head that I have received and by which I am very much inconvenienced and for which I cannot find any relief in this country.

I have the honor to be with very great respect, my lord, your very humble and obedient servant,

AUBRY

NEW ORLEANS, January 27, 1766

[*Endorsed:*] No. 17. Cession of Fort de Chartres to the English who pretend that the cannon and other property of the king should belong to them in accordance with their interpretation of article 7 of the treaty of peace.

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, January 31, 1766[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 163 — A.L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL Janry 31st 1766

MY LORDS

My last Letters were of the 16th & 22d Novbr last[2] which I hope Your Lordships have received, since when I have received the agreable news of our being in Actual possession of the *Illinois*, the Indians in consequence of the engagements to Mr Croghan having given no

[1] Published in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:808.

[2] The former is printed *ante*, 117.

obstruction to Cap[t] Sterling or his party who arrived at *Fort Chartres* in October last and were well received.

As the Possession of this fine Country has been earnestly desired, & often in vain attempted since the reduction of Canada, & now proceeds from the late negotiations to my Deputy with the Indians in that Quarter, it may not be amiss to offer my thoughts on the best Manner for preserving so valuable an Acquisition and render it of real use to the Crown. It will be needless to enlarge upon the natural advantages of soil & scituation which this Country peculiarly enjoys, these being Matters well known, but to avail ourselves of these advantages, it is highly necessary that we should do all in our power to keep the Indians contented easy & reconciled to our manners & Government, without which, we can neither keep open the Communication, or retain it for any time, and the difficulties & obstructions which have hitherto prevented our possessing it, by way of *Mississipi* are a convincing proof of this, neither is it in our power with any Force to be spared for that Service to ascend that River, or cross the Country by Land to that Settlement, if the Indians are at all disposed to obstruct their progress. The peaceable possession thereof will greatly promote our Security at & about the Lakes, and the Satisfaction of the Westeren Nations will prove a security to *it*, the necessity for which becomes requisite since our Acquisition of the *Illinois*. The French in that Quarter cannot be well pleased at our Arrival, having long engrossed all the Trade, & both their Interest & Inclination will doubtless induce them to encrease the Indians Jealousy & foment Quarrels, during which they will have all the Traffic to themselves, & likewise share in the plunder of our Traders, & these Indians, with whom the French were oblidged to live on good terms, and who well know their own power & Importance will expect due notice & attention, otherwise we can neither keep that Country, or reap any advantage from it. The Appointment therefore of an able & experienced Commissary, or some such Officer to Inspect into, & transact Indian affairs there is become imediately necessary, & I have recommended it to the Generals consideration as it might be too late before I received your Lordships orders thereon.

The Same reasons require the like appointments at the other Posts and the Season is now approaching when they should be actually on the Spot, for there is the utmost reason to apprehend that

the want of proper management & attention to Indian Affairs at our first taking possession may occasion an enmity not to be easily removed, and which will be considerably augmented as well by the Artifices of the French at the Illinois &c^a^ as by those on the West Side of Mississipi, where they are now establishing themselves. The French always allowed them Smiths & kept an Interpreter for each Language, & the present terms we are upon with the Indians, the bad character they have had of us, and their strong Jealousy of our designs will require our doing the same at least for some time, & will require the utmost exertion of our Abilities & address to conquer, so that the Man appointed to reside at the *Illinois* must be a Person of parts, well versed in Indian Affairs and acquainted with the nature of their Commerce.[1] I have for some time made choice of the best Persons for these Offices at all the Posts, & therefore no time can be lost after I may receive orders to appoint them. In the mean time I purpose to invite *Pondiac* & the Cheifs in that Quarter to meet me next Spring at *Oswego* where I hope to put Matters on such a footing as will give strength to our late Treatys, the duration of which must nevertheless depend on a regular Establishment of proper Persons at all places necessary, with a proper fund for the other expences of the Department, w^h^ I flatter myself Experience will shew to be well applied, as it will prove a Saving in many other Articles secure our Frontiers, and extend our Commerce on more reasonable terms, and with much more solid Advantages than any other System which I can Suggest. for these reasons I should be greatly wanting in my Duty if I neglected recommending it in the Strongest terms to your Lordships as an Object of the highest Importance requiring an imediate attention, & without w^h^ nothing permanent or advantagious can be expected, and I hope Y^r^ Lordships are sensible that under my present circumstances & Restrictions I can hardly be supposed answerable for Mistakes or disorders arising from the want of that Establishment first proposed by Your Honourable Board.[2]

The Settlements at the Illinois extend for many Miles above the Kaskuske River along the Mississipi, the Land is extremely fine & capable of raising any thing. Some of the present Inhabitants may

[1] Edward Cole was later appointed (see *post*, 189, 194, 210, 320). During the year 1766 Johnson sent commissaries to each of the posts of the northern districts.

[2] A reference to the plan for the management of Indian affairs, printed *ante*, 1 : 273.

possibly incline to go home, and our Traders will I dare say chuse to purchase their Rights, this may be the foundation for a Valuable Colony in that Country, which once established would prove verry beneficial to Great Brittain,[1] as well as a great Check to the designs of those who Inhabit the other Side of the River, this may be effected in time, & large Cessions obtained of the Natives, but to effect this, & everry other purpose, their Jealousies & dislike must first be conquered, & they must be convinced by a series of good Management & occasional generosity that their Suspicions are groundless.

The Forming a Boundary between us & the Indians Intended by the Plan will be of great consequence for the future preventing of Disputes about Land. The Traders who suffered during the War have desired my Interest for a Tract of Land which the Indians have agreed to, and therefore whenever it is Settled I have no doubt Your Lordships will think them entitled to that restitution.[2] Concerning these, & the other affairs of the Department, I doubt not your Lordships will give me your Orders, and I shall esteem it as a high obligation if at the same time I may have the honour of your Lordships Sentiments concerning my Indian Deed for Lands at Conajohare, a Survey of which, was some time ago sent from the Surveyor Generals Office at New York, I have expended much upon it, & as it is the first Application I ever made of that nature & that I have not a foot of any Lands but what I formerly purchased from the White Inhabitants, I am induced to hope Your Lordships will think me Justly entitled to a grant for it, Seeing it is the Unanimous Desire & Intent of a whole Nation, unsolicitted by me, & on which I would verry soon Settle a large Number of poor People, as I have done during the War on the Estate I now live on.

The Disorders occasioned by our Riotous People here,[3] it is not my business to enlarge upon, the Indians have heard of it, & desired to know the Cause, I have given them an Answer with the utmost caution, well knowing their Dispositions, & that they might incline

[1] This proposal of Johnson's concerning a colony in the Illinois had probably been discussed by him and Croghan, who had been awakened to the possibility while in England. Steps were already being taken to push this idea rapidly, and Johnson and Croghan were to be charter members of the company that was formed. See *post*, 203, 205, 224, 248.

[2] This refers to the traders who later formed the Indiana Company to which references have been made in the footnotes. See *ante*, 1:374, n.

[3] The troubles over the stamp act.

Par Monsieur Robert Farmar Majoo du

Regiment des Troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique Commandant Le Païs Illinois

revenge for old frauds which they [illegible] easily forget.

Devoted Humble Servant

desquels La Somme Est Ecrit En français. Lesquels dits bons

[*Translation*]

troops of his Britanaic majesty, commandant in the country of the

each officer and the wages due each soldier of the said [illegible]. On

PROCLAMATION OF MAJOR ROBERT FARMAR

From original document in Kaskaskia Manuscripts

to interest themselves in the affair, or fall upon the Inhabitants in revenge for old frauds which they cannot easily forget.

I beg Your Lordships may be persuaded of the profound respect with which I am My Lords Your Lordships most Obedient & most Devoted Humble Servant

W^M^ JOHNSON

THE R^T^ HON^BLE^ THE LORDS OF TRADE.

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant^s^ Gen^l^* Letter from S^r^ William Johnson, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Northern district of America, to the Board, dated Janry 31. 1766, relative to the Illinois Country. Rec^d^ March 31. Read } 1766. K (9)

PROCLAMATION OF FARMAR, February 13, 1766

[K. MSS. — C.]

Par Monsieur Robert Farmar Major du 34^em^ Regiman des Troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique Commandant Le Païs Ilinois.

avis au Public

Le trentequatrieme regiment des troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique actuéllement en Garnison aux Ilinois, n'ayant pas aporté avec Luy Sa Caisse Militaire, Monsieur farmar a pris Le party de Faire des bons pour payer Les appointemens qui Sont dub a Chaque offiçiers Et La Solde dub a Chaque Soldat du dit regiment, au revers desquels La Somme Est Ecrit En français. Lesquels dits bons Sont Libellés en anglais, que Cinq Livres Sont Egalles a une Piastre gourde,

[*Translation*]

By M. Robert Farmar, major of the Thirty-fourth Regiment of the troops of his Britannic majesty, commandant in the country of the Illinois.

Public Notice

Since the Thirty-fourth Regiment of the troops of his Britannic majesty, now in garrison in the Illinois, did not bring its military chest with it, M. Farmar has decided to make *bons* to pay the salaries due each officer and the wages due each soldier of the said regiment. On the back of the *bons* the amount is written in French. These said *bons* are in the English language and five *livres* are equal to a *piastre*

qui Seront payées en Lettres déchange Sur Londre ou N^lle York Et Negoçiable dans tout Le païs. L[esque]lles Lettres déchanges Seront Exactement Donnés a Ceux qui Seront porteurs des dit Bons, pourvû toutes fois qu'ils en aient une Certaine quantité; **A** Et S'y il est po-

A cet a dire pour La somme de mile Livres au moins Et plus.

ssible de les raporter tous avant Le 24 de may prochain, Les habitants Et autres Personnes qui en auront Sont Invitté de le faire, a Cet Effet Ils S'adresseront a M^r Baugts secretaire que M^r Farmar a Commis Pour Les Recevoir.

Comme quelqu'un d'autre Les Cabaretiers auxquels, Il a Eté accordéés des permissions pour Vendre des Liqueurs Spiritieueses ont pris des Bons d'off^er de ce Regiment pour des permissions donné aux Soldat pour Boire, et qu'en passant Sous silence cette meprise, elle pouroit devenir En a but Il Est deffendu, de Le chef a toutes personnes de Vendre aucune Boissons en yvrante aux dits soldats Sous peine Dettre punis Comme il Est Dit dans le placar qui a Eté affiché Le 6 Janvier Dernier[1]

Cet article pour Les Kas Et village Cavendish[2]

[*Translation*]

gourde, which will be payable in letters of exchange on London or New York and negotiable throughout the country. The said letters of exchange will be given punctually to those who are bearers of the aforesaid *bons*, provided, however, they have a certain amount. **A**

A That is, at least, to the amount of a thousand *livres*, and more.

If it is possible to bring them all back before the twenty-fourth of next May, the inhabitants and other persons who may have them are invited to do so. For this they will address themselves to the secretary, M. Baugts, whom M. Farmar has appointed to receive them.

Since some of the tavern-keepers, to whom there has been accorded permission to sell spirituous liquors, have received the *bons* of officers of this regiment as permission given soldiers to drink; and since, if we passed in silence this misdemeanor, it might become in the end a wrong, it is forbidden specifically all persons to sell any intoxicating liquor to the said soldiers under penalty of being punished as it is declared in the placard posted last January.[1]

This article applies to Kaskaskia and the village of Cavendish.[2]

[1] Not found.

[2] The village around the fort, formerly called Nouvelle Chartres.

ayant Eté Informé que tous les Régistree depuis 1752 tant de Baptemes que mort Et mariage de la paroisse du Village Cavendish Prairie du Rocher Et Village S^t philipe Estoient perdu, Et comme il est de la derniere Conséquance pour Le bien des familles qu'il y en ai, nous ordonnons quil en Soit fait de Nouveaux par le juge du dit Village Et qu'il luy soient Déposé Jusqua ce quil soit Venu des prestres pour De servir La ditte paroisse.

Cet article Est seulement pour Caokias Et Village Cavendish fait Et Donné au FORT CAVENDISH Le 13 f^er 1766.

Pour Copie

[*Endorsed:*] An Ordinance rel [*MS. torn*] ttered to pass current in this country [*MS. illegible*] Circulating Cash. the Register of the Church of the Vilage of Cavendish &c. dated 13^th February 1766.

[*Translation*]

Having been informed that all the registers, since 1752, of baptisms, deaths, and marriages in the parish of the villages Cavendish, Prairie du Rocher, and St. Philippe were lost, and as it is of great importance for the good of the families that they should exist, we order that new ones be made by the judge of the said village, and that they be deposited with him until the priests shall come to serve the said parish.

This article is for Cahokia and the village of Cavendish only.

Done and given at FORT CAVENDISH, February 13, 1766

Correct copy

[*Endorsed:*] An ordinance rel [*MS. torn*] ttered to pass current in this country [*MS. illegible*] circulating cash; the register of the church of the village of Cavendish, etc. Dated February 13, 1766.

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, February 14, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 12:42 — E.]

NEW YORK, Feb. 14, 1766.

On my aravel here I delivered Your honours Letter to the General who read itt with great attention then tould me he would be glad to see me another Time as he was very busey then.

[1] The original from which this extract was made by Mr. Carter was completely destroyed by fire at Albany.

this morning he tould me that you had wrote him that I was to go to the Ilinois this Spring[1] wh he much aprov'd of & that you had wrote him concerning Your making the Necessary apointments in the Departments agreeable to the plan settled by the Lords of Trade wh he said he had herd of being putt in Execution att home as was intended wh he said he bliv'd was owing to the several Changes in the Ministry,[2] Butt said he was of opinion Your Honour would make all the apointments necessary agreeable to that plan wh he had wrote to you.

We had a good deal of conversation on the Trade at the Ilinois Country that seems to be his great object to secure the possession of that Country & he prest me to prepare to go there. I tould him I wold have no objection to going there provided a regular and uniform plan wold be observed So as to settle Maters with those distant & almost unknown Nations on a permanent footing and that I would prepare myself for the Journey as soon as I receive Your Honours Instructions.

JOHNSON TO CROGHAN, February 21, 1766[3]

[Johnson MSS., 12:60 — E.]

JOHNSON HALL, Feb. 21, 1766.

I have just received a letter from Genl Gage wherein he approves of Your going to the Ilinois, he says nothing on the head of the Expense Attending that journey but altho' I have not heard from you as I expected I presume you spoke to him about it. However I have mentioned it in my answer to him, he writes that Capt. Sterling has represented he would not have succeeded had he not come unexpectedly upon them, & before they knew his force or should take measures to prevent him, also that no Chiefs from that Country Attended you. It is easy to acct. for the motives of his representation & I have answered the General pretty fully on the Subject, but in justice to you, I thought it best to give you this Information of it.

. . . . . .

[1] For an account of this trip see *post*, 373.

[2] The plan was never authorized by the ministry, because it required an act of parliament to legalize the tax on the fur trade, which was a part of the plan. The stamp tax had made such a measure impossible. The ministry at this time was composed of the Old Whigs, headed by the Marquis of Rockingham.

[3] The original of this extract made by Mr. Carter was completely destroyed by fire at Albany.

CAMPBELL[1] TO JOHNSON, February 24, 1766

[M.H.S., Pontiac Miscellanies, 1765–1778 — C.]

DETROIT Feb 24th, 1766.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the favor of your letter of the 19th Aug. & to assure you that it gives me great pleasure to receive your directions concerning Indian affairs which I shall strictly observe. I have had little or no trouble with Indians since Mr. Croghans departure from hence. They meet with so much trade here that they seem to be very well satisfied. I have had few or no visits from any of them all this winter, so that I had no opportunity of conversing with any of their chiefs or to form any notion of their disposition at present, but from what has happened lately, I have very great reason to be disobliged at some of them—On the 4th inst two of our men were barbarously murdered at a small Post, at the river Rouse about 4 miles below this, by some Indians of the St. Joseph Potowattomies that had been here the day before they committed this mischief—Trading with the merchants, the poor offenceless victims were at work cutting firewood at a small distance from their Post when they were fired on by the savages—& wounded one of the men who was instantly seized on & killed on the spot in a barbarous manner—stabbed him with a knife & cut his head almost off with the filling one of the men had cutting wood—They carried the other man prisoner a few miles, but as he could not travel so fast as they wanted, killed & scalped him. The moment I heard the alarm guns fired on board the vessel, laid up at said Post I immediately ordered a strong Party to repair thither as quick as possible, who returned soon thereafter with an acct of the mischief done which I must own surprised me very much—but as I suspected the St. Joseph Indians, I ordered the same Party, the following night to march 2 hours before day-light to go in pursuit of the villains & to carry with them 6 days provision with directions to steer their course towards the St. Joseph, having provided them proper guides, well acquainted with the woods, as I did not then hear of their killing the man, they took prisoner. I was in hopes the party would be able to overtake the delinquents with the prisoner, the 1st or 2nd day's march—but the officer that commanded the party, after travelling 2 days in pursuit of them thought it vain to proceed any

[1] Lieutenant John Campbell in command of Detroit.

farther as all the Cabbins they came to were deserted by the Indians therefore concluded all the Indians that way were apprised of this design & the party returned here the 4th day without any intelligence of the offenders. A few days thereafter, several Indians brought me intelligence concerning the affair & told me that it was some of the young men of the Pottowattomies of St Joseph (& two of them were chiefs' sons) that committed the murder as already related— I have since prohibited any trade with that nation of Indians until they deliver up the murders; but I fear it will not have the desired effect as they can employ other Indians to dispose of their peltry. It is a most provoking to loose men in this manner without being able to get the least satisfaction from the rascally offenders, nor do I believe it is possible to prevail on any other nation of Indians to revenge this insult. I would be much obliged to you for your opinion & advice how to act in case they do not deliver up the Murderers as I think it should by no means be passed over with impunity.

I had the pleasure of receiving some weeks ago a letter from Maj. Farmer, informing me of his arrival at Fort Chartres with the 34th Regt The 2nd of Dec. last[1] I am in hopes our being in possession of the Illinois will effectually put a stop to French intrigue & be the means of preserving peace & tranquillity among the nations of Indians/ to the west-ward. I had a letter from Capt. Howard lately by which I am glad to find every thing remains quiet at Michilimacinack.

I am, with the greatest regard, Sir, your most obd't & humble servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, March 3, 1766

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK March 3rd 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I am very sorry to find by your Letter of the 20th of Febry, that you are in Expectation of a fresh Attack[1] of your old Disorder,

[1] This letter has not been found but Farmar's account of his success is printed, *ante*, 131.

which will prevent me having the Pleasure to see you so soon as I could wish.

Major Rogers[1] has got his Instructions from me, of which I shall take an opportunity to transmit you a Copy, that you may be a Judge of what it will be Necessary for you to direct him in your orders to him relative to your Department.

I find the Virginians were Intent on bringing about the Peace between the Northern Indians and the Cherokees, to prevent the latter from taking Revenge for the Murders committed in Virginia hopeing by such a Material service to gain their Friendship, for I believe the Gov^{t} will not be able to give them the Satisfaction they require, and seem to have a Right to demand.

The sooner M^{r} Croghan Sets out with the Person whom you intend to nominate for Commissary at the Ilinois the better; it's very proper they should be there as early as it is possible, and what you shall Judge necessary for them you will inform me of and it will be supplyed them immediately.

I will enquire whether there is any good engravers at Philadelphia; the Dye in my Possession was done by one de Bruhls who was reckoned the best in these Parts of the World.

There are Reports here by Letters from Pensacola that the 34th Reg^{t} had got up to the Ilinois; I hope it's true, as they carried a large Quantity of Presents with them, and many other things which Cap^{t} Stirling was in need of.

I am to beg the Favor of you to send off a trusty and diligent Indian with all Dispatch, with the inclosed Letters for F: Stanwix and F: Ontario &c the last has Inclosures to be forwarded to Niagara and Detroit on Business of great Moment to his Majesty's service. Affairs here are very Critical, as you will learn by Letters, and indeed by the Publick Papers; for they are bold enough to publish their Designs openly.

[1] Major Robert Rogers gained his reputation as leader of the Rangers, a body of provincial troops which he commanded in the French and Indian War. He visited England in 1765; while there he published the journal of his campaign and an account of the colonies, besides a tragedy, "Ponteach." In spite of the opposition of General Gage and Sir William Johnson, he was appointed commander at Mackinac, where he engaged in intrigues which finally led to his arrest and trial, but he was acquitted. He then went to England and gained some recognition for his services. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he entered the British service, but his licentiousness and debauchery unfitted him for his duties. He died in England in obscurity. Nevins, introduction to Rogers' *Ponteach*, publication of the Caxton Club.

I am with great Regard Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

THO^{S} GAGE

P. S. I wish you Joy of your son's safe arrival and of the gracious Reception he met with, and the honor His Majesty conferred upon him.

T: G:

RECEIPT OF FARMAR, March 4, 1766

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.675, f. 22 — C.S.]

FORT CAVENDISH. March 4th 1766.

Received of Rob^{t} Leake Esq^{r} Commissary General of Stores and Provisions for North America, Twenty four Thousand, Nine hundred and Ten pounds of Flour, Six Thousand two hundred thirty pounds twelve ounces of Pork, One hundred and thirty pounds of Fresh Beef, and Nine thousand thirty seven and a half pounds of Salt Beef, Four hundred and ninety three Gallons one pint of Pease, One Thousand sixty eight pounds of Rice, one Thousand two Hundred Fifty five Gallons three pints two Gills of Rum, sixty eight Gallons four pints of Vinegar; Amounting in the whole to seventeen Thousand four Hundred and fifty nine Rations, Exclusive Rum and Vinegar, for the use of His Majesty's 34th. Regiment under my Command destined to take possession of the Illinois, in the passage from the River Yarsaw to the Illinois, Commencing September 1st. 1765 and ending December 2^{d} Instant, both days inclusive, which provisions agreeable to His Excellency General Gage's Order, is not to be paid for; Having signed three Receipts of this Tenor and Date.

ROB^{T} FARMAR

Maj^{r} of 34th Regim^{t}

The above is a true Copy taken from the Original.

ROB^{T} LEAKE Comry. Gen.

Memorandum.

The 34th Reg^{t} drew on their passag from Mobille to New Orleans 6,178 Rations ditto—from New Orleans to the River Yassow 24484 ½ rations ditto—from the River Yassow to the Illinois *17,459 rations* Total between—May 1765 to the 2^{d} December following—48,121 ½ rations

Amounting to £501..5..3¾ Sterling.

GORDON TO JOHNSON, March 4, 1766
[Johnson MSS., 12:74 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK 4th March 1766

SIR

Altho we have had Variety of Operations here this Winter, yet they never have appeared to me worthy of laying before you, neither indeed could I presume to write of matters that I have not understood. I could not perceive any feasible Design, altho there was certainly one intended. It is impossible to think these People thought of a War against the Mother Countries, yet they have gone such Lengths, that they must look foolish, if Matters are not settled to their Desire, not to go further; In these Commotions I have endeavoured to be a good Citizen, as far as my other Duties would permitt; I have said long ago that the Colonies have been hardly dealt with; but never was for breaking off the Chain of Rule, and throwing away the Links of mutual compacts. It has this Good that I hope the Chain will be made so strong as not to be broke, and those Links be made of mutual Interest.

The news of the safe Arrival of our Friends in England[1] was communicated to me by my Lord Adam from Falmouth. But since I have not heard but by publick Rumour on which I never depend. That they are well & esteemed is enough for me, as I wish well to good People.

We have entered into some Resolutions concerning our Posts which the General will acquaint you of or has already. Two Reasons are strongly for them, having some Troops together, and diminishing Expence;[2] By your Proceedings I do not doubt but these Reasons will prove safe. Many People talk of Matters they do not understand, the Management of our Allies the Indians is a Subject of Dablers, yet extremely seldom, in my Opinion, do they hit on the Sense of the Matter—and least of all when they say it can be done or ought to be at no Expence. Genl Gage I really think understands it better than many others who pretend, and he is of a contrary Opinion when not infested or pestered by that of the late Commdr in Cheif,[3] who still continues to throw Squibs to this Distance.

[1] Sir William Johnson's son and Lord Adam Gordon.

[2] The Rockingham ministry was in favor of concentrating the troops in the East. See the document setting forth the reasons for this, *post*, 234.

[3] General Amherst.

I sincerely wish you Joy of the good Accounts from England, and am happy my Freind who does me the Honour to call me a Relation likewise, is usefull to so worthy a Young Gentleman as all the World allows y^r son to be. Lord Adam is warm sometimes whimsical a little but of the warmest Freindship—which the good Sense of his Companion will make agreable & usefull to both.

Be so good as remember me kindly to Lieu^t Johnson, and allow me to be as I am with Truth and sincere Respect Sir Your most obed^t and most humble Servant

HARRY GORDON

We have no Accounts lately from the Illinois. I hope Croghan will set out soon.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

[*Endorsed:*] New York 4^th March 1766 Letter from Cap^t Harry Gordon

WHARTON BEFORE THE COUNCIL, March 6, 1766

[*P.C.R.*, 9:302]

At a Council held at Philadelphia, the 6th day of March, 1766.

Present:

The Honourable John Penn, Esquire, Lieutent^t Governor, &c^a
Richard Peters, Richard Penn,
Benjamin Chew, Esq^rs

Mr. Samuel Wharton waited on the Governor, in Council, and delivered him an Extract of a Letter from Robert Callender to Mess^rs Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan,[1] which was read, & follows in these words, viz^t:

"PENNSBOROUGH, March 2d, 1766.

"GENTLEMEN:

"Since my return home, I have been informed by sundry persons, that the rascally part of the Inhabitants of Conegocheage are determined, and now laying a plan, to do you some piece of injury, by either stopping or destroying some part of your last Cargo that yet remains with the Carriers in that Neighborhood, on account of Justice Smith's discharge from the Magistracy, for which they entirely blame your

[1] For an account of the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan see introduction to v. 3.

House, thinking that it is you alone have excited the Governor to do it. As you have already experienced so much of their Villainy, they are not to be trusted farther than seen, and therefore I have advised Irwin to go immediately up to that Neighborhood, and stop the proceedings of the Carriers till there is some methods fixed upon for the safe Conveyance of these Goods, now in their Charge, least the Devil should tempt them to commit some Outrage of that kind, which I have great reason to believe they will.

Signed "ROBERT CALLENDER.

"TO MESSRS BAYNTON, WHARTON, & MORGAN."

"Mr. Wharton, at the same time, requested the Governor would be pleased to take such measures as he should judge best for Preventing the intended injury to their Goods, as mentioned in that Extract, and observing that they were to be sent to the Illinois Country, to supply the Indians there, agreeable to the promises lately made them by Mr. Croghan, the Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, that a Trade should be soon opened with them; and that unless some precautions were taken by the Government for the Protection of those Goods, he was verry apprehensive they would be destroyed. The Council taking this matter into Consideration, advised the Governor to write a Letter to the Magistrates of Cumberland County, giving them the strictest Injunctions to use their utmost Endeavours to Suppress any disturbances or disorders that may happen, and to call upon the Sheriffs and Power of the County, to oppose the designs of any People who should attempt to stop or destroy the Goods above mentioned, and also, to write to Major General Gage, requesting his instructions to the King's Troops in this Province to aid and support the civil power whenever the Governor should think it necessary to call on them for that purpose. The following Letters were accordingly drawn up at the Table, and sent to Mr. Wharton, to be forwarded by Expresses:

"PHILADELPHIA, March 6th, 1766.

"SR:

"Mr. Wharton has just furnished me with an Extract of a Letter he received last Night from Robert Callender, informing him that he suspects some of the Frontier Inhabitants are again engaging in a scheme to intercept and destroy a Quantity of Goods which Mr.

Wharton & his House are sending up to Fort Pitt, under the protection of my Licence, in their way to the Illinois Country, to trade with the Indians. I hope these suspicions have no real foundation, but must Confess that the former Conduct of those abandoned people, who seem void of all Sense of duty or Submission to Law or Government, has been such as to give room to believe them capable of any Villainy. I shall, therefore, dispatch an Express to the justices of Cumberland County, with the most Positive Injunctions to exert the Civil Power in the Suppression of any Riots, or attempts of the People to injure or destroy the above Goods. But lest the force of the civil Government should not be suffic[t] to answer the purpose, I must beg the favour of your Aid, and that you will be pleased to furnish me as soon as Possible, with your Instructions to the Commanding Officers of the King's Troops at Lancaster, & the different Posts on the Communication to Fort Pitt, to obey such orders as I may, from time [to] time be under the necessity of giving them for preserving the Public peace, and supporting the Laws, as well as the Dignity of his Majesty's Government, committed to my Care.

"I have the honor to be, with great Regard, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN PENN.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEN[L] GAGE."

PENN TO THE JUSTICES OF CUMBERLAND COUNTY, March 6, 1766

[*P.C.R.*, 9:304]

"PHILADELPHIA, 6th March, 1766.

"GENTLEMEN:

"I have received Information that a number of the Inhabitants of Conecocheague are suspected to have formed a scheme to intercept and destroy a Quantity of Goods which Mess[rs] Bayton, Wharton, & Co. are now sending up to Fort Pitt, in their way to the Illinois Country. The former Conduct of many lawless and unruly People on the Frontiers, in committing several outrages of the like kind, gives me too much reason to fear that the suspicions on the present occasion are well founded. I shall be very much surprized if any of the People should presume to counteract my authority so far as to attempt to stop the progress of any Goods that are carrying into the Indian

Country with my full and express Licence. But lest any thing of this sort should be undertaken, I hereby judge it proper to give you my most positive Commands to exert the utmost Diligence and Activity in suppressing any Riots or attempts of the people to injure or destroy any of the above mentioned Goods, (or commiting any other Outrages), and if you shall hear that any of the people are assembling for such unlawful purposes, you are immediately to call to your Assistance the Sheriff and power of the County to prevent the Execution of their designs; but in case the fullest Exertion of your Authority and Influence should not be sufficient, I require you forthwith to give me information thereof, that I may Order some of the King's Troops to the Aid of the Civil power, in compelling the people to submit to the Legal Authority of the Government, & pay due Obedience to the Laws. I should be very sorry to be reduced to the necessity of such expedients if it could be avoided. But the duty of my Station will oblige me to make use of all the means in my power in bringing to reason & Justice all such obstinate offenders who wickedly & wantonly oppose the Government, & trample on its Laws.

"I am, with great regard, Gentlemen, Your most Obedient humble Servant,

"JOHN PENN.

"To JOHN ARMSTRONG, Esq^r^, and others, his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for the County of Cumberland."

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO GAGE, March 7, 1766

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 47: 32 — L.S.]

PHILAD March 7, 1766.

SIR

Last Night We received a Letter from Captain Callender, of Which the inclosed is a Copy.[1]

The Contents of it have distressed us greatly, as Our Property is again in Jeopardy & a base Confederacy formed, To hinder Us from Prosecuting a Trade with the Natives.

The Cargo, We have now stopt in Conegocheague, is Part of One which at a very great Expence, We were forwarding to Fort Pitt, To be from thence immediately sent to Fort Chartres.

[1] See *ante*, 162.

It is impossible for Us, Or any Other Persons to persue the Indian Trade, Whilst a lawless Banditti are suffered to check Our Operations & threaten Our property with Destruction; But this is the fatal Effect of the *sham Trial* at Carlisle in the Spring 1765.[1]

As a Continuance of the present pacifick Disposition of the Natives & Especialy of Our New allies in the Illinois Country, Your Excellency well knows, will principaly depend upon their being well supplied with Goods, We think it Our Duty to give you this early Information & to assure you, That we dare not move any of Our property, Either to or from Fort Pitt, Unless you are pleased to grant us an Escort, & lodge a party of Men in Justice Smith's Neighborhood, for such is the State of Our unhappy weak Goverment, That the Governor has it not otherwise in his Power to assist us & support his Own Licence, As He informed Us last Night, Than by issuing a Proclamation to the Sheriff, Clergy & Justices to disperse all Rioters &c.

A Day is Now of much Importance to Us, As Our Batteaus are all ready, Men hired at Fort Pitt & the seasonable Supply of the Natives dependant Upon the speedy Arrival of Our *Cargo there.*

We are with the utmost Respect Y^r^ Excellency's Ob^t^ hble Servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONORABLE THOMAS GAGE Esq^r^ &c &c

DOBSON TO BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN, March 9, 1766[2]

[P.H.S., Wharton MSS. — A.L.S.]

FORT PITT March the 9 1766

TO MR^SS^ BENTON WHARTON & MORGAN

GENTLEMEN — This Day Mr Jennings[3] Long and five Batteaus Loaded with your Goods are Sailed for the Ilienis They might have Gone a week a Go Butt for Mr Winston who has behaved Very ill and absented him self when most Wanted I Refer you to Mr. Jennings Letter to know the Particulars of his Behaviour the[y] Could not take all the Goods the[y] have Left above 40 Bundles Besides some Kegs

[1] In the previous year Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan had lost some goods by an attack of Pennsylvania backwoodsmen, whom the firm held were let off unjustly by the judges. See *ante*, 1:468, 509.

[2] Printed in Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:235.

[3] See next document.

with knives and some Bundles of Sadles which I will take Care of till some of you Comes up or Gives Orders for them Mr Jennings Trouble has Been Very Great hear Settleing with Every one before he went away he has Given Severall Orders on me which I was Obliged to Accept to make the people Easey to the amount of about 40 pounds that he might Gett away in pace your Peltry Shall be Sent By Every Oportunity Some of them 14 horse-Load I had sent of Before I Reced your Letter we had upon the Divide with Lowry about Sixty horse Load and some Debts I Receid of Harts will make about 5 more which I am now making into horse Loads Ready against y^r^ Horses Comes up your Carpenters are hear Butt has not Done much yett they have one on the Stocks and are making Ready for a Nother two I believe will Be Done in about two Weeks there is None hear there was Butt the 5 that M^r^ Jenning's took with him M^r^ Masionvile is hear and Croghan his Interpeter the Did not Go with M^r^ Long as Intended I will according to your Desire use all the means in my power to Induce the Carpenters to be Deligent now in Getting Ready so many Batteaus as the Can against your Coming up I have nothing Material to Say more Butt that M^r^ Jennings has taken Kiasuta and to two more Senca Cheefs with him which I Believe was highly Necesary att this time I am Gentlemen your

Most Humb^e^ Servant

JOSEPH DOBSON

[*Endorsed:*] March 9^th^ 1766 Joseph Dobson

JENNINGS' JOURNAL,[1] March 8, 1766–April 6, 1766[2]

[P.H.S. — C.]

Journal, From Fort Pitt, to Fort Chartres, in the Ilinois Country, by John Jennings.

[1] Early in 1766 the Philadelphia firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, the largest firm engaged in the western trade at this time, sent Jennings to Fort Pitt with instructions to prepare boats and carry a large cargo of goods down the Ohio River to Fort de Chartres which had been occupied by the British in the latter part of the preceding year. It was in connection with this journey that the above journal was written. Jennings remained in the Illinois country as one of the representatives of the firm, working under the direction of George Morgan, until the summer of 1768 when he returned to Philadelphia by way of New Orleans. One of the sources of information for the events occurring in Illinois in 1768 is found in a fragment of another journal kept by Jennings. See *post*, v. 3.

[2] Printed in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 31:145.

1766.

Saturday 8th March.

At three O'Clock this afternoon left Fort Pitt to proceed for the Ilinois. At five joined Cap^{t} Long & Major Smallman[1] at Long Island, about Ten Miles down the River, continued here all Night.

Sunday 9th.

This Morning at Seven O'Clock, left Long Island and proceeded down the River, with the five following Batteau's. Viz: The Ohio Packet, which I commanded, The Beaver, Cap^{t} W^{m} Long, The Dublin, Joshua Moore. The Good Intent, W^{m} Davenport. And the Otter John Finley. At Nine O'Clock past Logs Town, about Eighteen Miles from F. Pitt. At Eleven, past Beaver Creek, twenty five Miles from the Fort. the Old Indian Town which stands there, is very pleasantly Situated. At five, in the afternoon, past the Senneca Town, At the two Creeks opposite each other, is reckon'd Sixty five Miles from F. Pitt. At Six, in the Evening, encamp'd about Twelve Miles below the Indian Town, for this Night.

1766.

Monday 10th March.

At Seven O'Clock this Morning, left our Camp. At Twelve, Mr. Winston haled the Boats, to bring too, in a threatning manner, two of the Boats made for him, but Cap^{t} Long ordered them to proceed down the River, & put on shore for him, not chusing to refuse his coming on board, as he observed some Ind^{n} Women, & did not know but there might be Men conceal'd, to do us an injury, he put him on Board the Good Intent Batteau, with M^{r} Sinclair, & assumed the command, w^{ch} was at first intended for him, As I was at a great distance from the Boats, did not know what had passed till evening; encamped this Night, at the lower End of the strait reach, which, hath many fine Islands in it.

Tuesday 11th.

This Morning at Seven O'Clock, left our Encampment, at half past twelve; we pass^{d} the Mouth of Muskingham River, computed to be one hundred fifty three Miles from F. Pitt. At three O'Clock

[1] For information concerning the activities of Major Thomas Smallman as a trader see Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:374, 375.

in the afternoon passed by little Kanawa or lifting Creek. At five passed the Wanduxales Creek; At half past five, Encamped for the Night. This day very Cold.

1766 Wednesday 12th March

At Six O'Clock this Morning, left our Camp, at Seven, passed the Hockhocking Creek, At twelve, entered the Big Bent, at two got through it, passed by an Indian Encampment, with Several hunters there, at five in the Evening came to the great Kanawa River, encamped opposite to it this Night; Still very Cold.

Thursday 13th

At Six O'Clock this Morning, disencamped, at Ten pass'd two Indian Encampments, where was Several Indians, supposed to be Hunter's. At twelve pass.d by Guyandot Creek. (Here the Six Nation Indians throw away Canoe's when they go to War against the Southern Nations). At half past one O'Clock, in the afternoon, pass'd Tottery, or Big Sandy Creek; At four pass'd little Tottery Creek: at five encamped for the Night, saw several Parrotkites: Continues very Cold.

Friday 14th.

Set out this Morning. at Six O'Clock; At Nine, four Canoe's with Twenty Shawanese, joined us, they gave us some fresh Meat, returned the Compliment with Buiscuit, & Tobacco, At Eleven passed by the Sioto River. Three hundred forty five computed Miles from F. Pitt, here the Shawanese left us, & went up the River, the entrance of it is Narrow, & the Land low, At a small distance on the West side are some hills, & on the same side, on the point of the River, formerly stood the Large lower Shawanese Town, which was entirely destroyed by a flood in the Year—At five in the afternoon passed a large fine Island, At Six Encamped on the West Side the River, For the Night. saw some parotkites, Cold still Continues

Note—after we pass'd the Sioto, we always encamp'd on the North side the River, if possible it being thought most safe.

Saturday 15th.

At half past five this Morning left our Camp, which is about fifty Miles below the Sioto, At Nine passed by Elk Creek, saw

some Indian Cabbins, At four O'Clock came up with, & pass'd Major Smallman, & the Indians, who left us last Night to go a Hunting; At half past, four pass'd by the Little Mineami River, low land at the Entrance, is about forty Miles below Elk Creek; at five encamped for the Night, where is a Buffalo Lick, with several beaten paths made by them, & near our own Camp is several Indian Cabbins; At seven O'Clock this Evening Major Smallman, with the Indians came to our Camp, brought us fresh Meat, & set out again immediately.

Sunday 16th.

At half past five this Morning left our Camp, a quarter past six, we passed by the great Salt Lick River, about six Miles below the little Mineami River, on the opposite Side. At half past Nine, saw Several Indian Cabbins, with two Houses well built for defence, the Logs standing upright, & close to each other. At Ten passed by the great Mineami River, which appeared to be Large at the entrance, the Land at the Mouth low, at a small distance on the East side, is a rising Ground, about twenty Miles below the great Salt Lick River. It rained, & blowed so excessive hard, was obliged to encamp at four this afternoon, were [*sic*] was two very large Indian Encampments, & from its appearance they had not left it, above two days, near this is a Large Buffalo Lick, with a great many beaten paths. It rained, & snowed all this Night.

Monday 17th.

At six O'Clock this Morning, left our Camp. At eight, passed by the Salt Lick, back of which about four Miles, is the place where the Elephant Bones are found. At ten was obliged to bring too, & encamp for the Night had such a great Snow Storm, & the Cold so intense, that we could not continue on the River. saw Several flocks of Parrotkites.

Tuesday 18th.

At half past six O'Clock, this Morning left our Camp. At Eight, passed some Warriors Cabbins, these are known by a Tree having the Bark Strip'd of all round, about four feet from the Ground, with particular marks Cut on it, denoting what Nation they are, & their good or bad success in War, which is known by the Indians, who happen to pass that way. At Nine was obliged to encamp. It blowed so very hard & the cold so intense. that we could not con-

tinue on the River. the Otter Batteau who was astern, was not able to join us till four O'Clock in the afternoon. continued here all Night.

Wednesday 19th.

At six O'Clock this Morning sett off. At half past Nine, passed by the Kentucke River, Large at the Entrance, & pleasant Banks, on each side, is about thirty Miles below the Salt Licks, where the Elephant's Bones are found. At Eleven Majr Smallman & the Indians. joyned us, with plenty of Buffalo & Bears Meat. At four O'Clock in the Afternoon, saw some Warriors Cabbins at the Point of a Creek on the West side of the River. At Seven encamp'd for the Night, on an Island full of Canes about ten Miles above the falls, & forty below the Kentucke River.

Thursday 20th.

Left our Camp at half past Six O'Clock this Morning. At Eight pass'd a Large Island, about five Miles above the falls. At Nine came through them, but the Water being very high, was not perceptible, except a few Small Whirlpools. At the beginning of the falls, is a small Island, on the East side of the River, which is necessary to keep close on board. The Land about them is low.

The Shape of the River. and description of the falls, as they appear'd when I came through them, the dots, describe the passage, the scratches describes the Whirlpools.[1] At half past three O'Clock in the afternoon, we passed a fine River, on the Cherrokee Side, Called the Big Deer River, about Thirty Miles below the Falls. At Six encamp'd for the Night, about Six Miles below the Big Deer River, saw several Warriors Cabbins this day. The Weather Moderate.

Friday 21st.

Left our Camp, at half past five this Morning. at six brought too, & took two Bundles each Batteau, from on board the Otter, to lighten her, that she may be able to keep up with us, in blowing Weather. heard a Gun fire, not far from were we encamp'd, supposed some Indians a hunting, At One O'Clock this afternoon, the Wind rose so sudden, & blowed so very hard, that the Batteau's, Good Intent, & the Dublin Ship'd a great deal of Water, before it was possible for them to make the Shore. At five encamp'd for the Night which was

[1] At this place in the original there is drawn a very rough map of the falls.

very Stormy. Came about Sixty Miles this day, near our Camp was seen some fresh tracks of Indians. this day saw several Warriors & hunters Cabbins

1766

Saturday 22d

At Seven O'Clock this Morning left our Camp, about a Mile below it, was obliged to put on shore again, it blowing so very hard, with such a swell, that it was impossible to proceed any further, the Gale continuing all day, encamp'd here for the Night.

Sunday 23d

At Six O'Clock this Morning left our Camp. at Twelve saw a smoke at a great distance, at three in the afternoon passed it on the North side the River, but saw no Indians, it appear'd about two hundred Yards back from the River. at Six put in Shore, near a Large Rock, & dress'd some Victuals. Came about seventy Miles this Day. At half past seven this Evening sett off again, fasten'd the Boats together. & went all Night. come about forty Miles by six O'Clock the next Morning.

Monday 24th.

At half past six O'Clock this Morning passed a very fine River, near as large as the Ohio, on the Cherrokee Side. It's called the Green River by some & Big New River by other's, the Mouth lies E. N. E: & W. S. W: the Land low about it. a Mile below this is a large Island. At two O'Clock in the afternoon pass'd a Large beautiful Island in the Shape of a Lozinge about six Miles Long, & fifty Miles from the above River. At five pass'd another Island, about three Miles long & ten Miles from the other Island. At half past five went aShore, to dress some Victuals. At half after Seven in the Evening sett off again, fasten'd the Boats together, & went the whole Night. At half past Eleven pass'd the Wabash, a very Large fine River, but being Night cou'd not describe the Land about it, its about thirty Miles below our Last encampment, by six O'Clock the next Morning, come about thirty Miles from the Wabash, the two last days, have been very Cold.

Tuesday 25th

At Eight O'Clock this Morning brought too, at an Island, (it Rained, & blow'd very hard) opposite to which on the West Side the

River is a Large Rock, with a Cane in it. At Nine Sett off again, At one O'Clock in the afternoon, it Rained, & blow'd so very hard, was obliged to bring too, the Gale continuing, encamp'd for the Night. Came about forty Miles since Six O'Clock this Morning, passed several fine Islands this day.

Wednesday 26th

At Six O'Clock this Morning left our Camp, at eleven passed the Shawnese River, on the Cherrokee side, At One in the afternoon, brought too, & encamp^{d}, it blow'd so very hard. & the Swells so great, cou'd not continue on the River. the Gale increas'd, staid here all Night. came about forty five Miles since Six O'Clock, pass'd Several fine Islands. The Land overflowed for many Miles on the North side the River.

Thursday 27th

At half past Six O'Clock this Morning sett off, at half past seven, passed the Cherrokee River, which is very Large. on the East side of this River & about twelve Miles below the Shawnese River with an Island at the Mouth, it lies about S. E. & N. W. five Miles below last Night's encampment. At Ten O'Clock arrived at Misiac, or Cherrokee Fort, on the North side of the River, about ten Miles below the Cherrokee River.[1] This fort (which is now in Ruins) was four Square, with four Bastions, & a ditch, each square about one hundred feet, was built with Logs and Earth, & most delightfully situated, on a high Bank, by the River Side, the Land clear'd about four hundred yards round it, & very low for some distance, At half past Ten sett off again, & at one in the afternoon, put in Shore, it blowing hard, the Boats were divided on each Side the River, at four went up the River again about four Miles, to join the other Batteau's on the Cherrokee side, the Gale Continuing encamp'd for the Night.

Friday 28th.

At half past five this Morning left our encampment, At two in the afternoon came to the Mouth of the River. It lies N. W. & S. E., at this time about one Mile Wide.

The Mississippi here lies N: E: & S: W: is about half a Mile Wide, The Land at the upper point of the Conflux of the two Rivers

[1] For description see *ante*, 1:3.

hath a great Number of Small high Trees on it, but now overflowed; the lower point is low Land. full of Small Willows, with a Small Bank rising behind it: at some distance over this Point, saw a great Smoke, It's about fifty Miles from Misac, to the Mouth of the River. And from Fort Pitt by the best Acc^{t} I could keep, allowing for the great Number of Serpentine turns in it I compute it to be about Twelve hundred Miles. Went about half a Mile up the Mississippi with the Batteau's, unloaded the small one immediately, put some necessaries on board, & at four O'Clock in the afternoon I set out for the Kuskuskee, accompanied by Maj^{r} Smallman & Mr Joshua Moore Comiss^{y} with 6 Men. At six O'Clock encamp'd for the Night, on the English side of the River, came about Six Miles, this afternoon.

Saturday 29th

Left our Camp, at Six O'Clock this Morning, passed Several Islands & a great quantity of Trees in the River, on those Islands are a great many Stumps of Small Trees, which the Beaver's Eat through, & when the Tree falls, they either then Eat the Bark of the Top part of it, or else drag it into the River, & carry it to their holes to Eat, or build with, sometimes both, which has been observ'd by those who have watch^{d} their Actions, the Tree which seems most peculiar to them, is like the Willow, at Seven O'Clock in the Evening, encamp^{d} on the English side for this Night, passed several encampments, saw several flocks of Parrotkites, heard a report like a Gun, or fall of a Tree.

Sunday 30th.

At Six O'Clock this Morning left our Camp, at Nine brought too, on the Point of an Island were [*sic*] had been a Small place of defence, on this Island is a great quantity of Grape Vines, passed several other Islands; the Wind blowing fresh down the River, could not Stem the Current, was oblig'd to bring too, at two O'Clock in the afternoon, & the Gale still continuing encamp for the Night, pass^{d} a great number of encampments, came about Six Miles this day.

Monday 31st

Left our Camp at Six O'Clock this Morning, at Ten, came to some Rocks on the Spanish side, were the Current was too rapid for us to Stem. Cross'd over to the opposite side, & the Current there

Run so Strong that we was three hours in going one Mile. At four in the afternoon a Large French Boat came in Sight, I immediately hoisted our Colours, went on Shore to meet them & know who they were, they Row'd with fourteen Oars, Mons[r] Picard Mar[s] from the Wabash, Maj[r] Smallman & M[r] Joshua Moore, went on board his Batteau as passengers for the Kuskuskes, at Six encamp'd together, on the English side for the Night, came about ten Miles this day.

Tuesday, April 1[st]

At half past five this Morning, left our Camp, passed several places were the Current was very Strong, At ten O'Clock, came through a Long Strait between two Islands, at Eleven went on Shore, & dress'd some Victuals, at Twelve sett off again. At Three O'Clock in the afternoon, the French Batteau left us the Current being so very rapid, cou'd not keep Company with them, soon after being obliged to tow our Boat a long Shore. A very Large Beach Tree, fell into the River, providentially we had passed it about ten yards before it fell, or in all probability the Boat would have been Crushed to peices, & every Soul on board perish'd, The difficulties we met with this day, prevented our going above ten Miles, At Seven encamped on the Spanish side the River, for the Night, the first part of this day very Cold.

Wednesday 2[d]

At half past five, this Morning left our Camp, from Eight, to ten, on the Spanish side of the River, passed by a great number of high Rocks, about two Miles in length which have a very Romantic look, & are worthy of observation to the Curious, they have Cedar Trees growing on them, & large holes, which possibly may lead to Caverns. At the upper End of these Rocks is a small Creek. At four O'Clock in the Afternoon, passed by a very pleasant Creek, the Banks at the Mouth are most delightfully situated, the Land on the upper side being pretty clear, by the point of a Hill on the Top of which is a most Beautifull prospect, on the opposite side of a passage between an Island, & the Main Land, which hath the appearance of as grand a Canal as ever I saw this runs round the Island Vasse, at the upper End of this Island is another passage to an Island, which looks equal with the above, & between this upper Island, & the Main Land, is a passage little inferior to the other two, These two Islands

are full of Willow Trees, almost of an equal heigth, which must look very pleasant in the Summer. Near the Mouth of the aforementioned Creek is two inscriptions Cut on a Tree, of two Frenchmen who was buried there in the Year 1765 At six O'Clock encamp^{d} on the Spanish side the River for the Night, came about twelve Miles this day.

Thursday 3^{d}

Left our Camp at five O'Clock this Morning, at eight came to the Grand Tower, on the Spanish side the River, which is reckoned half way, from the Mouth of the Ohio to the Fort Chartre's, the Water which comes round this Rock, is too rapid for Boats to stem it, behind which is a large Whirlpool were the Logs continually turn Round, was obliged to Cross the River here, to the point of a Rock on the other side, were the Current was very rapid. & with much difficulty passed it, encamp'd this Night on the Spanish side the River, came about fifteen Miles this day.

Friday 4th.

At half past five this Morning. left our Camp, passed several very fine Islands, which must afford a beautiful prospect in the Summer. encamped on the English side, at the Mouth of a large Creek, for this Night. Rain'd very hard all this day, came about twelve Miles.

1766.

Saturday 5th April.

At six O'Clock this Morning left our Camp, at Eight heard a gun fire, & saw the S^{t} George's Coulours hoisted, which gave us great pleasure, immediately answered it, & hoisted the Union flag. at Ten O'Clock came up to them, at the Mouth of the Kuskuskes River. they were two Soldiers sent by Ens^{n} Robinson of the 34th Rege^{nt} Commanding at Kuskuskes Village, six Miles from the Mouth of the River, the French Boat got in the day before us gave intelligence of our coming, which was the reason the Soldiers was sent, to show us the Signal, went on Shore to clean ourselves, then proceeded up the River, & at Two O'Clock in the afternoon arrived at the Village, which is situated by the River side, on a very extensive plain, with some very rich soil about it. It hath a Number of houses, some Large, but meanly built, with good Lotts behind them for Gardens, but make

little use of them. the inhabitants in general being very indolent yet some are wealthy. at this time most of the principals of them, are gone on the Spanish side the Mississippi, with their Cattle & Corn, which makes provissions very Scarce, the Streets are Irregular, has a tolerable Good Church, & a Large Colledge,[1] but is abandon'd, all the preists [*sic*] being gone away.

Sunday 6th:

At two O'Clock this afternoon, left the Kuskuskes, to proceed for Fort Chartre's by Land, in a Calash, a very ruff immitation of our Chairs, were I arrived at five, and met with a very polite, & kind reception. from Major Farmar & the rest of the officers. This Fort is situated on a plain, near the River Mississippi, which breaks in, upon it so fast, that it will soon be in great danger of falling into it: It's built with a high Stone Wall, about eighteen Inches thick, four Square, with four Bastions, full of Loop holes. port holes for Cannon, & a ditch round it, hath very good Barracks, The Gate fronting the River makes a very good appearance. The Country between the Kuskuskes Village, & this Fort, is a large plain, about eighteen Miles distance, The Soil excellent, producing very fine Crops of every thing that's sow'd on it, tho' the French are very bad Farmer's, on the Road leading to this place, about four Miles from the Kuskuskes is an Indian Town, the Nation of the above Name, Their Head Cheif Tomera, It hath several Houses, & a Large Church in it, on the same Road, about three Miles from this, is a small French Village, Called Prere, de, Roche, is pleasantly situated with few inhabitants, who are cheifly farmers, & by this Fort, is another French Village, Called after it's Name, hath several Houses, but most of them in a ruinous condition, the Cheif of the inhabitants having left it, & these Houses most of them render'd useless, some quite destroy'd, This Evening went to a Ball, given by a Gentleman of the Army, to the French Inhabitants who made a very droll appearance, it seems this is the only day of deversion among the French.

[1] This refers to the Jesuit establishment and is not to be confused with our modern college.

CHAPTER IV

PLANS FOR A COLONY, MARCH 9, 1766—MAY 10, 1766

GAGE ANXIOUS FOR CROGHAN TO START — THE SPANISH ARRIVE AT NEW ORLEANS — CROGHAN'S EXPENSES — FARMAR DESCRIBES THE ILLINOIS — JOHNSON URGES THE APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSARIES — THE ILLINOIS COMPANY FORMED — GOVERNOR ULLOA WRITES TO GAGE — PREPARATIONS FOR TRADE — GAGE INSTRUCTS CROGHAN — FRASER DESCRIBES THE COUNTRY AT LENGTH — BENJAMIN FRANKLIN APPROVES OF A COLONY.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, March 9, 1766

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK March 9th, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I had this Day the Pleasure to receive your Letter of the 1st Inst; And am a good deal Surprized at what you tell me concerning the Claim of Mr Cartier to the Lands of St. Lewis's Falls. You may depend upon it that the whole is a Trick. If the Ancestors of Mr. St Paul had ever a Grant of these Lands, or that they have been confirmed to this Gentleman again in the year 1750 as is alledged, That both the Original Grant as well as the late Confirmation must be found in the Registers of the Government. It was there I found the Grant to the Jesuits,[1] of these Lands, in Trust for the Indians, and in Case the Indians should remove, the Lands were to revert to the Crown. This Grant was made by Louis the 14th about fourscore years ago, and is it probable, that when Lands were so plenty in Canada as they were at that time, that the King of France should have taken them from the Ancestors of Mr St. Paul for the uses mentioned, without giving them an equivalent in Lands elsewhere; if he took them at all from them, which I do not believe? And is it consistent with common sense, that after the Jesuits with the Indians, had lived upon the Lands for such a Number of years without Interruption from the present Mr. St Paul or any of his Ancestors, when

[1] Gage was commandant at Montreal after the capture of Canada.

the Scheme of forming a Barrier of Indians against the English & their Indian allies was compleated (on which account the Plan of assembling Indians in this manner was adopted, tho' under Pretence, of converting savages to Christianity) that the French should undo all they had done, by confirming M^r^ St Paul in the year 1750 in a pretended Grant of Lands, of which Louis 14^th^ had divested his Ancestors. By these means they would have drove away the very Indians they had taken so much Pains to get amongst them, and from firm Friends made them bitter Enemies. Neither Mr. St Paul or any of his Agents laid any Claim, to the Lands; during the Contestation between the Jesuits & Indians, in the Time of my Government: And the Indians had often laid their Claims prior to that Time before the French Governors, if I mistake not much about the Time of this pretended Confirmation in the year 1750. You may be assured, that the whole is a Fraud between the Jesuits, Mr. St. Paul, M^r^ Cartier, and the French Ministry to perplex us and make us at Enmity with these savages, whom we have attached to us, by doing them Justice. I am satisfied M^r^ St Paul can't prove any Claim made by him to the French Governors, during any Contestation between the Jesuit and Indians in one of which the Jesuits were absolutely forbid, letting out any more Farms, and this particular happened, if my memory does not fail me, since the year 1750. You may Judge from thence, whether Mr. St Paul would not then have put in his Claim, had any such Confirmation as is now pretended been given to him. Mr. St Paul went to France after the Conquest of the Country, and there you may depend upon it all this has been cooked up when the Jesuits had given them an Account of their suit, and of their being cast in it. And if the French Ministry would enter into such a Business, they might Date a sham Grant, and sham Confirmation, in any year that would answer their Purpose. If the latter was given, as you apprehend in the year *1760* which Cartier has altered by changing the Figure of *6* into a *5* it could not be registered in the Books of the Government in Canada, but must be registered in France, where it may be looked for if requisite. But if any such Confirmation was given in *1750* it should be found amongst the Registers of the Province. Upon the whole, I think it's absolutely Necessary you should lay all, this Matter before the Gov^r^ of Quebec without Delay, and desire that the Indians Right may be defended in the best Manner, and carried as far

as it will be proper to pursue it, of which the Lawyers will be the best Judges.

You may send Gov^r Murray an Extract of this Letter leaving out some Tautologys which have escaped me in the hurry of writing. I am most thoroughly convinced that the whole of the Affair is a Piece of Roguery.

I am now to acquaint you that the 34^th Reg^t got to Fort Chartres on the 4^th of Dec^r and the Detachment of the 42^d under Cap^t Stirling went down the Mississippi soon afterwards;[1] there was not Provisions sufficient to maintain the whole, and Capt Stirling could not get back to F: Pitt till the Ohio should be free of Ice in the Spring. The French I fear will give us Business enough in that Quarter, they have two Settlements opposite to us,[2] and are debauching the Inhabitants and Indians over to their side of the River. Major Farmar and his officers I apprehend not very knowing in the Treating or Management of Indians, so that I wish M^r Croghan was set out. Capt Murray writes me Word from F: Pitt that he had condoled with the Shawnese for the Loss of their Chiefs, which they took very well. Mr. Croghan should have some Instructions how the Shawnese should act respecting their taking Revenge or not of the Indians who killed the Chiefs. He had best first see how Affairs are in that Quarter, I understand from L^t Fraser that Pondiac was at the Ilinois; had also gone over to the French side, and had many Conferences with the French. That Rogue I fear will make his Advantage of us both. We are just now in a situation for him to play his Tricks with both French and English.

I am very glad that you have heared from your son and of his gracious Reception being.

Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

THO^S GAGE

[1] For a full account of Stirling's occupation of Fort de Chartres, see *ante*, 107 ff.; on Farmar's movements, see *ante*, 127 ff.

[2] The two settlements were Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis. The latter was founded in 1764 by Laclede who drew many of the Illinois French to his new village, which became in a short time the most important settlement in the mid-Mississippi Valley. The fur trade of the Missouri River, in particular, was exploited by the citizens of the new village.

AUBRY TO THE MINISTER, March 12, 1766
[A.N., C., F², 25:245 — C.]

N^LLE ORLÉANS 12 mars 1766.

M^s dom Antoine Ulloa[1] cap^ne des vaisseaux de sa Magesté catolique party de la havanne le 17 janvier pour prendre possession de cette colonie au nom du roy d'espagne, est arrivé à la nouvelle-orléans le 5. de mars, avec une fregatte et un brigantin dans lesquels il y a 90. hommes de troupes, cinq officiers, un commissaire, un contador et deux capucins; après avoir cédé la partie orrientalle de la Louisianne aux anglois, et avoir eprouvé dans cette opération, les plus grandes difficultés de la part des anglois des françois et des sauvages qui tous ensemble ne peuvent guère s'accorder, et principallement de ces derniers avec lesquels les Anglois étoient en guerre et que j'ay eû bien de la peine a appaiser et Engager a les laisser prendre possession des terres que nous leurs avons cédées par le dernier traité de paix, dont ils sont enfin possesseurs, par les soins et peines que je me suis

[*Translation*]

NEW ORLEANS, March 12, 1766

M. Antonio de Ulloa,[1] captain of the vessels of his Catholic majesty, left Havana the seventeenth of January to take possession of this colony in the name of the king of Spain, and arrived at New Orleans the fifth of March with a frigate and a brigantine in which there were ninety men, five officers, a commissary, a *contador*, and two Capuchins. After having ceded the eastern part of Louisiana to the English and having experienced in this operation the greatest difficulties with the English, the French, and the Indians, who can hardly agree together, and especially with these last with whom the English were at war and whom I had great difficulty in pacifying and inducing to let the English take possession of the land which we ceded them by the last treaty of peace, of which they are at last the possessors, through the cares and pains which I gave myself

[1] Don Antonio de Ulloa was the first Spanish governor of Louisiana which colony was ceded by the French at the treaty of peace of 1763. Ulloa was one of the most illustrious Spaniards of his day, less on account of his naval service than for his scientific papers and travels. Ulloa's desire was to conciliate the people of his new government, but their own hostile attitude toward the cession to Spain made this impossible, and Ulloa was forced in 1768 to abandon the colony for a time. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 2:130 *et seq.*

donné à cet effet, je me trouve présentement obligé de ceder la partie occidentalle aux espagnols.

Cet ouvrage ne sera pas tout à fait si difficile que l'autre, attendû que j'ay prévenû il y a long temps les nations de leurs arrivée, quoy qu'elles n'en soient pas extremement flattées, elles y sont préparées, et elles les attendent, si ils suivent la maxime française, si ils ont pour eux les mêmes egards que nous, si ils leurs donnent quelques présents, et si ils emploient dans les postes quelques officiers intelligents qui connoissent Leurs usages, et scavent la manière de les conduire ils s'etabliront tranquillement et tout ira bien.

Le seul obstacle qui se rencontre présentement est de la part des soldats qui se flattoient d'avoir leur congé à leur arrivée, il leur est dûe à tous générallement depuis long temps, M^rs^ de Kerlerec et fremeur, leurs ont promis a leur départ pour la france de vous représenter la justice de leur demande, M^r^ dabbadie a eû l'honneur de vous en informer aussy bien que moy par plusieurs occasions, ils se flattoient qu'a l'arrivée des espagnols, ce pays passant sous une

[*Translation*]

to that effect, I find myself now obliged to cede the western part to the Spaniards.

This work will not be quite so difficult as the other, since I warned the nations some time ago of their [*the Spaniard's*] arrival. Although the Indians are not extremely flattered, they are prepared for it and are awaiting them. If the Spaniards follow the French maxim, if they have for the Indians the same consideration that we have, if they give them some presents and employ in the posts some intelligent officers who know their customs and who know how to lead them, they will establish themselves quietly and all will be well.

The only obstacle which is met now is on the part of the soldiers. They were flattering themselves that they would be discharged at the arrival of the Spaniards. In general it has been due them all for some time. MM. de Kerlérec and Fremeur promised them, on their departure for France, to represent to you the justice of their demand. M. Dabbadie has had the honor to inform you of it as well as I on many occasions. They thought that on the arrival of the Spaniards, this country passing under a foreign domination, they would either get their discharge, or an increase of pay or a new en-

domination etrangere, ils auroient ou leur congé ou une augmentation de paye ou un nouvel engagement, frustrés de tous ces avantages, et obligés de servir la couronne d'espagne sans espérance d'avoir de long tems leur liberté, ils se désesperent cet evenement, et il est a craindre que la grande facilité, qu'ils ont présentement d'aller chez l'Anglois sans qu'on puisse s'i oposer ne les engagent à déserter, ce qui priveroit les espagnols de Soldats qui leur sont nécessaires dans le commandement de leurs Etablissemens, et occasionneroit un très mauvais effet chéz les sauvages, qui sont accoutumés à eux depuis long temps, et leur sont attachés, quoy qu'ils fussent prévenûs que les espagnols pourroient les prendre a leurs services, ils s'ettoient flattés cependant qu'ils contracteroient avec eux un nouvel engagement ou qu'ils leurs donneroient une augmentation de paye, voyant qu'ils n'ont n'y l'un n'y l'autre, cela a occasionné parmy eux une tres grande fermantation; laquelle a été Considérablement augmentée a larrivée des soldats espagnols qui pour la plupart déserteurs et très mauvais sujets se sont beaucoup récriés de ce qu'on les reduisoit a la même payé que les notres, Lesquels n'ont que sept francs par mois, tandis qu'ils avoient à la havanne trente cinq francs,

[*Translation*]

gagement. Disappointed in all these advantages and obliged to serve the crown of Spain without hope of being free for a long time, they are in despair at this event; and it is to be feared that the great ease with which they can go now to the English without anyone being able to oppose it will cause them to desert. That would deprive the Spaniards of the soldiers they will need in governing their establishments, and would have a very bad effect on the Indians who have been accustomed to the soldiers for a long time and are attached to them. Although the soldiers were warned that the Spaniards might take them into their service, they thought that they would contract a new engagement with them or the latter would give them an increase in pay. Since they have neither one nor the other, it has caused a very great agitation among them, which has been considerably increased by the arrival of the Spanish soldiers, who, for the most part, are deserters and worthless fellows, and are making great outcry since they are reduced to the same pay as ours, who only receive seven *francs* per month, while they at Havana received thirty-

le mécontentement de ceux cy s'est communiqué à nos soldats, qui comptant avoir une paye meilleure, se trouvent frustrés de leurs espérances, et obligés de servir une puissance etrangere après avoir éprouvés dans ce pays toutes sortes de misères, après avoir fait des campagnes bien laborieuses dans le courant de la dernière guerre, et avoir la plus part passé le terme de leur congé depuis dix huit années, comme j'ay ordre d'offrir aux Espagnols les troupes employées dans cette colonie et que le gouvernement en a absolument besoin sur tout dans le commencement, je ne negligeray rien, et je feray tout ce qui est en moy pour appaiser leurs murmures, et les engager à obéir de bonne grace aux ordres du roy; si absolument ils le refusent, j'employerai alors les menaces et la sevérité, je ne menagerai plus rien, et dusse-je y perrir je les y forceray; mais comme la violence produiroit un très mauvais effet chez les sauvages, et occasionneroit une grande désertion, ce qui seroit nuisible a l'etablissement des espagnols, M^r^ le Gouverneur ma prié d'aller doucement, et de ne point pousser les choses a Lexcès, espérant que le tems et les reflexions leur feront changer de sentimens. Cet événement est d'autant plus

[*Translation*]

five *francs*. Their discontentment has been communicated to our soldiers who, expecting better pay, find themselves disappointed in their hopes and obliged to serve a foreign power, after they have experienced in this country all kinds of misery, have made very laborious campaigns during the last war, and the greater part have passed the limit of their military service eighteen years ago. As I have orders to offer to the Spaniards the troops employed in this colony and since the government has absolute need of them especially at the beginning, I shall neglect nothing and do all in my power to quiet their complaints and induce them to obey the orders of the king with good grace. If they refuse absolutely, I shall use threats and severity, and not treat them gently; and even if I perish at it, I will force them to it. But as violence would produce a very bad effect on the Indians and would cause a great desertion which would be injurious to the establishment of the Spaniards, the governor has asked me to go slowly and not push things to excess, hoping that time and their reflections would cause them to change their minds. This event is all the more unfortunate since for the fifteen years that I have been in

malheureux que depuis quinze ans que je suis dans cette colonie, tant dans les pays d'en haut qu'a la Nouvelle-Orléans je n'ai jamais eprouvé que beaucoup de docilité de leur part et que je peû assurer avec verité qu'ils se sont toujours prétés à tous ce que je leur ait recommandé pour le service du Roy.

Le changement de maitre est la seule cause de cette revolution, et si M^r^ le Gouverneur espagnol avoit pû prendre sur luy de sacrifier une petite somme d'argent, cette affaire auroit été bientôt terminée à notre satisfaction réciproque, et je ne me trouverois pas si embarrassé que je le suis, je feray de mon mieux, et jespere M^r^, que les premières nouvelles que vous receviez a ce sujet, vous apprendront que tout a réussy selon nos désirs.

J'ay eu l'honneur de vous informer M^r^, que le capitaine Sterling venu par le fort Duquesne avoit enfin pris possession des illinois le 8 8^bre^ derniers et que M. de Saint Ange que j'avois laissé commandant du fort de Chartres jusqu'à ce que les Anglois eussent pû en prendre possession, aprés luy avoir remis le dit fort avoit passé de l'autre bord suivant mes ordres avec sa garnison concistant en 35 hommes.

[*Translation*]

this colony, in the upper country as well as at New Orleans, I have never experienced anything but great docility on their part; and I can truthfully say they were always ready to do all that I said for the service of the king.

The change of masters is the sole cause of this revolution, and if the Spanish governor had assumed the authority to sacrifice a small sum of money, this affair would have soon been ended to our mutual satisfaction, and I should not be as embarrassed as I am. I shall do my best, and I hope, sir, that the first news you receive about this matter will tell you that everything has succeeded according to our desires.

I have had the honor to inform you, sir, that Captain Stirling, coming by Fort Duquesne, has at last taken possession of the Illinois, the eighth of October last, and that M. de St. Ange, whom I had left commandant of Fort de Chartres until the English should be able to take possession, after having turned over to him the said fort, has passed over to the other side with his garrison of thirty-five men, according to my orders.

Je vous ait marqué aussy que le major farmar s'y etoit rendû par le mississipy avec le 34^e^ regiment réduit a 140 hommes par la mortalité et la désertion; je vous ait marque en même tems que les anglois etoient occupés a construire un fort a la rivière d'hiberville ou les sauvages pakanas ont détruit les magasins qu'ils y ont etablis; M^r^ Réed Lieutenant colonel du 34^eme^ regiment est party aussy dans le courrant de janvier avec deux batteaux et une soixantaine d'hommes pour aller commander aux Illinois.

Quoy que les Anglois ayent pris entierement Possession des terres que nous leur avons cédé et que tout paroisse calme et tranquille, je ne répondrois pas cependant que cela durat bien longtemps je scai qu'il regne toujours une très grande fermentation parmy les nations du nord, elles voyent que les anglois occupent un terrain immense avec très peû de monde et que je ne serois point surpris, que profitant de leur foiblesse elles ne jouassent encore quelques tragédie.

J'ai eû l'honneur de vous représenter M^r^ la médiocrité de mes appointemens, aussi bien que les dépenses indispensables que j'etois obligé de faire pour soutenir avec dignité la place que mal'heureuse-

[*Translation*]

I also told you that Major Farmar had arrived there via the Mississippi with the Thirty-fourth Regiment, reduced to one hundred and forty men by mortality and desertion. I told you at the same time that the English were busy building a fort on the Iberville River, where the Pacana Indians destroyed the stores they established there. M. Reed, lieutenant colonel of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, also left during January with two boats and about sixty men to go to take command in the Illinois.

Although the English have taken entire possession of the lands that we ceded them, and all appears calm and tranquil, I would not say that all that will last long. I know there is still a great agitation among the nations of the North. They see that the English are occupying an immense territory with very few men and I should not be surprised that, taking advantage of their weakness, they should yet play some tragedy.

I have the honor, sir, to represent to you the smallness of my salary, as well as the necessary expenses that I was obliged to incur to sustain with dignity the position which, unfortunately, I occupy

ment joccupe aujour'huy; depuis que le gouverneur espagnol est arrivé je le nourris avec sa suitte ce qui racheve de me réduire a la derniere misère, si vous n'avez pas pitié de moy, vos bontés et votre justice me rassurent, Jose me flatter d'en être digne, et qu'a mon arrivée en france vous voudrez bien me faire dédommager de toutes les dépenses indispensables que j'ay été obligé de faire pour le bien du service du Roy.

J'ay l'honneur &c

signé AUBRY

[*Endorsed:*] Lettre D'Aubry au Ministre

[*Translation*]

today. Since the Spanish governor arrived I have supported him and his following which has reduced me to the last extremity if you do not have pity on me, of which your kindness and justice reassure me. I dare flatter myself that I am worthy of them, and that, on my arrival in France, you will have me reimbursed for all the unavoidable expenses that I was obliged to incur for the good of the king's service.

I have the honor, etc.,

signed AUBRY

[*Endorsed:*] Letter of Aubry to the minister

JOHNSON TO GAGE, March 15, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:90 — Draft]

JOHNSON-HALL March 15th 1766

DEAR SIR

I did not receive Your favor of the 3d inst 'till this morning, which Greatly Surprizes me & more so as the Letters you mention to have Enclosed are not be to found; possibly after Closing your Letter to me, You have sent them Seperately & they may be still behind, I should be glad to hear from you about them that I may make proper enquiry.

I have received a Long Letter from Mr Croghan touching his Journey to the Ilinois wherein he Expresses some uneasiness with regard to his own Circumstances [and] former Losses, & appears desirous to have his Credit for Expences in some measure Settled, Least they might fall upon his Estate, and requests I would take under Consideration the difficultys he has hitherto struggled with "That

during Gen[l] Stanwix's Command he had orders to purchase presents for the Southern Ind[s] to the Am[t] of £200 which were Given out by Gen[l] Stanwix, but that he was then obliged to pay for them for which he has not yet been reimbursed. That during Gen[l] Amhersts Com[d] he Expended £1450 at difft times by Col Bouquets orders, then Comd[g] to the Southward which Sir Jeff. Amherst would not afterwards pay. That this has Greatly affected his Estate, which he fears would be made Liable to ans[r] any future Expences he may incurr, sho[d] he meet with any accident, or Act without a proper Credit. This (he says) induces him to request that it may not be taken amiss if he is unwilling to risque any farther, or to take upon him Expences without proper Authority & a Certain Credit for so doing."

For my part I know he has met with Sev[l] Losses, & therefore I am not surprized at his caution, as he has been obliged to sell the Greatest part of his Lands to pay his debts &c. It is not in my power to say much to him on this head only that I presume You will order him such a Credit as may appear Necessary & this I have desired him to Lay before you, imediately as there is Little time to be Lost at this Season.

I herewith transmit you his Acc[ts] which he Sent me, all of Which he paid (Except the Interpreters at the out posts) & I believe is in much Want of the Money.[1]

I am a Good deal concerned at the Miscarriage of your Pacquet as I could have Sent with Safety and Expedition. The Critical State of Affairs requires us all to Look about us, and take every Lawfull & prudent precaution for the preservation of Order, & the preventing any Insults offered to Government, or its Officers, This will doubtless be the Case if the Parliam[t] does not Give up every thing. They may (from the steps wch have been taken to interest so many Trading People) alter or amend the Stamp Act &ca or possibly abolish it but if they do the Latter, something else will probably be fallen upon to shew their Authority for taxing America which I find they will not give up, & as that is what sticks with the Leaders of partys here more than the Act itself, we may then Expect some Trouble.

[1] The following passage was crossed out: "as for these Interpreters he desires to know what is to be done that in case he does not receive their pay, he must protest the drafts they have drawn upon him not being able to advance it himself. In my Last I mentioned M[r] Cole as a person I thought very fit for the Ilinois, & I shall write to him to meet M[r] Croghan."

I have reduced the articles in M^r^ Croghans acc^ts^ to York Currency, as some of them before were in that of Pensilvania, there is but one Voucher for the Interpreter at Wawiaghtonon Which I am informed & believe to be owing to the Circumstances attending the Garrisons, at that time Michilimackinac & Le Baye have been Certified by their Comd Officers, So that upon the Whole I think the acc^ts^ right & if they appear so to you, I make no doubt of your ordering me payment, so as that I may remit them the money.

In Justice to a poor Young Man *John Ousterhout* I cannot Omit informing you that he has served as a Ranger with those I raised by your Order from the 18^th^ March to the 1^st^ Nov^r^ 1764 229 ^dys^ at 4^s^ ℔ but thro' a Blunder made by one of the Officers his Name was omitted when the Acc^ts^ were sent to you so that there is still due to him £45.16. which I should be Extremely Glad you would take into Consideration that he may be paid.

M^r^ Croghan is desirous that I should point out to you the Expences he may be at at the Ilinois, but as this depends on many circumstances I cannot possibly ascertain it. thus much I must Observe that as it is the first Visit of any of the Department and at a time when a Shew of Generosity may reasonably be Expected, it will be necessary for him to make them some presents & particularly shew kindness to the Chiefs; I am glad that presents are gone up with the Troops, they will doubtless be given out long before his Arrival, but if not, an Indian Agent cannot support his Consequence or be of so much use if it is not in his power to bestow favors upon them, because the Indians never can believe a man to be of Consequence, or that he has proper Authority unless it is in his power to shew them kindness as they call it. I think a certain M^r^ Cole will make a good Comiss^y^ at the Ilinois he was formerly a Lieutenan^t^ in the Regular service and afterwards a L^t^ Col. of Provincials with me in 1755 having met with small Success in Merchandise Engaged in Indian Trade Which he did not like to continue, and went up Some time ago to Detroit as he assured me to settle his acc^ts^ and have done with that business he is a Man of Education, and Good sense, understands some of the Indian Languages, and Speaks french well, and I believe he will support a proper respectable Character there from his Acquaintance with both French and Indians, I shall therefore give him notice to repair to the Ilinois. I must beg the fav^r^ to know whether

You think Majr Rogerss Appointmt should prevent the Sending a Commissary to Michilimackinac, or whether you approve of my Sending one there.

Lt Roberts of the 46th is a Man who has laid himself out to study the Inds & acquire their Esteem, in which he has succeeded, he understands *French* Well and begins to make some progress in the 6 Nation Language, having long Expressed a desire to be employed in the Departmt as he has no money & few friends to advance him in time of peace,[1] he will dispose of his Comn if appointed, but as it may hurt him with the Regiment if his inclinations were thoroughly known, & that thro' disappointment of the Office of Comy he shd be obliged to remn for the Service I therefore only mention to you my Inclination to appoint him at Niagara, for which post I think him very well Qualified, he purchased his Lieutenancy & It wod be a great disappointmt for him to Leave the Army shod the Comys not be allowed of at home, if he cod be indulged with a few Months 'till we hear farther abt the Departmt I am persuaded he wod be of Service with the Senecas, Chipeweighs &ca I have promised Lieut Jehu Hay of the 60th an Appointment, he was recomended by C. Gladwin & takes a good deal of pains to Qualify himself.[2]

His Excellcy Genl Gage

[*Endorsed:*] March 15th 1766 To Genl Gage with Mr Croghans Accts

Barrington to Conway, March 17, 1766

[P.R.O., S.P. Dom., Mil., 25 — L.S.]

War Office 17th March 1766.

Sir,

I have the honor to send you the enclosed Copies of a Letter from Major General Gage, to me dated the 16th January last, and of an Extract of a Letter from Capt. Stirling,[3] Commanding a Detachment of the 42d Regiment, at Fort Chartres, in the Illinois Country, to the General, for your Information.

[1] Roberts was later appointed to the position of commissary at Mackinac, where he got into a dispute with Major Rogers, whom he charged with gross misconduct of his office.

[2] Johnson appointed Hay to the position of commissary at Detroit. See index.

[3] The latter is printed *ante*, 107.

I have the honor to be, Sir Your most obedient and most humble Servant

BARRINGTON.

RIGHT HONORABLE HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY &c &c &c

FARMAR TO BARRINGTON, March 19, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 421 — C.]

Extract of a Letter from Major Farmar of the 34th Reg[t] of Foot, to the Secretary at War; dated Fort Cavendish, 19[th] March 1766.[1]

I am now in great distress for Want of Provisions especially for Flour. I don't know how I shall be able to keep Possession of the Garrison until a Supply arrives. The Soldiers are frequently three or four Days together without anything but Bread and Indian Corn; as the Country cannot afford sufficient Meat for the Daily Consumption of the Troops. However, in a few Days I expect two or three Batteaux from the Ohio loaded with Buffalo, our Hunters there having had good success: Our greatest Distress will then be for Want of Bread, as Flour is very scarce in the Country.

I have received a Letter from Col[o] Reed, informing me that he was to leave New Orleans in the Month of December last with three Subalterns and forty Men; which will greatly add to our Distress, as he informs me he has not sufficient Provisions to serve him in the Voyage, and he expects a Supply from me.

The Soil of this Country is in general very good & fertile, and with proper industry and Cultivation it would I make no Doubt in a few Years produce sufficient Grain for the Maintenance of the Troops and Inhabitants; but the present Inhabitants are and always have been too indolent and lazy to bestow any Pains upon cultivating their Lands, especially since the Country has been ceded to the Crown of Great Britain, as they were undetermined what steps to take upon the Arrival of the English; whether to remain, or go to the opposite Side of the River to the Spanish Settlements, by which means the Country

[1] As it is not probable that a commandant in the Illinois would write to the secretary at war and particularly as the information given is of such a character as would be written to the commander in chief, we think that this extract has received an incorrect endorsement by some London clerk. The only difficulty about this suggestion is that General Gage speaks of a letter from Farmar dated March 18 (see *post*, 331), but here again a copyist may have misread the figures. See Gage's reply on July 7, 1766.

is reduced to the greatest Scarcity, and the Garrison must be supplied for two or perhaps three Years with Provisions from the Northward. We are threatened with a Hostile Visit from the Osages, a Nation of Hostile Indians on the Missouri, and by a Nation called by the French the Soteaux.[1]

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter from Major Farmar to The Secretary at War; Dated, Cavendish Fort, 19th March 1766. In Lord Barrington's, of the 31st Octr 1766.

Contract for Hauling Merchandise, March 21, 1766

[P.D.P.R.— A.D.S.]

Articles of Agreement made & concluded upon this twenty first Day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred & sixty six, by & between Baynton Wharton and Morgan of the City & County of Philadelphia Merchants of the One Part & Edward Morton of Cumberland County in the Province of Pennsylvania of the other Part witnesseth

That the said Edward Morton for & in Consideration of the Payments herein after mention'd to be made to him by the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan, hath covenanted bargain'd & agreed & by these Presents doth covenant, bargain & agree to & with the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan, That he the said Edward Morton shall & will keep employ'd in their Service for the ensuing Summer Season, between the said City of Philadelphia & Fort Pitt, twenty good & sufficient Waggons, with a proper Number of Horses for the same & that they shall each of them carry reasonable Loads of any Kinds of Goods for them the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt aforesaid & for no other Persons whatever, for three Trips this season certain That the said Waggons shall also bring for them the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan all such Skins as they may collect, from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia & for no other Persons provided they have a sufficient Quanity to load them. And the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan on their Parts do covenant & agree to pay to the aforesaid Edward Morton for each & every hundred Wt which he shall carry for them from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt

[1] Probably the Uzutiuhi, a Quapaw band.

as aforesaid the Sum of forty shillings in the Payments herein after mentiond—Also for each & every hundred Weight of Peltry which he shall transport from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia as aforesaid, the Sum of twenty Shillings—in the following Manner—That is to say—The Sum of One hundred Pounds in One Payment in Part for the said Carriage to & from Fort Pitt as aforesaid, On his first Return from said Fort—Which will be in or about the Month of May next—And the remaining Balance for the said Carriages of twenty Waggon Loads three Trips each to Fort Pitt & from thence back to Philadelphia, in One entire Payment in the Month of December next, which will be in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred & sixty six—Before which Time the said Morton shall not demand any Part thereof—For the true Performance of each & every of the foregoing Articles, the Parties hereto, so bind themselves each to the other in the Sum of One thousand Pounds lawfull Money of Pennsylvania to be paid by the Party defective to the Party complying.

In Witness whereof they have hereunto set their Hands & Seals the Day & Year first above written—

EDWARD MORTON (seal)

Sealed & delivered in the Presence of Us—

THO^{S} LAURENCE Jun^{r}

CORNELIUS BARNES.

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, March 22, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 169 — L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL March 22^{d} 1766.

MY LORDS

In my last Letter of the 31st of January[1] I had the honor to inform your Lordships that possession of the *Ilinois* was obtained in October, and to offer some thoughts and Observations on the Affairs under my Superintendance, and Just now I have heard that Major Farmar who proceeded by Misisipi arrived there the 4th of December and relieved Capt. Stirling.

General Gage and myself have received Authentic Accounts and particulars relative to the Artfull measures taking by the French in that Country for securing the Indians affections and engrossing

[1] Printed *ante*, 149.

the Trade, the better to accomplish which they have begun Two Settlements[1] on the West side of the River above *Fort Chartres* where they have already large Magazines for Trade and Presents, with Able Agents to carry on their designs, in which they will be farther aided by the French of *Ilinois*, and it added that many of the latter are withdrawing from their old abode to the side occupyed by the French.

As I foresaw this I took the Liberty of communicating my thoughts thereon to your Lordships in my Letter of the 16th Novr last[2] together with the Account of their new Settlement of which I then had notice. The General concurrs with me in sentiments on the Necessity of some imediate Expedients to prevent the Growing danger to which end Mr Croghan is to set out from Fort Pitt in a very short time. The like necessity induces him to agree with me that no time should be lost in appointing Commissaries to go to the Outposts on the Terms prescribed by the Plan for the future management of Indian Affairs, which I should not have undertaken to do without his Advice and Concurrence, and that I am very sensible to the Want of proper Officers can no longer be dispensed with, due regard being had to the security of our Acquisitions and the Peace of the Country.[3]

The making these necessary Appointments were hitherto delayed thro' daily expectation of your Lordships commands, but the present posture of Affairs here, and the obvious tendency of the French Conduct may not Justify me if it is longer neglected. The Gentlemen I have made choice of are of good character & well Qualified, they will be of great service if they arrive in time and my intended Congress with *Pondiac* and the other Chiefs as mentioned in my last may contribute to consolidate what has been hitherto with them— The first public Interview with these people must be chargeable, without that Words have but little weight when opposed to the Political Generosity of the French, and this will Likewise render a handsome present necessary for Mr Croghan. I wish from my Soul that peace and security might be enjoyed throughout the

[1] One of these settlements was new, namely St. Louis, but the other, Ste. Genevieve, had been in existence about thirty years.

[2] Printed *ante*, 117.

[3] In accordance with this notice Johnson appointed all the commissaries provided for in the plan for the organization of Indian affairs. See *ante*, 1: 274.

frontiers without Expence or Trouble but Experience teaches the contrary.

I hope your Lordships will not disapprove of my Conduct on this occasion. That my present Situation will occur to you, being restricted from undertaking or Executing any thing without a Risque of my private fortune or receiving a Sanction which may Come too late to answer the Exigencies of the Service in a Department the Expence of which depends on Circumstances oft unforeseen 'till the moment which requires a proper application. Such is my present situation and as such I flatter myself it will entitle me to your Lordships patronage and favor.

I have been applyed to by the Merchants of Canada concerning a purchase lately made by M^r^ *Wm. Grant* from Mons^r^ *Rigaud* and *Madame de Vaudreuille* of the Fort at *La Baye de Puans in Lake Michigan* with an Extensive Territory over which he is to have an Exclusive right of Trade with Liberty to erect houses and make establishments thereon, to the infinite Loss and detriment of the trading people and likewise to the General disatisfaction of the Indians who cannot fail being greatly alarmed at such an Establishment beyond our Provincial Limits.

This Grant to M^r^ Rigaud & his Lady was from the Marquis de Vaudreuille in October 1759, and confirmed by the King of France in Jan^y^ 1760, at a very critical period when *Quebec* was ours and *Montreal* only wanting to compleat the conquest of Canada, and therefore evidently intended as a perquisite well knowing some of our unwary people might be drawn in to give a Valuable Consideration for it, as it would be highly impolitic for them to make such a Grant or permit such Settlements if they continued Masters of the Country since it would alienate the Affections of the Indians and of Friends make them bitter Enemys, which they will doubtless prove to us, if the Grant is attempted to be enforced.

These considerations supported by the request of the Traders of Canada induce me to lay these General Heads of the affair before your Lordships, persuaded that you will discountenance the same from the dangerous tendency and fatal Effects it may have on the Peace and Commerce with the Indians. And as I have a reason to Expect that many persons will be desirous to seize upon Indian Lands, particularly about Vacated Garrisons, I cannot avoid hinting my

Apprehensions on that Score and Expressing my Wishes for the protection of the Indians rights as the surest means for enjoying their affections and fidelity.

I shall omit no opportunity of communicating the occurences of the Indian Department to your Lordships or of testifying the perfect Esteem with which I am, My Lords, Your Lordships, most Oblidged, and, Most Devoted humble Servant

W^M^ JOHNSON

P. S. It is said the French are tampering with Pondiac &c^a^ & using all their efforts to withdraw him from his Engagements.

THE RIGHT HON^BLE^ THE LORDS OF TRADE &c.

[*Endorsed:*] *Indian Affairs* Letters from S^r^ William Johnson Superintendant of Indian Affairs, to the Board, dated March 22^d^ 1766, relative to the designs of the French, and the occurrencies within his district. Rec^d^ May 7 / Read } 1766 K. 10.

JOHNSON TO CROGHAN, March 28, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 12:121]

JOHNSON HALL, March 28, 1766.

A few days ago Thomas arrived here and delivered me your Letter of the 25th of February; he was a good while on the way owing to the freshes in Hudson River, he seems to be a smart fellow that knows his business, and I hope he will answer. . . .

What you mentioned concerning Gov. Franklin's Correspondence with me will be very agreeable and I shall be extremely glad to hear from him at any time. . . .

You will have heard that Major Farmar Arrived at the Ilinois the 3rd of December & relieved Capt. Sterling who is on his way for New York. The General has acquainted me with certain information he has rec'd of the Schemes now practicing by the French to distress us at the Ilinois, and that Pondiac is now with them at their new

[1] The original from which this extract was taken by Mr. Carter was completely destroyed in the Albany fire.

Settlement very busy in their behalf. This Acct may be relied upon & therefore I have wrote him that if he cannot conveniently in point of time meet me as intended so that I have acquainted the Genl; You will meet him to the westward of which if the General approves you must take steps accordingly but I haven't yet had an ans[r] from him on this, or the Subject of my former Letter.

So soon as I hear farther from the General I shall write you and send the Instructions in which I shall insert an Article directing you to enquire into the French Bounds & Property at the Ilinois. I have no objection to what you propose on that subject there, and as the French are now said to be retiring fast, You will have the better opportunity of making a good Choice on which the value will chiefly depend.[1]

. . . . . .

GAGE TO CONWAY, March 28, 1766
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 165 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK March 28th 1766

SIR,

I have been honored with the Receipt of your Letter of the 18th of January, together with His Majesty's Speech to the two Houses of Parliament, and the Addresses of the Lords and Commons, in Consequence thereof.

After the many Proofs His Majesty has given of his Paternal Tenderness to all his People, particularly in the Manner in which he has now referred the Consideration of the Disturbances in the Colonies to the Wisdom of his Parliament; And the Temper and Moderation shewn in the Addresses of both Houses on that Occasion, in which they express so much Care for the honor of His Majesty's Government, and at the same Time profess so much Regard for the Welfare of all his People; None but the most stubborn and factious Spirits can refuse to submit the Decision of their Constitutional Rights, to the Wisdom of the British Legislature. And I most sincerely hope that the People of the Colonies will rely on it's Decision with that Duty and

[1] Johnson had received from Croghan information concerning the proposed company, later formed in Philadelphia, to purchase land in the Illinois. See *ante*, 152; *post*, 205, 207.

Submission which they owe to the Legislative Acts of the Mother Country.

Major Farmar with the 34th Regiment got to Fort Chartres the beginning of December, after a Voyage of near Eight Months from his Departure from Mobile; and above five from New-Orleans. I beg leave to referr you to the inclosed Extracts of four Letters[1] which I have received from thence, for your Information of the present State of the Settlements in the Illinois Country, the Disposition and Temper of the French and Indian Inhabitants, as well as of the Designs and Intrigues of the French, who have seated themselves in two different Places on the Opposite Shore. I am a good deal disappointed, that any Demand should be made for Provisions, as the Country used to abound with it, and none can be supplied from any of our Provinces but with great Difficulty, and at an enormous Expence. This Want must arise from the Inhabitants abandoning their old Farms to go over to the New French Settlements, and the only Method which appears to me the most proper to obviate Difficulties on Account of Food, as well as to strengthen ourselves in those Parts at the least Expence, is to grant the Lands deserted by the French, which I presume forfeited, as well as other Lands unsettled, using Necessary Precautions to avoid Disputes with the Indians, to British Settlers. All Endeavors must be used to procure a Supply of Provisions upon the Spot; and I have directed the Officer Commanding to get Seed, and try to make his Men cultivate the Ground near the Fort. If I may presume to give my Opinion further on this Matter, I would humbly propose, that a Military Governor should be appointed for the Ilinois as soon as possible; The Distance of that Country from any of the Provinces being about Fourteen Hundred Miles, makes it's Dependance on any of them impracticable, and from it's Vicinity to the French Settlements, no other than a Military Government, would answer our Purposes. That Lands should be granted without Delay by any Person authorized properly to do it; but no Fees to be taken by the Person who grants, or by Secretarys, Clerks, Surveyors, or other Persons whatever. That no large Tracts should be given, but the Lands granted in Farms, consisting of an Hundred and Fifty, or Two Hundred Acres of good Land, unless perhaps to half-Pay Officers, who might have four or five Hundred Acres. People may be tempted on

[1] Printed *ante*, 124, 130, 131.

these Advantages to transport themselves with a Year's Provision, Seed Corn, and Tools for Husbandry down the Ohio. The Lands shall be held of the King on condition of Military Service, and such other Obligations as shall be convenient. Till something of this kind shall be done, the French Power will be superior to our's; and I can't fall upon any method to support ourselves against them more efficaciously, and at so little Expence, than what I have taken the Liberty to propose.[1] As soon as the Letters from the Ilinois came to hand, Orders were sent to the Officer Commanding at Fort-Pitt, to use every Means, even to the employing Indians with their Canoes, to transport a Cargo of Provisions to the Ilinois immediately, that being the most necessary Article, to put them as soon as it can be done, beyond a Possibility of want. Boats will be constructed at Fort-Pitt to send further Supplys; which I propose to do by the help of Recruits ordered to be raised in Pensylvania, for the 34th Regiment, now low in Numbers. An Indian Interpreter has been ordered to repair to Fort Chartres in the Traders-Boats, which set out the beginning of this Month; and an Indian Commissary will be sent by Sir William Johnson to assist in the Management of the Indians. I have directed the Commanding Officer to endeavor to convince the French Officers on the Opposite Shore, how much it will be for the Mutual Benefit of both Nations, their respective Territorys and Settlements being now only separated by a River, That the Indians on both Sides should be kept quiet and peaceable; and even to unite to maintain Peace, in Cases of Extremity, that we hope the inhuman and wicked Policy, formerly adopted by Canada and some of our Provinces, to destroy each other by Means of the Savages with whom they were respectively allied, may be never practised on the Mississippi, A Policy by which both Nations suffered, with shame and Dishonor to both, And who were in the End, equally duped by the Savages. That if any such Practises are began, we shall not be the Aggressors. Colonel Taylor is also desired to make the like Representations, to the Governor of New Orleans. In Case Fort-Chartres should be carried off by the Floods, as apprehended, the Troops are ordered to fortify at Kaskaskies, being the best Settlement, and a River being there, that will contain the Boats; which will require Protection. I would defer

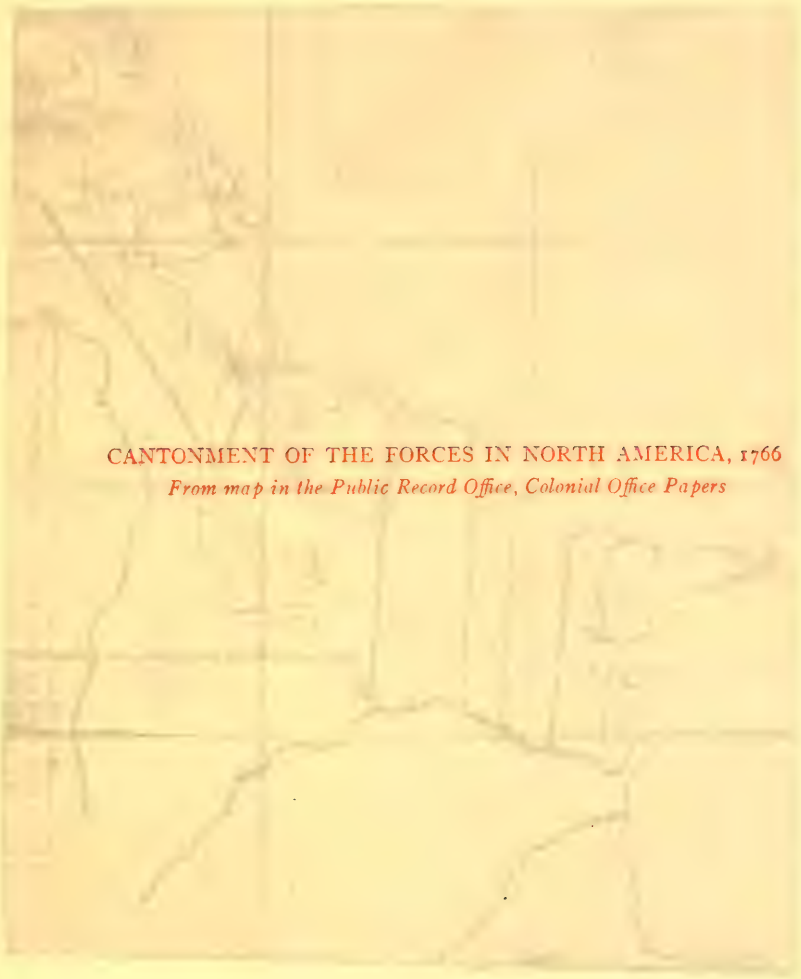
[1] For discussion of this and other plans for the colonization of the Illinois country see *post*, 205, 224, 371, and Carter, *Illinois Country*, ch. 6.

fixing on other Spots, which it will be Necessary to fortify, till the Country is explored, and better known.

I have the honor to transmit you a Paper, containing the Disposition proposed to be made for the present, of the Troops under my Command. The pacifick Temper of the Savages in general, will now permit me to evacuate several of the small Posts, and to reduce the Garrisons of the Forts, to such Numbers, as shall be Necessary only for their mere Defence; By which a very great Saving will be made in the Article of Expence, and some Force brought into the inhabited Country. But if the Troops are not all required this way, the Disposition will in some Measure be changed, by reinforcing the Province of Quebec, which will be weakened by the March of the 28th Regiment; but I can't reasonably expect them in this Province, till the latter end of May. Affairs continue here, much in the same disturbed State they have been in for some Months past; and the Decision of the Parliament respecting the Stamp Act impatiently waited for; not without denouncing Vengeance, in Case the Decision should not be agreeable to their Expectations.

The Troops at St Augustine have been lately a good deal distressed for want of Lodgements, the Houses in which they were placed on taking Possession of the Place, being private Property have been sold over their Heads, and others fallen into Ruin. Governor Grant was so kind as to make an offer to the Commanding Officer, of either the Bishop's Palace or the Church, the latter was fixed upon as the properest Building, And I have ordered it to be fitted up for the Reception of the Soldiers.

It gives me very great Concern to find by Letters from West Florida; that His Majesty's Ministers have been troubled with more Complaints of Disagreements and Quarrells amongst the King's Servants in that Province: And that Governor Johnstone had wrote to His Majesty's Secretary of State to desire Lieutenant Colonel Walsh of the 31st Regiment, might be tryed by a General Court-Martial. The Governor wrote me a short Letter, demanding a Tryal of the Lieutenant Colonel on seven different Crimes therein specified. I had Reason to hope after His Majesty had sent his Orders on Account of former Disputes in West-Florida, and after the Departure of the 22d 34th and 35th Regiments, with each of whom respectively the Governor had disagreed, and those Corps being replaced by two



CANTONMENT OF THE FORCES IN NORTH AMERICA, 1766

From map in the Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers

permit me to evacuate several of the small Posts, and to reduce the Garrisons of the Forts, to such Numbers, as shall be Necessary only

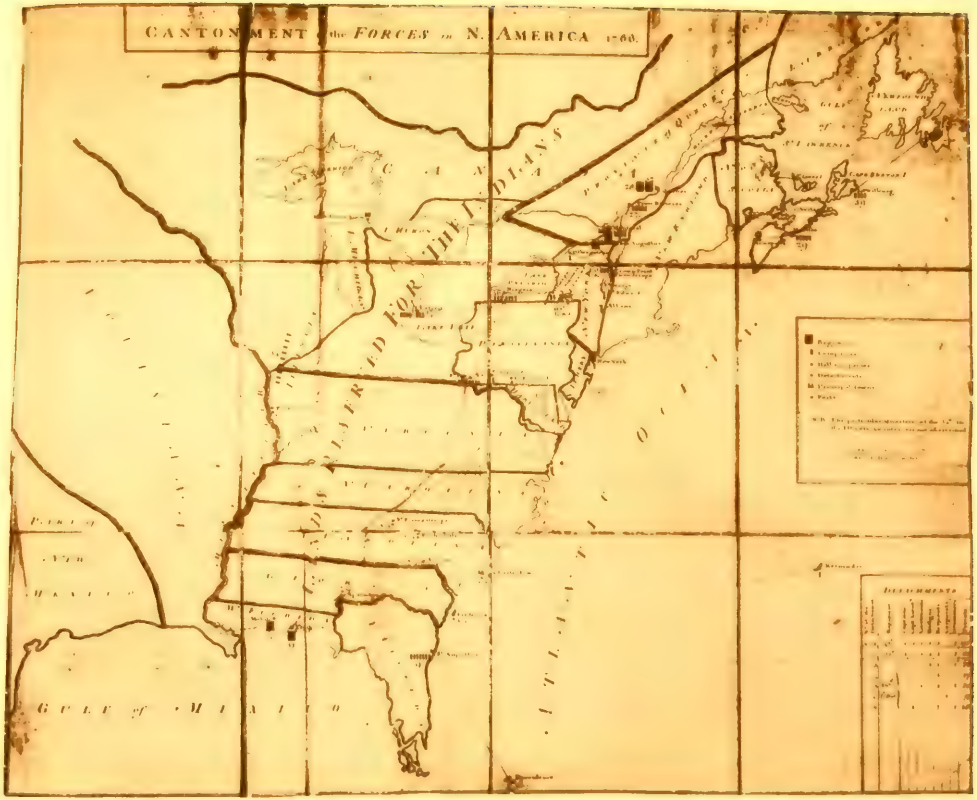
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Servants in that Province: And that Governor Johnstone had wrote

Walsh of the 31st Regiment, must be tryed by a General Court-Martial. The Governor wrote me a short Letter, demanding a Tryal of the Lieutenant Colonel on several different Crimes therein specified.

Account of former Disputes in West Florida, and after the Departure of the 22d and 31st Regiments, with each of whom respectively


CANTONMENT of the FORCES in N. AMERICA 1760.
RESERVED FOR THE INDIANS
CANADA
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
GULF of MEXICO

Regiments from England unconcerned in their Quarrels, that the King's Business would have been carried on with that Concord and Harmony between his Servants, so essential to his Service. I have enjoined the Officers in every Province in the Strongest Terms, to pay a litteral and implicit Obedience to the Kings Orders, not to dispute about Trifles and Punctilios, and to do everything in their Power to please and oblige the Governors. His Majesty's Orders seem very well understood everywhere but in West-Florida, where I have at Times been obliged to send some specifick Orders, to prevent the Service being confounded, and a Subvertion of all Order and Discipline. I also took the Liberty to write my sentiments to Governor Johnstone, but received such an Answer, as will deterr me from writing to him again, on any Matter, wherein I have the Misfortune to differ from him in Opinion. The Quarrells between Governor Johnstone and Lieutenant Colonel Walsh, took their Rise, from the Right of Appointing a Town-Major at Pensacola, and the Disposal of a Barrack Hutt. By the King's Orders all Town Majors are to be appointed by the Commander in Chief, and I had directed, that on a Vacancy happening, the Officer Commanding at Pensacola should appoint one for the Time being, till a Report thereof, was made to me. But the Governor insisted on his Right to nominate a Town-Major for the Time-Being; and also insisted on placing some Person in a Barrack Hutt, in which Lieutenant Colonel Walsh wanted to put some Officer or Soldiers to extend his quarters for the Relief of his sick, which were too much crowded. These I understood were the Grounds of the Contention, and the inclosed Extracts of Letters from Lieutenant Colonels Maxwell and Walsh, will inform you to what Extremitys these Matters have been carried. I rely chiefly on the Account given by Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell which appears to be a simple Narration of Facts, and he was not concerned in the Disputes. He seems also to have acted with Judgement in leaving his Command at Mobile, an Event so very extraordinary for which the Governor demanded his Aid; and in returning to his Post again, when he saw on what Account he was taken from his Command The Governor arrested Lieutenant Colonel Walsh on the Crime of High Treason, and I have the honor to transmit you a Copy of the Warrant of Commitment, and a Copy of the Lieutenant Colonel's Discharge from said Commitment, by the Chief Justice of the Prov-

ince; together with a Copy of a Letter from the Chief Justice, and an Address of the Grand Jury and other Inhabitants to Lieutenant Colonel Walsh by which it would appear that the whole Colony has been disturbed by such violent Proceedings. I have wrote to Colonel Taylor acting as Brigadier in the Southern District, and whose Arrival at Pensacola it's to be hoped, will have restored Order and Tranquillity, to desire he would make Enquiry into the Transactions which have happened, and if he finds that Lieutenant Colonel Walsh has been guilty of any Crimes merely Military, which for the Maintenance of Order and Discipline, and the Support of the Kings Service it will be absolutely Necessary to bring Lieutenant Colonel Walsh to a Tryal, of which He the Brigadier will be the Judge, that he will try Lieutenant Colonel Walsh for the same. But if he shall have broke into the Powers of the Civil Governor, shewed Contempt or disrespect for His Majesty's Government, the Dignity and Authority of which it is our Duty to support and defend, Such Accusations from the Governor must have the greatest Attention and Regard paid to them, and that he will deal with Lieutenant Colonel Walsh in those Respects, according to the Nature of his Offence.[1]

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, Sir, Your Most obedient and most humble Servant,

THO^{S} GAGE[2]

RIGHT HON^{BLE} H. S. CONWAY one of H: Maj$^{ty's}$ Principal Sec^{rys} of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York. 28th March 1766. Major Gen^{l} Gage. R 5th May. Informing of the State of the Illinois — A Scarcity of Provisions there — A proposal for a Military Government — The Indians in general quiet — Affairs in the Colonies continue in the same disturbed State — An Account of the Disputes & proceedings in West Florida between the Governor & the Military,— with his Orders in Consequence of the Complaints.— with 10. Inclosures Bundle F. N° 7.

[1] For an interpretation of this and similar incidents see Carter, "Some Aspects of British Administration in West Florida," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 1:364.

[2] The extract of the above letter relating to Major Farmar and the Illinois was sent by Conway to the board of trade, May 23 (P.R.O., C.O., 323.18, f. 557), and by Shelburne to the board, October 5, 1767 (P.R.O., C.O., 323.25, f. 285).

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT OF THE ILLINOIS COMPANY, March 29, 1766
[P.H.S. — D.S.]

Articles of Agreement made Indented Concluded & agreed on this Twenty Ninth Day of March in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and sixty six Between His Excellency William Franklin[1] Esq^r^ of the one part, The Honourable Sir William Johnston Baronet of the second part, George Croghan Esquire of the third part, John Baynton[2] of the City of Philadelphia Merchant of the fourth part, Samuel Wharton of the said City Merchant of the fifth part, George Morgan of the said City Merchant of the sixth part, Joseph Wharton Senior of the seventh part, Joseph Wharton Junior of the eighth part, John Hughes Esq^r^ of the ninth part and Joseph Galloway Esq^r^ of the tenth part.

Whereas it is expected that a Civil Government[3] will be established by his Majesty in the Illinois Country at or near Fort Chartres and that a sufficient Quantity of Land for the Settlement of An English Colony there will in a short Time be purchased of the Parties for that purpose, And Whereas the said Parties have agreed to apply to the Crown for a Grant of Twelve Hundred Thousand Acres or more thereof if to be procured under such Terms and Conditions as shall be obtained for the Settlement thereof, Now this Indenture Witnesseth that the said Parties respectively have covenanted granted and agreed to and with each other and by these presents do covenant grant and agree to and with each other In Manner and Form following, that is to say, that they and each and every [one] of them shall and will form and immediately after the Date of these presents enter into and become one joint Company and partnership, And do hereby agree to

[1] Sir William Franklin was the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin. He served with the Pennsylvania forces on the Canadian frontier during King George's War and obtained a captain's commission. He then entered the postoffice department under his father. Later he went to England to study law and was admitted to the English bar in 1758. When Lord Bute came into power he honored Benjamin Franklin by having conferred on his son knighthood and making him governor of New Jersey. Like his father Sir William became deeply interested in the development of the West. The letters from him, which are published in this volume, reveal his close connection with projects for exploiting the regions west of the Alleghenies. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Sir William, remained loyal to Great Britain, for which he suffered imprisonment for a time. He finally went back to England, where he died November 17, 1813. *Encyclopedia Americana.*

[2] John Baynton was the senior member of the firm of Baynton and Wharton, which later became Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan when George Morgan, the son-in-law of John Baynton, was taken into the firm. Very little has been found about the life of Baynton except his relation with the firm, concerning which see what is printed in these volumes.

[3] For an interpretation of this and the following documents see *ante*, 152, 205, 224, 371, and Carter, *Illinois Country*, ch. 6.

make Application to His Majesty the King of Great Britain for a Grant or Grants of the said Twelve Hundred Thousand Acres of Land to be located in the said Colony or more if to be procured and that each and every of them shall immediately after the Execution of the said Grant or Grants so to be procured stand and be seized of the same and of the Lands thereby Granted in Manner and Form following, that is to say, that each and every of them shall stand and be seized from and immediately after the Time aforesaid of one undivided equal tenth part thereof the whole into Ten equal parts to be divided to hold the same to the said parties respectively their respective Heirs and Assigns forever, provided always Nevertheless that in Case it should be thought convenient or necessary in Order to obtain the said Grant that any two other Gentlemen should be taken into the said partnership by the said Company, or by the person or persons who shall be appointed to apply for and procure the said Grant that then and in such Case the said Lands shall be equally divided between the said Parties and such two other persons and that they and the parties aforesaid and each of them shall stand and be seized of the said Lands in Manner and Form following, that is to say, That each and every of them shall stand and be seized of one equal undivided Twelfth part thereof, the whole into Twelve equal parts to be divided, to hold to them respectively and their respective Heirs forever. And the said parties do hereby further covenant Grant and agree to and with each other that they and each and every of them shall and will pay his and their reasonable and just part and Share of the Costs and Charges which shall arise accrue or happen, in making the Application aforesaid and in obtaining the said Grant in a ratable Proportion according to their said respective Shares and purparts. In Witness whereof the said parties have hereunto interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year first above Written.

W^M^ Franklin LS
Geo Croghan for Sir William Johnson LS
Geo: Croghan LS
John Baynton LS
Sam^L^ Wharton LS
Geo. Morgan LS
Joseph Wharton LS
Jos. Wharton Jun^R^ LS
Jo^N^ Hughes LS
Jos Galloway LS

Sealed & Delivered in the Presence of us

John Hughes Jun^R^
Tho^S^ Hood
Isaac Hughes.

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, March 30, 1766
[Johnson MSS., 12:127 — A.L.S.]

PHILL: March 30th 1766

DEAR SIR

Soon after my Return hear from your Honours I Wrote you about the Scheme of purchasing what Ever grants the french was posesed of in the Ilineois Cuntry[1] and Informd your honour that Governer franklin with Some other Gentlemen hear had formd the Same Scheme and offerd me to be Concernd with them and your honour, Sence wh I have agreed with them in behalf of yr honour & myself.

By Leters from England there is the Greatest Reson to blive that a goverment will Soon Take place there, if So a thing of this Kind must be very valuable provided we Succeed, the persons & Shairs is as follows—

the Honourable Sir William Johnson	2/16ths
Governer Franklin	2/16ths
John Baynton Esq:	2/16ths
George Croghan	2/16ths
Samuel Wharton	2/16ths
Geo: Morgan	2/16ths
Joseph Wharton Senr[2]	1/16th
Joseph Wharton Junr[3]	1/16th
John Hughs Esqr	1/16th
Joseph Gallaway Esqr	1/16th

itt is preposed that its nott to apear till the Success of our plan is known that your honour & Governer franklan is Concernd as itts thought you Can be of more Service by nott being thought Concernd Butt this is Submited to yr honour.

itt is Likewise preposed to aply for a Grant of 120000 Acerrs of Lands to the Crown in that Cuntry and to Take into this Grant

[1] This letter has not been found.

[2] This was the father of Thomas, Samuel, and Joseph, Jr. He was born in Philadelphia, August 4, 1707; became a successful merchant, but retired later from active business. He was twice married and had eighteen children. He died July 27, 1776.

[3] Son of the above. He was born in Philadelphia, March 21, 1734. He was also a merchant, but his losses during the Revolutionary War and a series of reverses forced him to retire. He died December 25, 1815.

two or three Gentlemen of fortune & Influence in England, and Governer franklan and those other Gentlemen Desier to know whome your honour wold Chouse there to be Concern^{d} & thet you wold Write to them if you Should nott Name the Whole you wold Chouse they Designe to Leve the Nomination of Such as you Dont to D^{r} franklen who they prepose to Send the preposeals to he is much attended to by the ministry and Carteanly Can be of Service in this affair & Governer franklen has a good Dail to Say, w^{h} you may judge by his haveing Intrest aNouff to Turn Cap^{t} Cannada out of his Shipe on a Trifeling Dispute between them.

Inclos^{d} is the preposeals Drawn up by Governer franklen for y^{r} honours perruseal and Such amendments or alterations as you may Judge Nesesesary and when you perruse them & make any alterations you will plese to Inclose them to Governer franklen & Write him what you think Nesesary on the ocation.

when a fair Copey will be Sent you Sign^{d} by all those Gentlemen with a Memorereal Requesting your honours aperobation of thire preposeal w^{h} will give you an opertunity of Giveing your Sentiments to the ministry on the Subject w^{h} will be of Infinet Sorvice to the Company & then the preposeals will be Sent home to Doctor franklen to present his Majesty & Councel for thire Confermation.

the Sooner your honour Considers this plan & Writes to Governer franklen the Beter as one half of England is Now Land mad & Every body there has thire Eys fixt on this Cuntry, att the Time your honour Writes Governer franklin I Begg you may Write me a few Lines tho I Shant be heer I will be glad to know how you Aprove the plan.

Plese to present my Complemt^{s} to Cap^{t} Guy Johnson and Inform him that I have Taken two Sixteenths in this affair only to present him with one of them w^{h} I Begg his acceptance of.

I Congratulate your honour on the further premotion of Sir John Johnson[1] to a Goverment in the Interior parts of this Cuntry w^{h} I flater my self Can be No other then the Ilinious Cuntry as No other I know of is Worth his acksptance Except itt as [*sic*] Detroit.

Plese to present my Complem^{ts} to Cap^{t} Johnson Cap^{t} Clause & the Ladys & y^{r} grandchildren and all the famly and Blive me Dear

[1] Son of Sir William Johnson.

Sir with Greatt Esteem & Regard your Honours Most obeedent and Most Humble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN

TO THE HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Barr[t] Johnson Hall

[*Endorsed:*] March 30[th] 1766 M[r] Croghans Letter w[th] Enclosures from Gov[r] Frankland concerning Lands.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON, March 30, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:128 — L.S.]

PHILAD[A] March 30 1766

SIR

By M[r] Croghan, We received your Honour's kind favor of the 30th of January & beg Leave to express Our warmest Thanks, as well, for the Detail, you are pleased to afford us,— respecting the Boundary, as for a reiterated Promise, of "contributing your Influence, to effect Our reasonable Demand" for Indian Losses. In like manner, Be pleased to receive, The Tribute of Our most cordial Acknowledgments,— for the Expectation, you are so good, As to give us, relative to a Supply of Goods.

M[r] Croghan paid us, The Amount of your Account; for Which, He has Our Receipt.

If at any Time, There are any Curiosities Or necessarys — which your Honour would incline to have,— Whether They be, the Product of this Province or foreign Parts;— It will be very flattering to us — If you will be so kind, as to mention Them, As we assure you, It is a high Gratification to us, To evidence a Sensibility of Favors.

A Ship is lately arrived from Spain, By whom a Friend of Ours received a few *Spanish Chesnuts* — we therefore, have got a few Them & have sent Them by the Bearer;—Which we pray your Acceptance of.

As the happy Possession of the Illinois Country, is the Subject of much Conversation, both in England & America,— we beg leave to inclose,— A small Pamphlet, wrote lately, On a very interesting Point — To wit, The Establishment of a civil Goverment there.[1]

[1] The Expediency of Securing our American Colonies by Settling the Country adjoining the River Mississippi, printed *ante* 1:134.

The Author has borrowed some of his Sentiments from Mon^r De Pratz.[1]

M^r Croghan will transmit to your Honor, *some proposals*,[2] which we shall be greatly Obliged to you both to consider; & alter, in such manner, As you shall judge, will be best — But we anticipate a Subject,— which He undertook fully to explain.

We are Sir with the sincerest Respect. Y^r Honours Obliged & very Obed^t Servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia March 30^th 1766 Mess^rs Baynton Wharton & Morgans letter.

ULLOA TO GAGE, April 1, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 327 — C.]

Extract of a Letter from Don Antonio de Ulloa, Governor of Louissianne for His Catholick Majesty, to Major General Gage, Commander in Chief in North America Dated New Orleans 1^st April 1766

"Your Excellency may be Assured that you'll always find my Offers Sincere, and that I shall be ready to do every thing to Serve You as far as is consistent with my Employment; Of which, I shall Endeavor to give Your Excellency, and all His Britannick Majesty's Governors the most Convincing proofs: And you may rest persuaded, that my wishes are, that Concord, Quietness, and good Harmony may reign, and a happy Union Subsist betwixt the Two Nations. It is in this Spirit that I shall contribute every thing Conducive thereto, on my part, and promise Myself, that Your Excellency corresponds with me, in the same intentions, as I am well Acquainted with the Excellent Qualities of your Nation, and those which Your Excellency possesses in person; The Governor and French General Monsieur D'Aubrey has by his wise Conduct put every thing for the present in Such good Order, that there remains nothing for me

[1] Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane.* This is a good treatment by a French traveler of French conditions in the Illinois prior to 1763.

[2] See *post*, 248.

to do, for His Britannick Majesty's Service, or your Excellency's, or that of your Nation in general, He having facilitated before my Arrival, the difficulties which presented themselves, with respect to the taking possession of the Ilinois, in such manner, that the Savages Submitted without Opposition; Tho' I have had no Opportunity of Contributing to this, yet I hope for the future to be able to Establish good Order and Discipline, to which You will always find Me ready to Contribute."

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter from Don Antonio de Ulloa Governor of Louissianne to Major General Gage Dated New Orleans 1st April 1766 In Majr Genl Gage of the 24th June 1766 (2.)

JOHNSON TO GAGE, April 4, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:137 — Draft]

JOHNSON-HALL Apl 4th 1766

DEAR SIR

I have received both your favors of the 17th and 23d ultº in The former of which you have been pleased to signify your intentions respecting *Fort Schlosser* which I shall communicate to the Senecas in the best manner I can so as to prevent them from entertaining any uneasiness on that Score, and I believe it will not be disapproved of, provided Lt Pfister confines his Improvements within moderate Limits about the Fort, the objection of the Inds being in a great measure to the Establishment of familys, which they know will encrease when once a beginning is made, & must in the end prove inconvenient to them & objects of their Jealousy, as to his Trading with the Inds I don't know how that can be carried on when the Plan is fixed, as all Trade is thereby Confined to Certain principal posts therein mentioned, and as it will Very much affect the Trade at *Niagara;* the Traders there will doubtless be plaguing us with remonstrances against it, or requests for Liberty to Settle & Trade there Likewise. I think you have made an Advantagious bargain for the Crown with him.

I fancy the pacquet you sent to my Care has been forwarded by some Opportunity to Ontario, as I can hear no Tidings of it, but that a pacquet went up lately by a Soldier from Schenectady with Letters for the different posts.

Your Observations in your last concerning M^r^ Croghans Affair appear very Just. I don't know what steps, he took when in England to get payment for Disbursements during Sir Jeffery Amhersts Comm^d^ but as to those under Gen^l^ Stanwix I know of his having applied & that he rec^d^ a Letter from him thereon when in London, in which he put it off, in such a manner as I cannot now Recollect. I am very sensible of your delicacy in avoiding to give an honest Man the smallest pain, and of the reasonableness of M^r^ Croghan's Conforming strictly to what you direct, and with his Instructions I shall give him positive Orders on that head which I Expect he will punctually observe, but before I send his Instruct^ns^ I must have the favor of your Letter in Answer to my last wherein I ment^d^ to you that considering where *Pondiac* now is, & the time it will take to Collect the other Necessary Chiefs in their Slow way I might be disappointed of meeting him as I intended so as to give him time to Return home the ensuing summer, & that a meeting between him and M^r^ Croghan, might easily be affected wo^d^ answer the purpose & save some Expence after hearing from you on this Subject he can set out imediately as we have no time to Lose since the French are Withdrawing themselves & Indians, which is done chiefly to distress us, & encrease our difficulty in maintaining that Country, & I find by a Letter from one of Capt Stirlings Officers that everything is imensely dear there that they are badly of for want of provisions, & assuredly Expect the Indians will invest them if there is no Indian Agent or present for them at the time they have been accustomed to Visit Fort Chartres.

In my last I mentioned to you that I should direct M^r^ Cole[1] to meet M^r^ Croghan at the Ilinois, as his coming down the Country must be attended with a very considerable delay purpose send^s^ him Instructions for his conduct agreable to the plan with which I hope you will approve. I shall also write to L^t^ Roberts to settle his Affairs with Speed. & if you think it necessary from the greatness of the Trade at Michilimackinac, & the other Causes assigned, that a Com^y^ should be sent there, I shall do so.

I shall be glad to have your Com^ds^ respecting M^r^ Croghan's Acc^ts^ transmitted, he having pressed me much that the same may be settled, before his departure for Ilinois. also Whether You have heard any

[1] See letter of Johnson to Gage, March 15, 1766, *ante*, 189.

thing of the Man of War which had the dispatches on board ment[d] in one of your former Letters. & if the Smiths & Interpreters to be sent to the Posts will be allowed Provisions.
His Excell[cy] Gen[l] Gage

[*Endorsed:*] Ap[l] 4[th] 1766. To Gen[l] Gage

Dobson to Morgan, April 5, 1766

[P.H.S., Wharton MSS.—A.L.S.]

Fort Pitt April the 5 1766

To Mr Morgan

In the Day before yesterday the three first Waggons Came to Hand that had the pitch Barrell in one of them and a Little Cask of Nails and Rivets the Carpenters say all thats Come will not finish more than the four Boats which I think will be Compleated by the midle of this month and as there is more Boats to be Built I thought proper to Lett you know the first Oportunity the Goods these Waggonets Brought are all Spoiled Every one of them wett and that so Long a go that out of Seven or Eight hundred Shirts Some few of which I am Drying about 200 hundrd that I Believe may Do and 460 I have Given to wahswomen [*sic*] Butt the one half of them are all Over in Spots of mildew that will not Come out the women have tryed all they Can the Cask of Vermillion of 197 Weight all wett the Case of Guns all wett and 40 Bundles all wett Except three or four and I intend to Open them when the Weather permits I have opened thirty four Bundles and Got them half Dry and the first Good Day that I Can Depend on will putt them all out there is severall Score Dozen of Knives all wett and Rusty Severall pounds of fine and Coarse thread all wett the fellows Swam Juniata Creek waggons horses and all I was told of itt a week before the Came the are hear yett and wants a Receipt from me Butt the one I offered them the would not take so now will Give them No other the ware fifteen or sixteen Days after the had wett the Goods Before the Came hear and I think Some of the Matchoating are tender for when I was making them up I was Obliged Cutt them two and two in a peice [*sic*] they ware so wett for the Ease of making them in bundles to Bring into the house and as they must be Carryed out again and Spread to Dry the

first fine Day itt has Been a sad Accident and is attended with a Great Deal of Trouble, Butt I will Chearffully Do my utmost to Serve the Companys Intrest till Some of the Gentlemen Come hear I am Sir Your most Humbe Servant

JOSEPH DOBSON

[*Addressed:*] To Mr. George Morgan Merch^nt Philadelphia pr favour of M^r Moses Henry

[*Endorsed:*] April 5^th 1766 from Jos: Dobson to G. M.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, April 7, 1766

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK April 7^th, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

The Lands which you tell me in your Favor of the 22^d of March are claimed by the Indians of the Falls of S^t Lewis, I believe they have no more Right to than I have. There was originaly only one Tract, then another joined to it, both which was united in one Patent and adjudged to them by the Military Court. They no sooner got that, but they were laying Claim to all the Lands round them; particularly to a spot belonging to a Lady, on which they had trespassed for Some years. This was brought before me and appeared very plain. What the Tract is in the Rear of their Grant to which M^r S^t Paul lays Claim I can't ascertain, but I do not apprehend that the Indians can shew any Title to it, or do I believe that they have any. But as you have represented the affair to Gov^r Murray their Cause will no doubt be defended, if there is any legal Pretence to do it. We are plagued everywhere about Lands, the French had never any Dispute with the Indians about them, either on the S^t Lawrence or Mississippi Rivers, Detroit, or any other Place where they chose to Settle, tho' they never purchased a single Acre and I believe they make Difficultys with us because we have gone on a different Plan.

Upon reperusing my Letters from the Ilinois, I think I was mistaken when I told you that Pondiac was in that Country. He was mentioned, with a Frenchman from New-Orleans, it was this latter who went over the River, so that I hope you may be able to have your proposed Meeting with Pondiac.

I shall speak to the Comptroller of the Artillery about the Powder & Lead which you require.

Mr. Croghan has sent me his Demand of Presents for the Ilinois, amounting to the sum of £3445, a very large Sum considering the very great Expense already expended in Presents for that Country. I imagined he was to wait for M^r^ Cole, if M^r^ Cole does not go with him he will set out directly.

I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant, THO^S^ GAGE

GAGE TO JOHNSON, April 13, 1766
[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK April 13^th^, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

We have had bad Reports about your Health; your Letter of the 5^th^ Inst does not mention that you are ill, so I hope our News concerning you is not Authentick.

Lieut Phister's Improvements will not be great, that would not answer his Purpose. All that is wanted is Corn to subsist his Cattle for the Carrying Place of Niagara which is his Chief Object. The Trade if he carrys on any, must be confined according to the Rules made for others. I hope the Packet is gone safe, I heared it was carried on by soldiers instead of being sent to you.

My last Letters will have acquainted you of my Mistake in telling you that Pondiac was at the Ilinois, but your Instructions to M^r^ Croghan on that head may not be amiss in Case he should meet with him. I have settled matters now with M^r^ Croghan, and send him his orders by this Post. I have only 20 Medals to send to him by the first safe Conveyance, I have got them made more weighty than those you had, & broader at the Edges but can't meet with any Person who will undertake to make a better Dye than those I have. The large and small are both alike as to devise and goodness of engraving. M^r^ Cole may follow M^r^ Croghan by some other opportunities I shall probably have to convey him to the Ilinois. Missilimakinak realy seems to me a Place of Consequence from the great Trade carried on there, and necessary to have some Intelligent Person to manage our Affairs with them. M^r^ Croghan will draw on M^r^ Darlington for the amount of his account.

The Man of War after losing her main-mast went to Antigua, and is now at Halifax, from whence we may soon expect to see her here. The Duplicates of all her Dispatches you know has been received long ago.

I am, with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant, THO^{S} GAGE

McINTOSH TO RICHARDSON, April 15, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.17, f. 73—C.]

Extract of a Letter from Mr John M^{c}Intosh, Commissary in the Chickasaw Nation to M^{r} Richardson, then acting Deputy Superintendant, dated Chickasaw 15th April 1766.

I had the Pleasure of yours of the 22nd February by the Chickasaw Indian, and was glad to hear of your being well. In my last I informed you of the obstinate disorderly behavior of Mess^{rs} Buckles & Goodwine, that they were spitefull fixt Enemys to all Order & the Quiet of this Nation, and they ought not on any account to be allowed to return here; I likewise said enough of that corrupted Villain, their Friend, Pahemingge Elookse, that he was the Common Disturber of the Peace of this Nation, utterly despised by the Heads of it & should be equally despised below, by every gentleman of Power & Friendship to his Country, both to check his desponding villainy & support Pahemataka who is an approved steady friend of the English, and made chieftain both by his own War gradation and the most solemn publick Ceremonies of a long Continuance lately renewed at Mobile but should it prove true as I hear, I hear that Paheminggo has been treated with kindness, received presents & Rum for his audacious Behaviour and bullying you under a Garrison, what can I do for the Publick? or some of these Orderly Traders who have all along faithfully assisted me or our Friend Pahimataka, I suspect Confusion.

That superlative good subject M^{r} Buckle persuaded the Indians when I was gone to the Illinois with the Chickasaws, that I had decoy'd them there to be killed by the Norward Indians; please to consider they are suspicious & credulous of all Reports. It was calculated for the centre of Ill; for had I escaped Danger & lost any of the Indians. (as Times threatened) I must have been answerable for destroying them to Death. This spitefull Dangerous Report confused

them in such a Manner, that I was obliged to convene the Heads of the Nation, in order to find out the Author of it; they fixed publickly on Mr Buckles; when he found I was on my way back He desired them to bury the Speech deep in the Ground otherwise he was afraid I should die him; what does such a Traytor deserve? If He does thereby forfeit his life, should he not be prevented from disturbing the Publick Tranquility? His Associate Goodwin swore before many People; with the most wrathfull Bitterness that he would make a New Hell of this Place after his Return to it; if I am not supported in doing good to my King & Country, I am no more than a shadow & dark shadows will come As to Mr Alexander McIntosh, since I committed his partner & hireling, he has run on in despite to all Law & Order, just as Devils who despair. He sent to the Chactaws for no less than 26 Keggs of Rum, sold it to the Indians chiefly for raw Skins, inebriated them for a long Time to the damage of the Traders, the Quiet & security of the Nation, and by his this lawless hirelings Speeches, abates those triffling Towns, that should be dependant on Pahimataka.

I must request you to desire His Excellency the Governor to send up Summons for the Chickasaw Traders to appear against Messrs McIntosh, Buckles & Goodwin, & other lawless People who infest this Nation.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of the Extract of a Letter from Mr John Mackintosh Commissary in the Chickesaw Nation 15th April 1766. N° 44.

GAGE TO CROGHAN, April 16, 1766

[M.H.S., Pontiac Miscellanies, 1765–1778 — C.]

TO MR. GEORGE CROGHAN, Dept. to Sir William Johnson, Bart. His Majesty's sole agent & superintendant of Indian affairs in the Northern Dept.[1]

[1] It may be noted in connection with these instructions to Indian Agent Croghan that the Indian department was subordinate to the military. This condition dates from 1755, when General Braddock made the first appointments. The plan of 1764 for the management of Indian affairs (*ante*, 1: 273) would have resulted in freeing the Indian department from military control. This plan, however, was not adopted. Sir William Johnson and John Stuart, agents respectively for the northern and southern departments, thus referred all matters of Indian administration to the commander in chief. This relationship continued to March, 1768, when the management of Indian trade was transferred to the colonies. See v. 3.

You are to proceed as soon as practicable after the receipt of this with the presents for the Indians; You shall have purchased at Phil[a] to Fort Pitt, where a boat & provisions will be supplied you from whence you will pursue your rout to Fort Chartres in the Ilinois Country.[1]

Before your departure from Fort Pitt you will transmit me an exact list of the quantity of merchandise, silver-ware, wampum &c &c, that you take with you for to conciliate the affections of the Indians on the Miss[i] & you will follow the mode before prescribed to you in the distribution thereof, by delivering them in the presence of the commanding officers of the several posts where your presence may be required & obtaining from them certificates of the delivery of the several articles which you will transmit to me as accounting for the same.

On your arrival at Fort Chartres you will communicate to the commanding officer of the 34th Reg[t] these my instructions to you as likewise give him a list of the presents in your charges & consult & act in concert with him relative to the treatment to be held toward the Savages of whom you will make it your particular business to gain every intelligence relative to their numbers, to their trade & disposition toward the English.

You will pay attention to what I before mentioned to you relative to the Indians being persuaded by any ill-disposed person to lay any claims to the lands either in the environs of Fort Chartres or Kaskaskias & Ohio Rivers. These lands I am persuaded were never theirs. They followed the French there & sat down upon them for the sake of being protected by the French from the incursions of their enemies who had drove them from their own Country & they never claimed or received from the French any acknowledgement from them.[2] You will therefore reconcile them either to our erecting forts (if they shall be found necessary) or making establishments upon any of these lands & check in them any expectation of their ever being

[1] For other information about this trip see *post*, 290, 311, 315, 373, 487. Croghan's journal, if he kept one, has not been preserved.

[2] In this matter Gage was mistaken. The Tamaroa, a tribe of the Illinois confederacy, had settled the country about the mouth of the Illinois and Missouri rivers as early as 1680. They were always on friendly terms with the French, frequently entertaining them. (*American Indians*, 2:682.) The Kaskaskia tribe also settled near the mouth of the Kaskaskia River in 1700. *Ibid.*, 1:662. Letter of Gravier in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 65:103.

bought from them. You will likewise be pleased to enquire into the conduct of Mr. Sinnott & La Gauterais during their residence at the Ilinois & upon what acct & for what reason the former was induced to fly away from it with so much precipitation. I can not recommend too strongly to you to act with the greatest economy possible in your Dep^{t}, without disgusting or driving away the Indians. You know the large sums that have been already expended on this & on the other side to procure a safe passage to the troops & this matter being now effected the expences will be expected to be near at an end. In the matter pointed out to you as well as in every thing else that may occur regarding His Majesty's service in the Dept. entrusted to you, you will give me regular & constant information, advising me from time to time of every thing you shall think worth observation, keeping always an attentive eye to the proceedings of our opposite neighbors who may be but too well inclined to prejudice us in the eyes of the Indians & to incite them to molest & disturb us.

Given under my hand, at Head Quarters, April 16th 1766.

THOS. GAGE.

MORGAN[1] TO BAYNTON AND WHARTON[2]

[P.H.S., Wharton MSS.— L.S.]

LANCASTER — Monday Morning

DEAR PARTNERS

I rec^{d} the within by M^{r} Henry of this Place, he see [*sic*] Dobson open the Goods & says they are much damaged. Pray dont pay any Part of the Waggonage untill you hear from me.

I am just about to set out & hope to reach M^{r} Callenders to

[1] George Morgan was a native of Philadelphia who through the influence of his father-in-law, John Baynton, was associated early in his career with the Philadelphia firm of Baynton and Wharton. This firm of merchants had been heavy losers on the Pennsylvania border in the French and Indian War. At the close of the Indian hostilities in 1765, the firm decided to establish a branch in the far West in the Illinois country with the view of retrieving former losses through the exploitation of the Indian trade. Morgan, the junior member of the firm, was commissioned to execute the design, and in the spring of 1766 he embarked at Fort Pitt with the first cargoes of goods for the opening of the trade. Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (*I.H.C.*, 2), xxviii.

[2] This letter is without date. It is written on the back of a letter from Joseph Dobson to George Morgan, dated April 5, 1766 (*ante*, 211). Morgan refolded the paper and readdressed it as above. April 5 was Friday, so that probably the above was not written before April 22.

Night. As to the Materials for building the Batteaus, the Carpenters will have plenty of every Thing when Morton gets up—Whom C^t^ Grant met at London this Day Week. I am Dear Partners,

Yours Affectionately

GEO: MORGAN

[*Addressed:*] To Mess^rs^ Baynton Wharton & Morgan Merch^ts^ in Philadelphia.

CONTRACT FOR BUILDING BATEAUX, April 23, 1766

[P.D.P.R.— A.D.S.]

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT made Concluded and Agreed upon between Baynton, Wharton & Morgan of the City of Philadelphia, Merchants of the One Part, And Nicholas Rambo and Abraham Beverley of the said City, Ship Carpenters, of the Other Part,

Witnesseth, that Whereas, the said Rambo, and Beverly for and in Consideration of the Wages hereafter mentioned, to be paid to each and every of them, have Covenanted, Contracted and Agreed to and with the said Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, that they will on the twenty fourth Instant, set off for, and proceed to Fort Pitt, and that they will there immediately after their Arrival, proceed to work and make (for and during every Day except Sunday; from the Day of their setting off as aforesaid, to Fort Pitt, and from thence until they shall return back to Philadelphia) for them strong and staunch Battoes — of the Model and Construction, which James Tull and Griff Vaughan are now making for the said Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Moreover the said Nicholas Rambo and Abraham Beverley do separately and Jointly covenant Contract and Agree to and with the said Baynton, Wharton and Morgan that they will not, either during the Continuance of this Contract, or after the same is expired, work for, or Build any Battoes, Canoes, or other Craft whatsoever for any Person or Persons whatsoever, save such, as the said Baynton Wharton and Morgan shall from under their Hands permit and Consent to, And the said Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan on their Part, do covenant Contract and agree to and with the said Rambo and Beverley, that they will pay unto the said Rambo and Beverley, separately, at and after the Rate of Eleven Pounds pr Month (for Six Months certain) that is for each and every Month,

which they shall bona fide, work for the said Baynton, Wharton and Morgan at Fort Pitt, and not beyond; That they will allow and pay each of them, three Shillings and Nine pence Currency pr Day, for each and every Day, that they shall be going to, and returning from Fort Pitt, that they will furnish and provide them, with Meat, Drink and Washing (such as James Tull and Griff Vaughan are furnished & provided with, by the said Baynton, Wharton and Morgan) during their Continuance in the said Baynton, Wharton and Morgan's Service, at the said Fort Pitt; That they will pay the Carriage of the said Nicholas Rambo and Abraham Beverley's working Tools from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt aforesaid, and that thereafter this Contract is expired, that they will pay the said Nicholas Rambo and Abraham Beverley such Price & Consideration for their said working Tools as any three indifferent Persons shall Value the same at. And for the true performance of each and every of the Covenants & Agreements herein mentioned the said Parties respectively do bind themselves and their Executors Admrs and Assigns unto the Other, in the Sum of Two Hundred Pounds to be paid by the Party defective to the Party Complying.

In Witness whereof the said Parties have hereunto set their Hands and seals the Twenty third Day of April in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven Hundred and Sixty six.

Note before the Signing & Sealing hereof the said Nicholas Rambo and Abraham Beverley are to be allowed the same Quantity of Rum which James Tull & Griffith Vaughan are daily allowed by us. And also the said Nicholas Rambo's Tools were Valued at Two pounds & Eighteen Shillings. And the Tools of the said Abraham Beverley were Valued at Three pounds & six pence.

his
Nicholas × Rambo (seal)
mark
his
Abraham × Beverley (seal)
mark

Sealed & Delivered in the presence of Us

R. Bowman.
Josh Rigby.

W. FRANKLIN TO B. FRANKLIN, April 30, 1766
[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 2:17 — A.L.S.]

BURL^N 30^th April 1766

HON^RD FATHER

Your Favour of the 25^th of Feb^ry is just come to hand. The one you mention to have sent me on the 16^th I have not receiv'd. Perhaps it was on Board that unfortunate Vessel from Bristol which was lost on our Coast. If so, & you have kept any Copy do favour me with it for I should be very loath to lose any of your Letters.

You cannot conceive the Satisfaction which the Acc^ts of your Examination at the Bar of the H of Commons have afforded your Friends. D^r Fatheringill & M^r Whitefield have mentioned your Behaviour on the Occasion in high Terms. I am told that the latter says America owes the Repeal of the Stamp Act to the assiduous Endeavours of Alderman Trecothick Capel Hanbury & D^r Franklin. I can't learn however that any of the Merchants have mentioned your Services at all. It would appear by their Letters that each of them would willingly have his Correspondents think that he alone by his Interest & Management had done every Thing that was done in favour of the Colonies. If you obtain a Copy of your Examination, pray send it me. The N. Y. Mercury of Monday contains a very sensible judicious Letter from the Comm[ittee] of Merch^ts in London but you will see notwithstanding an Advertisement directly counter to their Advice, & I really fear our People's Indiscretion will be such as to frustrate all indeavours to serve them. However I shall strive to get our Ass^s to address the Parlt. in the manner you m[ent]ion.

I dont wonder at your disapproving my mentioning, in my Speech the villainous Reports of the Prop^ry Officers. It is impossible for you at so great a Distance to be acquainted with every Circumstance necessary to form a right Judgment of the Expediency or Inexpediency of particular Transactions. I have all the Evidence the Nature of the Case will admit, that They had taken their Measures so effectually with the Presby^e & the Sons of Liberty in this Province, that had it not been for the Paper I publish'd in Answer to the Lodge Paper, I should have had my House pull'd down about my Ears & all my Effects destroy'd. I did not think the Notice I took of this in my

Speech to be concerning myself with the Affairs of Pensylvania, all I intended by it was to fix a Brand of Infamy on the Transactions of the Officers of that Government within this Province, & I should have done the same had the Officers of New York, or any other Colony, given the like Occasion. All my Friends in every Part of the Province have approv'd my Conduct, & I have ever since experienc'd the good Effects of it, having, by thus removing the Prejudices of the People, render'd abortive every successive Attempt of my Adversaries to hurt me. For my Part I always think it best to nip in the Bud every Report which may tend to hurt a Man's Character or Interest, & that no Man should deem such Reports *below* his Notice. Governor Hutcheson, for Instance, knew very well that his Enemies had by their Intrigues spirited up the Populace against him, & made them believe, among other Things, that he was a Promoter of the Stamp Act. But he thought it beneath him to take any Pains to undeceive the People, in Consequence of which the Reports gain'd Credit, his House & Effects were destroy'd, & his Life endangered. It is possible that the Province will be obliged to make him some Reparation, but great Part of his Loss is irreparable. On the whole, I am of Opinion, that it is best at all Times, but more especially in Times of Ferment & Confusion, for a Man to *lower himself* a little, rather than let *others lower* him.

Enclosed are two Applications for Favours from the Ministry, One from Col. Croghan, & the other from M^r^ Geo. Reed of New Castle. They are both our Friends, &, I doubt not, but if you can that you will serve them. Croghan is highly incens'd at the Treatment he has Rec^d^ from the Prop^y^ Officers in Pensylv^a^ & has been a means of bringing S^r^ W^m^ Johnson & Gen^l^ Gage to think favourable of the Assembly Party, & to wish them Success. A few of us, from his Encouragement, have form'd a Company to Purchase of the French settled at the Illinois, such Lands as they have a good Title to, & are inclined to dispose of.[1] But as I thought it would be of little Avail to buy Lands in that Country unless a Colony was established there, I have drawn up some Proposals for that Purpose, which are much approved of by Col. Croghan & the other Gent^n^ concerned in Philad^e^ and one sent by them to S^r^ W^m^ for his Sentiments; which when we receive, the whole will be forwarded to you. It is proposed that the Comp^y^ shall consist

[1] See *ante*, 203, 205.

of 12 now in America, & if you like the Proposals, you will be at Liberty to add yourself & such Gentlemen of Character & Fortune in England, as you may think will be most likely to promote the Undertaking. Mr. Galloway has met with a Pamphlet at M^r Hill's on the Subject,[1] which I wish I had seen before I had drawn up the Proposals, as it might have afforded some Hints. However, as I believe you have not seen it, it being printed, & I believe wrote in Scotland, I send it enclosed. You will find your own Name ment^ed in it, page 52. Pray did you receive the Carolina Pamphlet I sent you.

I would not have you stop the Chronicles coming from the G.P.O. unless you can contrive some other cheaper Way for me to get them. But the Gazette & Magazines I w^d have stopp'd immediately. In the last Pacquet they missd sending me N^o 1429 of the Chron. I wish I had it, as the Want of it spoils my Set. Betsy desires to return her most cordial Thanks for the Notice you have taken of her Nephew, Enclosed is a Letter for him, which please to send, & let that for Miss Clarke be put in the Penny Post-Office. Upon an Invitation from my Mo^r we have been at Philad^a & spent a Fortnight very agreeably. I intended to have copy'd this, but some Gent^n from Philad^a are just come in which prevents, & indeed hinders me from adding several other Matters Betsy joins in Duty with your dutiful Son—

W^M FRANKLIN.

CROGHAN TO GAGE, May 1, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:164 — C.]

Duplicate

PHILADELPHIA May 1^t 1766

SIR

This day I had the Honor of your Excellencys favour of the 28^th of April inclosing me three setts of Bills for three hundred pounds sterling and have signed the Voucher which I now send to be lodged in the Office till I do acco^t for that sum agreeable to your Excellencys orders.

M^r Baynton (one of the House) informed me this afternoon that my Bill for the amount of the Goods purchased of them was not paid,

[1] The Expediency of Securing our American Colonies by Settling the Country adjoining the River Mississippi, printed *ante*, 1:134.

and your excellency mentions the Reason in your Letter to me,—when I sent your excellency the List of Goods wanted for presents I mentioned that the Terms were ready pay; and when I rece[ive]d your orders to purchase and draw for the amount these were the express terms made with them and have reason to think that was their sole inducement to let me have the Goods on the terms they did,—as I believe those Gent[n] are much in want of some remittances to send home having had no returns for the large Cargo they sent out last year to fort Pitt to be sent to the Illinois.

When I gave Mess[rs] Baynton Wharton and Morgan a Bill on your Excellency I took their Bond for the delivery of the Goods in good order out of their store at Fort pitt and sent you the Invoice with their Receipt and could have wished that your Excellency had honor'd my Draft.

When I first engaged these Goods I found that I could not get them of any Body else on these Terms and in fact there was but very little to be had in this Town, and I bought them as Cheap as I possibly could with an attentive Eye to Oeconomy and the Good of the service so often recommended to me by Your Excellency.

The Merchants here have formed very Injurious opinions of my Drafts on Sir William Johnson last year, because they were protested and no doubt will more so now. I therefore think it my duty to inform your excellency that it is out of my power to carry on the Service agreeable to your's and Sir William Johnsons Instructions to me, unless I am enabled to compleat my Engagements punctually. I dont want the Public Money put into my hands. I never had any sum to apply to any use even if I had occasion for it, which I had not; But have often embarked my own Money and Credit in the Service and think now it would be best to appoint some other person in my stead in whom greater confidence can be pleased.

It is now late in the Year, I have been ready these Six Weeks past only waiting for my Instructions and those purchases being made, and shall set off on Saturday next to Execute your Excellencys orders, which I will do to the best of my Judgment, and hope before I return that your Excellency and Sir William Johnson will appoint an other person in my stead to carry on the service in this Department as it's

not in my power to do it in proper season of the year, or with that Oeconomy I could wish, as a present of One Hundred pounds properly timed to Indians might often save an Expence of Five hundred. I am with great respect your Excellencys, most Obedient and most Humble Servant

G. C.

To His Excellency the Hon[ora]ble Major General Gage
Commander in chief &c[1]

[*Endorsed:*] May 1st 1766 Mr Croghans letter to General Gage.

Johnson to W. Franklin, May 3, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:172 — Draft]

Johnson-hall May 3d 1766.

Sir,

A Letter I have received from Mr Croghan gives me an opportunity which I much wanted of opening a Correspondence with you. I have been speaking to him lately concerning the advantages resulting from forming a Settlement at the *Ilinois*, & when he told me that many Gentlemen were desirous of Engaging therein, he has now wrote to me on the Subject & Enclosed me a Copy of the Scheme & by his Letter I find that you & I are intended to have shares As the use & benefit of such a Settlement as well to the Crown as the parties concerned is evidently pointed out I cannot refuse my consent altho' it has been always my practise to avoid engaging in Lands to the Great Loss of my family, neither have I a foot of Lands from the Indians.

There is little doubt but the intended Settlement may be productive of a Regular Civil Government in that Valuable Country, & this without doing Violence to, or overreaching the Indians which from Sentiments of Policy as well as Justice should be always Cautiously avoided;—Mr Croghan writes that it is Intended to interest some Gentlemen of influence at home therein (of which I greatly approve) & that it is desired I should mention some, I am extremely Sensible both of the honor & kindness intended by referring a Nomination to

[1] Though marked "duplicate" this document is not in Croghan's handwriting.

me, & therefore I take the Liberty of proposing Lord Adam Gordon, & Gen[l] Gage[1] as Two, and I think the Quantity designed may admit of Two more tho' I will not take upon me to mention any others, and I have some Reason to believe that the Nobleman and Gentleman I mention will incline to the proposal, & have some Interest to forward the General Scheme. I cannot but Greatly approve of the Judicious manner in which the proposals are drawn up, and which I cannot add to, or alter otherwise than with regard to the bounds of the intended Colony Which may possibly be deemed at home as too Extensive Notwithstanding the Just reasons assigned for it in the proposals I would therefore be humbly of Opinion that to Guard against that Exception it might be submitted to his Majesty whether he chose that, or a more Limited Tract not to extend so far North however I only take upon me Just to hint this referring it entirely to your Consideration, & that of the Gent[n] concerned.

M[r] Croghan tells me that it is intended to request my Approbation in form, previous to its being sent home, and I am of the same Opinion as I can the better recommend the Affair to the consideration of the Ministry which I shall do in the Strongest terms.

This moment I received your favor of the 15[th] ult[o] with the Enclosures concerning the Murder of the Oneida Indian, on which head the Ind[s] sent me belts some days ago, and are very uneasy, the rather as they have reason to apprehend from the Conduct of several of the frontier Inhabitants of the neighbouring Colonies, that many more will share the same fate for the ill timed Resentment of these people seems so prevalent that it will be Extremely difficult for Governm[t] to prevent them from Insulting the Ind[s] & more so to curb the resentment of the Latter who will certainly go ab[t] to redress themselves unless something effectual be done,—at least to prevent the Like for the future for this is only one amongst several Instances of the like Nature lately Committed on the Neighbouring frontiers and you know the Ind[s] make little distinction of persons or provinces when full of Resentment.

[1] Gage declined, however, to be concerned in the plan. (Johnson to Franklin, June 20, 1766, *post*, 318.) He did not, moreover, favor the large proprietary colonies which were being urged by the land companies. See Gage to Shelburne, January 23, 1768, *post*, v. 3. Note Gage's plan in Gage to Conway, March 28, 1766, *ante*, 198.

I hope your good intentions to obtain them Satisfaction may prove successfull, and you may be Assured of my good Offices for your Service or for preserving the Tranquillity of the Province.

[*Endorsed:*] May 3d 1766. To Govr Franklin of N Jersey.

Fraser[1] to [Haldimand], May 4, 1766[2]

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21686, f. 34 — L.S.]

Sir

A Detail of the different occurences of my Late Journey through the Indian Nations, cou'd neither be very entertaining, nor interesting to any other, but myself. At your request Sir, I will endeavour to give you a Description of the Countries through which I pass'd which is a thing however I shou'd not attempt were I not Confident that you will have the goodness to excuse any Inaccuracies you may find in it whether occasiond by hurry or proceeding from my incapacity.

I am very sensible that my pen cannot do Justice to the Beauties and conveniencies that Nature has bestowed on the large Tract of Country lying hitherto uninhabited between Fort Pitt of [*sic*] the Illinois on both sides of the Ohio.

After traversing Ninty Miles of a beautiful Country lying between New York & Philadelphia, and traveling from that place to Fort Pitt distant 320 Miles the greatest part peopled by very wealthy Inhabitants I thought I cou'd see no other that cou'd excel it— I was soon convinced however of the Contrary on my proceeding down the Ohio on my way to the Illinois. That River (very properly term'd La belle Riviere by the French which is the litteral translation of the Iroquois Name) is formed by the Confluence of the Allegeny & Moningahela Rivers, at Fort Pitt where they lose their Names as the Ohio does by falling into the Mississipi about forty Leagues below Fort Chartres & almost due West from Philadelphia After running about two thousand Miles in a Serpentine Course through a Country with an incredible quantity of Game & constanty [*sic*] presenting different agreeable prospects to the Travelers View.

[1] For other letters by Fraser, see *ante*, 1:491, *et seq.*, 515, 519.

[2] This is printed by J. P. Dunn, in "Documents relating to the French Settlements on the Wabash," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 2:408 *et seq.*

Tho' this River is considerable at Fort Pitt for its size during the greatest part of the year, yet it is very much increas'd both in Depth and Width by the many Rivers that Discharge themselves into it. The most considerable of these are the Muskingum whereon the Delawars live. The Canaway which comes from the back Frontiers of Virginia, the Scioto on whose Banks the Shawanese dwell, La Riviere de Rochers, which begins at a little distance from the Miamis, the Ouabache which comes from near the Same place & the Cumberland & Cherokee Rivers which fall into it considerably Lower — These lesser Rivers are Navigable for Batteaus during the greater part of the year. from the middle of October to June 8 months.

There are no Indian Nations living contiguous to the Banks of the Ohio but those two I have Just mention'd (the Delaw: & Shaw.) & the *Mingos or Senecas* who live a little above Fort Pitt — excepting those of Ouabache, on which there are five Nations [*in margin:* Ouiachtonons, Quicapous, Mascoutains, Peankishaw & Vermillion] settled besides a French Village call'd S^{t} Vincent in which there are about Sixty Farmers who raise a considerable quantity of wheat & Tobacco, And have a good Stock of Cattle.

Between this River and the Illinois are Several very extensive plains on which there are always vast Numbers of Buffloe & Deer And every other Species of Game common in that Country.

The Soil in the Illinois Settlements is not so good as at any of the places I have already Named owing perhaps to the Quantity of Sand mix't with it by the Mississipi, the Inhabitants, Suppose that the River overflowed formerly all the land at present cultivated in that Colony & the Situation with some other Vestiges seem to give great probability to their Conjecture.

The Land however is capable to produce any thing which one cou'd expect in so northerly a Climate. They raise a great deal of wheat and Indian Corn, they have also most kinds of European Fruits, & Vegetables tolerably good considering the little pains they give themselves in Cultivating them. They have attempted to rear the European Vines, which they say they cou'd not bring to any Perfection, but I impute their having given it up of late more to the want of Skill in those who planted them, on the Monarch's Injunctions prohibiting the raising any thing which might interfere with the Staple Commodities of the Mother Country — They make however

a very bad Wine from the Natural vine of the Country, which grows Spontanious in every part of that Colony, this Wine tho' seemingly very unhealthy is sold at a most exorbitant price, when they have none else to drink.

The Illinois Indians are about Six hundred & fifty able to bear Arms, Nothing can equal their passion for drunkeness, but that of the French Inhabitants, who are for the greatest part drunk every day while they can get Drink to buy in the Colony, they import more of this Article from New Orleans than they do of any other & they never fail to meet a Speedy & good Market for it — They have a good many Negroes, who are obliged to Labour very hard to Support their Masters in their extravagant Debaucheries, Any one that has had any dealings with them must plainly see, they are for the most part, transported Convicts, or people who have fled for some Crimes, those who have not done it themselves are the ofspring of such as those I just mention'd, inheriting their Forefathers Vices —. They are cruel and treacherous to each other & consequently so to Strangers, they are dishonest in every kind of Business, & lay themselves out to over reach Strangers — which they often do, by a low cunning peculiar to themselves, and their Artful flatteries, with extravagant Entertainments (in which they affect the greatest hospitality) generally favor their Schemes.

There is a rich Lead Mine in that Colony from which they get all the Lead, that is used in the Country, and a River of the Water of which, tho' fresh to the taste, they make a Sufficiency of Salt for the Consumption of the Inhabitants. But the latter conveniencies are unluckily on the Western or Spanish Side of the River.

The trade of this Country is extremely considerable, 'till of late years it was, Monopolized by the leading Men in New Orleans, but since the last peace, they have allowed any One that woud pay the fees of a pass port to go to our Side of the River, and Amongst our Indians — This was a very political Scheme in them as every trader became a Partizan for the French in the nations he traded to, or in other words, they introduced those traders, who are in general most unconsciencious Rascals, & made it their Interest to debauch from us Such Indians as they found well disposed towards us and to foment & increase the Animosity of such as they found otherwise to this we shou'd alone impute our late War with the Indians, whom

they unwarrantably Supplied with Amunition and every other thing necessary for carrying it on—. The NO: Company[1] for the Furr-trade have confin'd their Commerce to the Missouris River Since, which falls in, about five leagues above our most Northern Settlement in the Illinois, private Traders are permitted to go every where else and many of them come to our side to trade, particularly into the Illinois River, from whence they get a great Share of the Trade of that Colony.

I discovered also a few days before I left the Illinois that many traders who are permitted by us to come up from Canada w^t^ small quantities of goods, on their Arrival in the Indian Nations commissions great quantities of Goods from the French Merchants at the Illinois with which they purchase Skins in the Neighbourhood of our Posts & transport them afterwards to the Illinois—but this I hope will be put a Stop to when we have Troops enough in that Colony to establish proper posts or enable the Commander to send Detatchments to detect any He may find committing such Frauds.

When our Traders arrive from Fort Pitt they can undersell those of the French at least 25 ℔ Cent for which Reason you may depend Sir that they will use all their endeavours to creat us as many Enemies as possible. as they will have the whole Trade of every Nation they can engage in a War against us. They have an astonishing sway over the Indians & they will not fail to put it to the proof, to procure themselves Profit—In short Sir it is my humble opinion that our Countrymen at the Illinois will never have a Real peace while they are rivals with the French in Trade.

The French Commandants have always been Sharers In the Profits of the New Orleans Company and do every thing in their Power to promote their common Intrests. They will make eternal professions of Friendship and good Offices to every Englishman with whom they have the least intercourse, but their double manner of Acting shou'd put us on our guard to trust them as little as possible & to suspect them of doing us every harm possible in private.—I have the honor to assure you of this Sir, from my own Experience not from Conjecture—and such as have had any business with them regarding his Majestys Service must have met the same—if any shoud pretend to say the Contrary it must proceed from their having mistaken their

[1] This must be Maxent, Laclede and Company.

flattering protestations for Sincerity so far as to overlook their cunning designs—. I have on many occasions been flattered by them and had Compliments paid me that I had no Tittle to, a Consciousness of the smallness of my own Merit convinced me that they were Covers for some hidden designs & the Commander in Chiefs gave me, Sufficient precautions on this head, to keep me always on my guard & to Supply my want of Penetration.

You will think Sir from my Account of the French in that new Colony that his Majesty has not made a very Valuable acquisition if we consider only the Number of new Subjects he has got in that Colony, and I assure you Sir that we woud be as well quit of them, if the Troops in that Country did not unfortunately depend on them in a great Measure for their provisions—you have heard Sir how the greatest part of those who inhabited our side of the River Abandon it on our getting possession of the Colony—their disertion was undoubtedly occasion'd by reports Spread to paint the English Government in as bad a light as invention coud frame it—but it is to be hoped, they will see how they have been imposed on and that so many will come back as will be able to Supply our Troops plentifully.

The French have had Besides Fort Charters a Small Fort at Cascaskias and another at Coahs, there was a third call'd Assomption[1] on the Bank of the Ohio opposite to the Mouth of the Cherokee River, besides two Forts on the Ouabach the one called the great Ouiachtonon was dependant on Canada & the other at little Ouiachtonon or S^{t} Vincent—dependant on Orleans all those excepting fort Charters are entirely in ruins, some of them that you can Scarce see any appearance of. they did not seem to me of any great Consequence were they even on a better footing, as they were Situated. The Fort of the Natchey [*sic*] is little better, the Barracks and every thing in them Seem to have been destroyed through wantonness, I am much Surprised, that, We have not inquired of the French their Reasons for abandonding them so abruptly without giving us Regular possession of them I took upon myself to ask their reasons for so ding [*sic*] but I coud never obtain any Answer perhaps owing to the difficulty of giving a proper one, or perhaps they did not look upon me as a person of Sufficient Consequence to enquire into those Matters.

I forgot to mention Sir the Number of Inhabitants at the Illinois

[1] Not "Assumption" but "Ascension," see *ante*, 1:3, n. 1.

and it is a thing which is very difficult to asscertain as they are going & coming Constantly to & from the Indian Nations, as others are from New Orleans to the Illinois, but there are in General about Seven hundred white Men able to bear Arms.

It remains only now to mention something of the Indians in general; what can be said of one may be applyd to all, there is so great a Similitude between them.

The Indians are Cruel, Treacherous and cowardly unless they can Surprize their enemy without probability of Suffering any loss themselves, but in that case they attack often ten times their Own Number. They are in general great Drunkards, I must except the Ozages nor are the Akansa[1] or Chicasas, so passionately fond of drink as other Nations are, These two are extremely like each other and are more remarkable for their Attachment to the white people than any other.

As the Chicasaws have ever been faithful to us they shou'd be distinguished by our favours to them before any other Nation & Shewing a partiality for them before other Indians might inspire others with a resolution of imitating their fidelity—Drink is the Occasion of all our troubles amongst them and it were much to be wish'd that the Assemblies or Councils of the neighbouring Provinces woud restrict the Vending of it, as has been done to the Northward. I am perswaded Sir when you will learn the licentious methods of carrying on the trade amongst them that you will use your endeavours to prevent the fatal Consequences we shoud dread from it I know no body so proper to inform you Sir minutely regarding it as M[r] John M[c]Intosh Commissary of the Chickasaws you need not expect to come at the truth from any Trader but you may safely trust to his information, as I know him to be a man of such honesty that nothing cou'd make him conceal any thing which regards his Majesty's Service or which you woud be desirious to know.

I know no place (as I had the honour formerly to tell you Sir) where we Shoud establish a Fort at Sooner than opposite to the mouth of the Missouris River which woud give us the Command of that River shoud we find it hereafter beneficial & woud also put a Stop to the French trading up the Illinois River; a Post at the mouth of the Ouabache would also be necessary to command the Navigation of that river of the Ohio, & as a Store to Secure Provisions or goods in

[1] These are the Quapaw.

[coming] from Fort Pitt, shoud it be thought hereafter, more expedient, to go from thence, by land to Fort Charters.

I think also that the Mouth of the Yasou is a more proper place for a Post or Settlement than any other place on the Missipi, as it is the Common route of the Creeks & Chactaws going to New Orleans.

I beg leave to Inform you Sir that I think if we coud prevail on a few Indians to live at the Iberville with the detachment we got there might be very Servicible in killing game for the Troops, and their wives & Children woud always be good pledges for their Peaceable Behaviour.

I have the honour to be with true respect Sir your most humble Servant

ALR FRASER.

PENSACOLA 4th May 1766

P. S. The Commandants of the French Troops in the Illinois were always impowerd to prohibit the Exportation of any provisions from the Illinois till the Kings Magazins shoud be first supplyd — This however the Comdts often permitted in consequence of pecuniary considerations from those who exported them — I think Sir that your Instructions on this head to the Commanding Officer there woud be necessary. The Inhabitants might otherwise export their Grain and sell it at a lower Price to the French than we might Offer them for it, I know their Antipathy to our Nation woud make them embrace with great chearfulness any suffering or loss shoud they in any manner tend to distress us.

In consequence of Monsr Aubry's intercession I understand by a Letter from General Gage to him, that there are no reprisals to be made on the Indians Alibamons who lately, so grosly insulted us at the Iberville — as the Tonicaws have not been punished either, for haveing beat back the 22d Regiment, they may think that they may always expect to commit the same Hostilities with impunity—I think Sir it woud not be improper to signify to them that [*sic*] must expect to be all cut off shoud they for the future give reason to suspect their good Intentions — Nor do I think it woud be wrong to punish them accordingly — The Chicasaws are the Proper Instruments for this duty.

ALR FRASER.

B. Franklin to W. Franklin, May 10, 1766

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:416—E.]

I like the project of a colony in the Illinois country, and will forward it to my utmost here.

A Bill for Goods, June 10, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 12:199 — E.]

Fort Pitt

The Crown Dr to Baynton, Wharton & Morgan.

For sundry goods delivered at different times by order of Capt. William Murray & Mr. Alexander McKee, assistant agent for Indian affairs, for use of the Indians, Videt:—

1765.[2]

I do hereby certify that the foregoing acct of sundry goods delivered at different times amounting to nine hundred & thirty seven Pounds sixteen Shillings & Six Pence Pennsylvania Currency is just, and has been delivered to them for the following services:

First to a party of Indians that accompanied the Troops who took Possession of the Illinois Country at their return back to this Post, & to two Interpreters employed to go with said party. Secondly, for two men who came Express from the Illinois. Thirdly, for some Indian Chiefs, that came here upon business, & condoling with them for one of said Chiefs who died here. Fourthly, for a general condolence held with the Shawenese Nation for the loss of their Deputies going to the Illinois with Mr. Croghan by order of his Excellency General Gage.[3]

Fort Pitt June 10, 1766.

Will. Murray, Capt.
42 Regt. Command. at Fort Pitt.

To George Croghan.

[1] The original from which this extract was made by Mr. Carter was destroyed by the fire at Albany.

[2] A long list of goods follows, but was not copied by Mr. Carter.

[3] The remainder of the document is not relevant to the Illinois.

CHAPTER V

CONFLICTING PLANS, MAY 10, 1766–JUNE 15, 1766

BARRINGTON'S PLAN FOR THE WEST — GAGE'S CRITICISM — TRADE ON THE MISSISSIPPI — MAJOR ROGERS SENT TO MACKINAC — REASONS FOR ESTABLISHING A COLONY AT THE ILLINOIS — THE VALUE OF SUCH A COLONY — CAPTAIN GORDON STARTS FOR FORT PITT — JOHNSON PROMISES TO ASSIST THE COLONIAL PLAN — CROGHAN'S ACCOUNTS — PHINEAS LYMAN PETITIONS FOR A COLONY — LYMAN'S REASONS FOR A COLONY ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

BARRINGTON'S[1] PLAN FOR THE WEST, May 10, 1766

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:45 — C.]

L^d^ Barrington's Plan relative to the Out Posts, Indian Trade &c. with Remarks 10 May 1766

In the month of Oct 1763, not long after the Conclusion of the late Peace a Proclamation[2] was issued directing among other things that for the future[3] no Grants of Lands shall be made in North America beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West Also reserving all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the afore-

[1] William Wildman, second Viscount Barrington, was one of the most successful of English placemen, managing to hold positions in the government almost continuously under various changes of ministry from 1746 to 1783. It was during the ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham that his relation to western America became important, for upon him as minister at war devolved the task of formulating a plan for the economical distribution of troops in the West. The Old Whigs as a rule were unfavorable to the expansion of the colonies westward, and it was in accordance with this conservative opinion that Lord Barrington recommended that the settlements be permanently stopped at the Appalachian Mountains (see *post*, 235). It is not possible to determine how far the leaders of the ministry were in sympathy with this proposal of Lord Barrington, for it was never acted upon; and shortly after the document was drawn up, the ministry under the Earl of Chatham was brought in. Although Lord Barrington was retained as minister at war, his influence upon policies was not very great. He died in 1793. *Dictionary of National Biography;* Barrington, *Life of William Wildman, Viscount Barrington; Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1793.

For criticisms of this plan, see *post*, 243, 426.

[2] Printed *ante*, 1:39.

[3] The proclamation expressly says "for the present." This interpretation of the proclamation by Barrington became the standard for the anti-expansionists.

said Limits, to, & for the use of the Indians as their Hunting Grounds: Enjoining also & requiring all persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently, seated themselves upon the said lands to remove forthwith from such Settlements.

The Policy of forbidding British Subjects to settle beyond the Heads of those Rivers which run into the Atlantic Ocean, is founded on this Consideration, that as the North American Productions are weighty & of great Bulk, Water carriage is extremely necessary to convey them to the Sea side for Exportation & to reconvey to the inland Country the Manufactures of Great Britain; a Convenience without which such Settlements can have little or no Communication with the Mother Country, or be of much Utility to it.

Another Point then intended by Government, was that the Indian Trade should be carried on under proper Regulations & Inspection at certain places near the frontiers of Our Settlements,[1] for it was thought absolutely necessary to prevent the Traffick of wandering Traders, who by cheating and misusing the natives, frequently bring on national Quarrels; The Country on the Westward of our Frontier quite to the Mississippi was intended to be a Desert for the Indians to hunt in & inhabit.

As I have often heard this Measure commended & never heard it blamed, I have long been very much surprized, that Forts should be kept up in various Parts of what by the aforesaid Proclamation, was intended to be unoccupied by Us.

The Establishment of these Out Posts as they are called begun during the War and continued after the Reduction of Canada. I make no doubt but they were conformable to our best Grounds of Reason & Policy; but it [by] no means follows that they should be kept up at the present when the whole Continent is our own, & that we find no Opposition there except from our own Subjects.

Since my Return to the War Office I have found many Objections to these Forts, which before did not strike me. It is always very difficult & expensive, & sometimes hazardous to send Recruits, Cloaths, Provisions, Ammunition or other necessaries to the Garrisons; The Troops seperated into many small Bodies, seen by nobody & seeing none but Indians for Years together, lose their Discipline &

[1] The statement reveals the geographical ignorance of Lord Barrington, as the posts were generally at a distance from the frontiers.

Military Spirit; And what is worst of all according to the present Disposition of the 15th Battalions on the Continent of North America, there is no possibility of immediately assembling 500 Men on any Emergency foreign or Domestic.

Nothing is in general so fallacious as the Speculations of a man in his Closet, I distrusted mine, & yet there was a necessity that I should form some notions in Reference to these Points which I might afterwards bring under the Consideration of the King's ministers; It is their Province to advise the Crown, but it is mine to furnish them with materials on this Subject; I therefore lost no time in writing to America, from whence I have obtained very full & satisfactory Lights as well as respectable Opinions. I know perfectly the thoughts of Genl Gage,[1] Coll Robertson & Sir Wm Johnson on these Matters & I have had many Conversations with such Persons now in England as I thought best acquainted with the present State of North America. I have not always found them concurring in the same Opinions but I think I have been enabled by their assistance impartially & dispassionately to form an Opinion of my own.

The Forts in North America now kept up & garrisoned by us may be considered in some of these Lights.

1st As frontier Garrisons & Posts of Communication.

2dly As occasionally awing, distressing & checking the Indians.

3d As contributing to our Trade & preventing that of the French.

In respect to the first of these objects, all Utility seems to have ended, when Canada & Louisiana to the Mississippi were ceded to us at the Peace. If France were Mistress of all Holland & Flanders she could no longer be at the Expence of maintaining a Chain of Fortified Towns on her Frontiers towards those countries.

In regard to the 2d Genl Gage & Sir Wm Johnson both agree that our Forts neither awe nor distress the Indians, tho' they may contribute to our Information of their Transactions; Sir Wm asserts that the Indians are much displeased that some of those Forts are not demolished according to our Promises hitherto unperformed. It is well known that most of our Quarrels & Disputes with the Indians arise from our going amongst them, instead of letting them come to us at certain Places near the Frontiers of our inhabited Country.

[1] See *post*, 243.

On the 3^{d} Head which relates to our Trade with the Indians, I must enlarge a little more.

It has long been the Practice of the French to send Traders over the vast continent of North America; perhaps this originally arose in part at least from the Profit which the French Gov^{rs} made by selling Licences to their Coureurs de Bois. The English Settlements being much better situated for most part of the Indian Trade than Canada, many Indian Nations would not have carried their Furrs thither. The French were therefore obliged to fetch them. Apprehensions of the Nations at all times, & of the English in time of War occasioned the Building of small Forts in which these wandering Traders secured themselves & their Merchandize.

If I am not very much mistaken we enjoy at present the whole Indian Trade except just about New Orleans.[1] The Mississippi is so difficult to ascend from the Rapidity of its Stream that no great Traffick can be carried on thereby; The Mouth of that River and the Gulph of Florida are dangerous to shipping.

If this be the Case, the Indians who cannot do without our Commodities must bring theirs to Barter at such Places as we shall appoint. The Exchange may be made under the Inspection of an Officer of the Crown whose Duty & Business it will be to see the Indians well used: And thus future Quarrels with them may be prevented, for they do not go to War as we do, from Ambition; they fight only because they have been wronged.

But supposing Forts & Garrisons in the Indian Countries were on the whole usefull to Trade would not the Expence & Inconvenience supporting them, greatly exceed any advantages they could produce And is it proper that this nation should be at so much charge for that purpose when the Americans contribute nothing to the maintenance of either? Our colonies could have no ground to complain that the forts were abandoned because they would have still every means of Trade which they enjoyed before the late War without any of their former apprehensions from the Indians or Competition with them.

I have carefully examined all that is urged in favor of the present System of Forts to the Westward of the Limits settled by the Proclamation in 1763 & it may be reduced to this: The Forts are 1st a

[1] This opinion is contrary to that of every man who had traveled in the West. See Gage's opinion, *post*, 243.

Protection to the Traders & prevent their defrauding and misusing the Indians.

If it be right policy that the Indians should come to us, not we to them, wandering trade should be discouraged & disavowed. The Indians can at least come as easily to our back Settlements as we can go to their towns.

2d They are a means of attaching the Indians to our Interests, at least of getting some of them to be for us when others are against us. I do not see what use we have for the Indians (now all North except New Orleans is our own) unless it be to trade with them.

I repeat that if we do not go to them they will be our Friends of Course, as they have always been to the Pensilvanians, the only British Colony which has not used them ill.

3d The Forts are places of Rendezvous in Case of an Indian War; This is true but they are also great objects of Jealousy & Sources of incessant Broils. If we had no Forts, Garrisons or Settlements, in the Indian Country, it is probable we could never be in a State of National Hostility with those People, should any of our Colonies by Misconduct get themselves into War with the Indians let them get themselves out of it as they always used to do when they were not so strong; or else let them beg for Military Assistance; acknowledge their want of it, be thankfull for it & pay its Expence.

4th Our Forts on the Mississippi and Ohio are necessary to prevent the French at New Orleans from coming up those Rivers to trade. They must for this purpose come up the Mississippi with their Goods. The 34th Regiment with every possible assistance given it will be at least four months in their Passage up that River to its Injunction with the Ohio, and has endured much fatigue and hardship. In short we may safely give up the Trade of the Mississippi such as it is to the French and let them make the most of it. We have much better means of trading by other Rivers, and should never trade by that because the French at New Orleans will always command its Progress to the Sea.

5th If it were not for our Forts in the Indian Country English Traders would form themselves into Companies & would settle in the midst of it. If any such Traders should be allowed at all, this may be effectually prevented by obliging them to take licences annually re-

newed from Government upon certain conditions; & by subjecting the Effects of such as trade without them to confiscation, as is the case in the Southern Provinces, but I am convinced some of the Forts should be kept up tho' the number ought to be greatly lessened. Those we have at Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and even at Michilimackinac, I think should remain with such Establishment of Vessels *

> **Note.* One Vessel & a few Boats on each Lake would suffice, & I am well assured that the freight these vessels might get by Carrying Merchants Goods, would more than pay the Expence of building & navigating them.

for the Lakes as shall be found necessary after those Garrisons have been reduced as Gen. Gage advises, to 30 Men at Oswego, 40 at Niagara, 70 at Detroit, & 40 at Michilimackinak; Posts which now Employ two Regiments. These Forts may be easily & safely supplied by means of the Lakes. Col. Robertson is besides these, also for maintaining Fort Chartres on the Mississippi and Missiac: but he is expressly of Opinion that all the others should be destroyed or abandoned. Gen[l] Gage does not express himself decisively, but I think it may clearly be collected from his Papers that he disapproves the present Disposition of the Troops; & he intends to abandon many of the Forts as soon as the Garrisons can be withdrawn from them.

The most obvious Reasons for keeping a Garrison at Fort Chartres are, that there is a french Settlement in the Country of the Illinois, & the Inhabitants may possibly irritate the Indians of those parts against the English if not restrained by some force; Or if they should be left to themselves they may in time like the Acadians, assume a kind of independency. A few Troops will serve to Garrison that Fort, since a detachment of about 80 men sufficed to march thither from Pensilvania & relieve the French Garrison, both which they did without Resistance. In a Year or two hence perhaps that Fort may not have the same Utility & may then safely be abandoned. The Troops at Fort Chartres may be supplied by the Way of the Ohio.

Sir W[m] Johnson is more a friend to the out Posts than either the Commander in Chief or Col[l] Robertson, but his Reasonings do not appear to me either Clear or conclusive. It is natural for a man in his Situation to advise their Continuance from Ideas peculiar to himself; but the Chief Arguments he uses against withdrawing the Garrisons from the Forts, arises from an Apprehension that all the Troops

would then quit North America. He urges very good Reasons against this Measure which never made any part of my Plan. Sir W^m^ gives his opinion that all the Forts of Communication with Fort Ontario, or Oswego & with Pittsburg should be abandoned, & in this all my American Correspondents unanimously agree. There are other Forts of Communication as between Albany & Crown Point Erie & the Mississippi. Col^l^ Robertson is clearly & expressly of Opinion, that all these should be abandoned; And indeed no Communication can be depended on in that Country which is not by Rivers or Lakes, where we can command the Navigation. Crown Point itself seems of no sort of consequence at present tho' very useful when the French possessed Canada.

There are various Forts in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton & St. John &c. which seem at present useless, since we have no longer either Canada or neutral French to fear. Louisbourg was very properly entirely demolished, & yet there is a Staff for that Place on our Estimates, & four Companies are stationed there. General Gage mentions no less than fourteen Forts actually existing in Nova Scotia, St. John's & the Neighbourhood, without reckoning Halifax, which on account of its Excellent Harbour should certainly be carefully preserved.

There are three Forts in the Province of South Carolina, all calculated for the purposes of Trade; & they were built & supported by the Province; but since we have garrisoned them, the Assembly has refused to pay even the Expence of transporting Provisions thither. There can be no doubt but that our Garrisons should be recalled, & the Forts returned to those who built them. There are likewise some Forts in Georgia; one of them Frederica, Gen^l^ Gage deems useless since the Spaniards lost S^t^ Augustine. He does not seem to lay much stress on the others, altho People more intimately acquainted with the State of that Province think that Fort Augusta on the Frontiers towards the Creek & Cherokee Indians should be kept up, as that is the Chief Station of the Traders & the great Magazine of their Commodities.

In West Florida there are now two Regiments stationed at the two most unhealthy places on the Continent of America, Pensacola & Mobille. The first is a Port extremely convenient for Trade with Mexico, the most beneficial Commerce we can enjoy. I am therefore very clear that the Fort should be strengthened, & a proper Garrison

always maintained there, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the Place: but a much less Force than a Regiment will be sufficient for the purpose in times of Peace: As to Mobille it seems of no Use, but to protect Settlers in a Country which is very unlikely to be settled. The Indian Trade in this Part of the World is no great Object, for the Climate produces no Furrs, & the Inhabitants have scarce anything to sell but Deer Skins. I understand that Gov^{r} Johnstone has been authorized to erect what Posts he thinks proper in his Government, a permission which ought I conceive to be immediately revoked. He has accordingly been erecting Fort Bute on a Point where the Mississippi runs into the Ibberville & is beginning a second at a place called the Nanchees. If these Forts have any meaning it must be to secure a Navigation from the Mississippi to the Sea without passing by New Orleans. If that purpose were answered it would not be an object, unless I am mistaken in my Opinion that no Trade worth having can now be carried on by the Mississippi. My Idea of West Florida is, that from the badness of the Soil near the Sea, & the unhealthiness of the Air, we should never attempt to settle or inhabit it, but preserve a good Fort at Pensacola for the Spanish Trade & also such Indian Traffick as the Country affords. The East India Trade used till very lately to be carried on by European Nations, in this manner without attempting any Settlement at a Distance from the Forts.

As to East Florida it is by all accounts a very good country & parts of it are remarkably healthy. The Garrison at Pensacola should always be furnished from thence, because the Degree of Latitude is nearly the same, & men going from a Warm Climate to that place will fare much better, than going directly from Great Britain. The Garrison may also be frequently relieved, before it Grows extremely sickly. I will not say anything farther on East Florida at present as I shall have Occasion to mention it again before this Paper is concluded.

I must here briefly observe that Great Britain has no Reason to be at any Trouble or Expence for the Settlement of its late Acquisition from the Spaniards. If our Subjects allured thither by Prospects of Gain will fix themselves at their own Cost & Risque we should not hinder them, but our ancient Colonies (which by the by all established themselves) afford more land still quite uncultivated, than [can] be cleared or inhabited in some Ages.

From what has been said I presume thus far is clear, that the Troops should not be any longer dispersed in the Manner they now are, and that we have more forts than we need. I am sensible that any Man at this Distance would be liable to Mistake, if he directed what should be given up & what maintained but I see no Objection to authorize Gen[1] Gage to do therein what he judges most expedient, laying down some Clear & General Rules for his Guidance. The present Disposition was ably made by one Commander in Chief without Instruction from hence,[1] why may not his Successor make another adapted to the present Times.

There remains still one more Question Viz: what should be done with the Troops now dispersed all over that vast Continent when brought together more or less in Consequence of a new arrangement. I will readily give my Opinion that in the present Disposition of America, they should not be brought out of that Country; where then should they be?

I have already said that East Florida is represented to be a good Station for Troops. If this be so a certain Number of Regiments may always remain there ready to succour any part of the Southern Continent of America which shall want Assistance and particularly the neighbouring Colony W. Florida where on account of the unwholesome air very few Troops should be usually kept. The Distance is not great from East Florida to any of our Islands in the West Indies, & men accustomed to a warm Climate would be best to send thither on any Emergency.

The Rest of the Troops not wanted in Canada, & in the few Posts which it may be expedient to Garrison & maintain cannot in my Opinion be placed more advantageously, than in the best Parts of Nova Scotia, from whence they may be easily & speedily sent to any Places in the Northern Part of America, where they shall be wanted. There are at Halifax, Fort Cumberland & other Places of this Province, good Barracks for several thousand men.

Altho' the Conduct of New England, New York & other Provinces & the Temper of their Inhabitants give an equitable Pretence to keep Troops among them & afford strong Reason to apprehend they may be wanted there, Yet I see Objections to a measure which might unneces-

[1] General Amherst, who stationed the troops, was certainly in correspondence concerning this subject with the ministry at the time. See *ante*, 1:5, n.

sarily provoke: I am persuaded a good Corps of Troops always in readiness within a few day Sail of those Colonies would produce the same Effect on their Minds as if they were on the Spot. And probably the Insolence of their Conduct last Year proceeded from a knowledge that it was impossible to Assemble such a Force as might constrain them to Duty & Obedience.

As to the Quantum of Troops to be kept in each of these two Provinces, I presume the Commander in Chief can best determine that Point & indeed his worth & Prudence are such that he cannot be too much trusted.

May 10th 1766

[*Endorsed:*] Lord Barrington's Plan with Remarks 10 May 1766

Remarks by Gage[1]

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:51—C.]

A very considerable Trade is carried on from New Orleans up the Mississippi notwithstanding the difficulty of ascending that River as will be now particularly remarked.[2]

The Cause of the Defection of most of the Tribes of the Ohio, last War, was that the Pensilvanians as well as the Virginians had settled on their lands & their complaints on this Head not redressed.[3]

Notwithstanding the Fatigue, Expences & length of time employ'd it is notorious that Merchandize to a considerable Amount is sent up the Mississippi. It may be said that Goods from New Orleans have been conveyed up to the Latitude of 45 over most of the Lakes & the River Ohio & Ouabache, besides what is disposed of on the Lower parts of the Mississippi below the Ohio, & carried westward to a surprizing Distance up the Missouri River: And according to the System adopted for extending & supporting the Furr Trade in the

[1] Lord Barrington's plan for the distribution of troops was sent to many people for their criticism. Probably Lord Shelburne, who became secretary of state for the southern department in July, 1766, was responsible for the collection of these criticisms, and for that reason these remarks by Gage belong to a later date; but on the Barrington document which was copied for us these remarks were written on the margin, so that, whatever their date, they should be printed in connection with the original. For another criticism of the plan, see *post*, 426.

[2] Written opposite third paragraph *ante*, 237.

[3] Written opposite third paragraph *ante*, 238.

distant Country, the Illinois [is] the place of most Consequence towards preventing French Merchandize from being conveyed into the King's Territories, or the Furrs procured from thence, being sent to France instead of Great Britain, Major Farmar gives information of an illicit Trade at the Illinois but has not yet given a circumstantial account of it. Captⁿ Stirling & Lieutᵗ Fraser[1] give intelligence that Skins & Furrs are brought from the Lakes & other parts to the French now settled opposite the Illinois & that our Traders get French Goods from thence. That the Furrs &c was sent then to be transported to New Orleans where 10 d. ℔ pound is given more than they can be sold for at any of our Markets, A copy of a letter from Lieutᵗ Fraser to Gen[l] Gage is hereunto annexed, giving some account of this illicit Trade; The only visible means to prevent this smugling would be to stop up the Ohio & Illinois Rivers, by having a post on each to confiscate all French Goods found on the East side of the Mississippi as well as all Furrs & Skins going down the Illinois River below the Rock,[2] or down the Ohio below the mouth of the Ouabache, & likewise to seize & confiscate the Skins & Furrs from the Illinois Country, or above it, which shall be found going down the Mississippi below the Mouth of the Ohio; It is said at Philadelphia, that the Traders from that Province have this Spring sent goods to the Illinois from Fort Pitt to the amount of £50,000; Nothing decisive can well be laid down concerning the Illinois 'til we are better informed of its consequence to the Trade & whether it will be worth while to support it at a great Expence or not, Fort Chatres is possessed as being the only Fort in the Country, from its situation is of little use. It should have been built at Kaskaskies. The French Post at Missiac or Assumption is gone to Ruin, as well as that of Cauto[3] towards the Illinois River. They had also a Post at Kaskies, but it is in Ruins.[4]

The carrying of Merchants Goods must be precarious as nothing of that kind could be permitted, till the Provisions, Stores &c were transported; And it might interfere too much with the Service.—A Latitude of this kind given to the Masters of the Vessels may be perverted to bad Uses. Some are suspected now of playing tricks; And

[1] The letters by Farmar, Stirling, and Fraser are printed *ante*, 125, 134, 1: 492.

[2] Probably Starved Rock.

[3] Possibly Cahokia.

[4] Opposite fifth paragraph *ante*, 238.

it will not be easy to fall on means to convert the Profits arising from this scheme to the Use of the Public. Something however of this kind, may be tried in a little time. This Scheme has been proposed by many tho' the Consequence or Practability of it never enough considered.[1]

As Regiments are moved into Canada & out of it some place is necessary to guard the Boats when the Reg^{ts} have passed the Lakes from Canada & to embark at when they go to Canada. Half a Company is left at Lake George for these purposes; but when the Settlers who are establishing themselves shall supply sufficient Craft to answer these ends, a Post at Lake George will be no longer requisite.[2]

Crown Point is tumbling down & going to ruin very fast.[3]

Pensacola was esteemed a healthy place till Gen^{l} Aughtons Reg^{t} was there the Kings Ministers can only determine the Utility of West Florida. the Port of Pensacola is the only tolerable Port yet found in either of the Floridas & is as observed well situated for the Spanish Trade: & if Lord Barringtons sentiments are adopted concerning West Florida, the only thing which seems worthy consideration is that as the Country round Pensacola for many miles is not capable from its Barrenness to raise Food of any kind; that Settlers should be encouraged by Government to raise Provisions in some parts, the most contiguous to it, which shall be capable of raising Cattle, Corn &c for the supply of the Place; which probably from its situation will soon become a considerable Port of Trade, from Report, a great deal of the Country, contiguous to Mobille, is proper for raising these Supplies: but the Inhabitants are lazy & think more of Indian Trade, than a proper Cultivation of their Land.[4]

CONWAY TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, May 23, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.18, f. 553—A.L.S.]

S^{T} JAMES's May 23^{d} 1766.

MY LORDS,

I send Your Lordships herewith inclosed Extracts of a Letter I have received from Major General Gage, & of some other Papers inclosed

[1] Written opposite note, *ante*, 239.

[2] Written opposite second paragraph *ante*, 239.

[3] Written opposite first paragraph *ante*, 240.

[4] Written opposite fourth paragraph *ante*, 240.

& referd to in that Letter, & am to signify to Your Lordships the Kings Pleasure; that after having taken the Matter therein containd into Consideration You do report your Opinion thereupon for His Majesty's Information.

I am, My Lords Your Lordships Most obedient humble Servant

H. S. CONWAY

LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE &c[a]

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant*[s] *Gen*[l] Letter from the R[t] Hon[ble] M[r] Secry Conway to the Board, dated May 23, 1766, inclosing, for their report, sev[l] papers[1] relative to the present State of the Illinois Country, and the measures proper to be taken for settling it, & the disposition of the French & Indian Inhabitants.

Rec[d] May 23
Read Sept[r] 2[d] } 1766. S. 110. 4 papers. B (9)

GAGE TO JOHNSON, June 2, 1766

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK June 2[nd], 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I take the Liberty to inclose you a Letter for Major Rogers imagining he will certainly call on you in his way to his Post, if he shall have passed you, you will be so good to send it after him by the first good opportunity. I am likewise to beg of you, for very particular Reasons, which I can't now mention, that you would give the strongest Orders to your Interpreters and Commissarys to watch Major Rogers's Transactions with the Indians; and that they send you Information if he holds any bad Conversations with them. As he speaks no Indian, and can't employ any under you in any such Business, he can only have Recourse to the French to interpret for him. Your People can have an Eye over him in any private Conferences in which, he may employ the French to interpret for him with the Indians, and may afterwards get from the Indians the Result of their Conversation. I hope no such thing will happen, if it does, it will be Chiefly at the Detroit, particularly with Pondiac, Th'o if he begins there, he will no

[1] The four inclosures were: Gage to Conway, March 28, 1766; Stirling to Gage, December 15, 1765; Fraser to Gage, December 16, 1765; Farmar to Gage, December 16-19, 1765. These letters are printed *ante*, 197, 124, 130, 131.

Doubt do the same at Missilimakinak. Your People should keep their Instructions secret and not divulge what you write them on this Subject.

Your Acc[t] shall be paid as soon as it is possible. I assure you I have been obliged to borrow for my private uses, not being Able to sell Bills. The Stamp Act is repealed, but I don't find that People are yet inclined to pay their Debts. I wish when all is cleared up that the real Truth does not appear, that they are not able to pay.

The Shawnese were applied to for to transport some Provisions from Fort-Pitt to the Ilinois their misunderstanding with the Kikapous made them decline it. The Mingoes undertook it, and are gone with a small Cargo.

I am, with great Regard dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

THO[S] GAGE

SHUCKBURGH TO JOHNSON, June 4, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 12:196—E.]

DETROIT, 4th June 1766.

We have lately heard from Missilimakinac by way of St. Josephs and the Indians & French Inhabitants at Fort Chartres &c are well reconsiled to the English Government, as by what they say themselves, are conscious we are Masters of N. America. this news came thro by one Chavalie a brother of whom resides at St. Joseph.

WHARTON AND OTHERS TO JOHNSON, June 6, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:197 — L.S.]

PHILAD[A] June 6[th]: 1766.

SIR

We beg leave to communicate to you the enclosed Paper, containing Reasons for establishing a Colony at the Illinois with some Proposals for carrying the same into immediate Execution. It is our Opinion that, if these proposals should be agreed to, great Benefit must necessarily result therefrom to the British Crown and Nation.

[1] The original from which this extract was made by Mr. Carter was completely destroyed at Albany.

If you, Sir, should be of the same sentiments with us, who, from your great knowledge and Experience in Indian and other Public Affairs, are every way best qualified to judge of this Subject, we then earnestly request you to transmit, and recommend our Proposals to his Majesties Ministers. And we do hereby authorize you, to assure them that we the Subscribers, (together with some others who are shortly to be admitted into our Company) are ready and willing, to enter into those Engagements which are mentioned in the said Proposals for the speedy settlement of the Countrey, on receiving the encouragement desired for that Purpose.

We are, very respectfully, Sir Your most obedient Servants

Tho Wharton	Joseph Wharton
John Morgan	Jo^{N} Hughes
Jos Wharton junr	John Baynton
Jos. Galloway	John Baynton for Sam^{l} Wharton
	John Baynton for Geo. Morgan

[*Addressed:*] To The Hon^{ble} Sir William Johnson Bar^{t} His Majesty's Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the Northern District of America at Johnson-Hall

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia, June 6th 1766. Letter with Enclosures from Mess^{rs} Baynton Wharton Morgan Hughs &ca

Reasons for Establishing a Colony in the Illinois, 1766[1]

[Lansdowne MSS. 48:95]

Reasons for establishing a British Colony at the *Illinois* with some Proposals for carrying the same into immediate Execution.

The Country of the Illinois on the Mississippi, is generally allowed to be the most fertile & pleasant Part of all the Western Territory now in Possession of the English in North America.

The French Canadians have long called it *The Terrestrial Paradise.*

[1] Published in Carter, *Illinois Country*, 172–181. This was forwarded by Johnson to Secretary Conway on July 10, 1766. (See *post*, 334.) The document was drawn up by Governor William Franklin of New Jersey. See W. Franklin to B. Franklin, April 30, 1766, *ante*, 221.

It appears from the best Intelligence, that about four Hundred French Families are now settled in that Country: and that in all probability it would have been the most considerable French Settlement in North America, had not the Inhabitants throughout Canada & Louisiana, particularly those living among, or near Indians, been subjected to Military Command, liable to be taken from their Farms even in Time of Harvest, to go upon distant Expeditions, & to have the Product of their Labour seized for the Use of the Army.

It has been the mistaken Policy of the French to aim at establishing Military, instead of Commercial, Colonies in North America. Their Views were to expel the English from all their Settlements on the Sea Coast, & thereby to engross the whole of the Continent. In this, however, they have, thro' Providence, been happily disappointed.

But had the French contented themselves with settling & improving the Country they actually possessed, they would have rivalled the English in their most valuable American Commodities, & have encreased the Commerce of France, & consequently the French Power, to a very great Degree. For instance;

The Lands in Louisiana produce Tobacco, of a much superior Quality to any raised in either Maryland, or Virginia, & Rice & Indigo equal to the best of Carolina.

Those Articles, with Skins & Furs, are the principal Commodities, which N. America has hitherto produced to any great Extent, for European Consumption.

But were the Lands on the Mississippi well settled, we should be enabled to supply all Europe with those Commodities, & at a far cheaper Rate, than they could be afforded from any other Country.

But what is of the utmost Consequence to Great Britain, no Country in the known world is better adapted than this for the raising Hemp, Flax & Silk.

Of the former, indeed, there are immense Quantities growing Spontaneously on the large extensive Plains of Louisiana. And this wild sort appears from some late Experiments, to have a firmer Texture than that commonly cultivated. The Country likewise abounds with mulberry Trees; & both native & foreign Silk Worms thrive extremely well there.

Great Britain might also be furnished from thence with Cotton, Copper, Iron, Pot Ash, Wine, Salt-petre, a great Variety of valuable

Medicinal Drugs, & other Articles, which, with those mentioned before, make the great Balance of Trade against the Nation, & drain it of it's Treasure.

From the Illinois we might likewise carry on a more extensive & advantageous Furr-Trade, with the numerous Indian Nations which reside near the Lakes & the different Branches of the Mississippi than was ever known since the first Settlement of America: supplying them with British Manufactures to a vast Amount.

Nor will the French be able to rival us in this Trade, as we can transport our Goods through Pensylvania & Virginia to that Country much cheaper than can be done from New Orleans, up the Mississippi. This is the only Passage the French have now left, and being all the Way, *against the Stream* is extremely difficult & tedious. Whereas the English have now a ready Communication from Virginia & Pensylvania to Fort Pitt, on the Ohio, & from thence have Water Carriage *with the Stream* to the Mississippi; and when they have disposed of their Goods to the Indians in that Country, they may easily transport the commodities they receive in return down the Mississippi to Mobile, and from thence ship them to England.

For want of this opening thro' the middle Provinces of N. America to the Mississippi, the French never had it in their Power to reap so much Advantage from that Country as the English now may.

After several Disappointments, & much Expence & Trouble, the English have at length got Possession of all the French Posts, on the East Side of the Mississippi.

A Question arises,—What will be the most efficacious Means of supporting these Posts, so distant from every British Settlement, & yet so necessary to maintain the British Interest amongst the numerous Indian Nations—which inhabit that & the adjacent Country?

It is answered—That there is no way so effectual as to settle a Colony at the *Illinois*, under a good Civil Government.

This Colony being in one of the finest Corn Countries in the World, would have it in it's Power, not only to supply the different Posts in the Indian Country but the two *Floridas* with Provisions. Several of the French Writers term it the *Granary* of Louisiana, & mention that at a Time when there happened to be a Scarcity at New Orleans, the French Settlement at the Illinois, small as it then was, sent them upwards of 800,000 Weight of Flour.

If we have not a Colony on the Spot, to support the Posts we are now possessed of in that Country, the French who have a Fort & an increasing settlement on the opposite Shore of the Mississippi, will have it in their Power, by means of their Influence with the Indians, to intercept our Supplies, interrupt our Trade, & ultimately cut off all Communication between the Illinois & the present English Colonies.

It is said that many of the French in Canada, & Numbers of those settled on the East Side of the Mississippi, near our Posts, intend to remove to the Settlement belonging to the French on the opposite Shore.

Should the French succeed in establishing a Colony there (which they probably will, as it is in so fine a Country) and we have not another to Balance it, in that Part of the World, the Consequences may be very prejudicial to the British Interest.

It may not be amiss to quote here the Sentiments of a late Writer very conversant with this Subject. In speaking of the Fineness of the Soil & Climate of the Country, on each side the Mississippi near the Illinois, He says, "It is this that has made the French undergo so many long & perilous Voyages in North America, upwards of Two Thousand Miles against Currents, Cataracts & boisterous Winds on the Lakes, in order to get to this Settlement of the *Illinois*; which is nigh to the *Forks of the Mississippi*, the *most important Place* in all the inland Parts of North America, to which the French will sooner or later remove from *Canada*; and there erect another *Montreal*, that will be much more dangerous & prejudicial to us, than ever the one in Canada was; They will here be in the midst of all their old Friends and Allies, & much more convenient to carry on a Trade with Them, to spirit them up against the English &ca than ever they were at Montreal. To this Settlement, where they likewise are not without good Hopes of finding Mines, the French will for ever be removing, as long as any of them are left in *Canada*."[1]

The most likely Way to prevent these Mischiefs, & to enable the English to dispossess the French of the remaining Part of Louisiana, should a future War make it expedient, will be, it is thought, to establish a Colony there, agreeable to the following Proposals vizt.

[1] We have not been able to identify the author of this. The paragraph was evidently written some time after the conquest of Canada and before the definitive treaty of peace.

1. Let the Crown purchase of the Indians all their Right to that Tract of Country lying on the East Side of the River Mississippi, between the Illinois River & the River Ohio, and Fifty Miles back from the said River Mississippi.

Remarks.[1]—This Tract includes *Fort Chartres, Cahoki, & Kakasquias* (three considerable French Settlements) and it is said, from good Authority, that the Indians have expressed an Inclination to part with it to the English on very moderate Terms, and that they might easily be persuaded to sell all the Lands as far back as the Heads of the several small Rivers which empty themselves into the Mississippi between the Illinois & the Ohio:—They having a greater Quantity of fine Hunting Country than they can ever have any use for. This would be a sufficient Tract to begin a Colony upon, & having a natural Boundary, would be the most preferable.

2. Let a Civil Government be established there, agreeable to the Principles of an English Constitution.

3. Let the first Governor be a Person experienced in the management of Indian Affairs, & who has given Proofs of His Influence with the Savages.[2]

Remark.—This is a matter of the utmost Consequence in the first Settlement of a Colony, surrounded by Indians; and for want of a due Attention to it, many Undertakings of the like kind have either entirely failed, or been greatly impeded.

4. Let all the Lands which may be granted within the first Twenty Years be laid out in Townships after the manner practised in some of the New England Colonies, or according to the Plan laid down in the *Historical Account of the Expedition under Col. Boquet*, lately published (quod vide).[3]

[1] The paragraph of remarks appended to each proposal appears to have been the work of Sir William Johnson, to whom the proposals had been sent for such amendments and alterations as he thought necessary. See Croghan to Johnson, March 30, 1766, *ante*, 206; W. Franklin to B. Franklin, April 30, 1766, *ante*, 221.

[2] Sir William Johnson was once mentioned for this position. See B. Franklin to W. Franklin, August 28, 1767, *post*, 3:1.

[3] In this work the township system as we know it today was outlined. Evidently the authors of the proposals made considerable use of the suggestions made in the work. Sir William Johnson was doubtless familiar with it, for in January, 1766, the author, Dr. William Smith of Philadelphia, sent him a copy. See article by Charles Whittlesey on "The Origin of Land Surveys" in *Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies*, 3:no. 11, p. 275.

Remark.—The Advantages of this Mode of settling in a Country surrounded by Savages, who may one Day become Enemies, are too obvious to need mentioning.

5. Let Grants of Land in this Country be offered to the Provincial Officers & soldiers who served in the late War in America, on the following Terms, Vizt.

100 acres to every Common Soldier.
150 acres to every Corporal & Serjeant.
250 acres to every Ensign.
350 acres to every Lieutenant.
350 acres to every Surgeon.
350 acres to every Chaplain.
500 acres to every Captain.
750 acres to every Major.
1,000 acres to every L^{t} Colonel.
1,200 acres to every Colonel.

The Soldiers, Corporals & Serjeants, who have served more Campaigns than one to have *Ten* Acres besides for each Campaign after the first. The Ensigns, Lieutenants, Surgeons, Chaplains and Captains, *Thirty*; and the Majors, L^{t} Colonels, & Colonels, *Fifty* Acres, in like Manner. Each General Officer (of which there were two or Three) to have a grant of 5,000 Acres. The whole to be granted in Fee, and to be exempt from Quit Rent for a certain Term of years, or for, & during the natural Lives of the said Officers & Soldiers; & then to be liable to the same only as is reserved in Virginia. No Grant to be made to any Officer or Soldier under Fifty Years of Age, who does not appear *in Person* at the *Illinois* (with a Certificate from the Governor, or Commander in Chief of the Province in whose Employ he was, specifying His Station, & the Number of Campaigns He was in the Service) and actually make a Settlement on the Lands for which He shall receive a Warrant of Survey. But such Officers & Soldiers as are Fifty Years of Age and upwards, & who may not incline, or be able to remove to the Illinois, should be allowed either to dispose of their Rights to Grants of Lands to such Persons as will settle them, or to place Tenants thereon, as may be most convenient to themselves. Provided, that every Officer & Soldier, who does not make, or cause to

be made, a Settlement & Improvement on the Lands he may be entitled to, within six years after the arrival of an English Governor at the Illinois in order to establish a Colony there, shall forfeit all Right & Title thereto. Provided also that every Officer of the Rank of a Captain, & upwards, shall at his own proper Cost & Expence settle upon His Grant at least one white Protestant Person for every hundred Acres thereof within six years next following the Date of his said Grant—subject to the forfeiture of such Proportion of the said Grant, as there shall be a Deficiency of that Number of Settlers. It would be proper for the Crown to furnish the Soldiery with a few Implements of Husbandry at their first Arrival at the Illinois & to allow all Settlers the use of the King's Boats at Fort Pitt, & other assistance, to transport themselves as far as the Mississippi.

Remark.—The giving Encouragement to these Men who are Soldiers as well as Farmers, &ca to engage themselves in the first Settlement of this Country, will be not only Right in Point of Policy, but be an Act of Justice. The Provincial Officers & Soldiers who have served in the several Campaigns during the War in America, and who have undergone equal Fatigues, & run equal Hazards, with the King's Troops, think it extremely hard, that they should not be allowed, as well as the disbanded Regulars, a Grant of some of the Lands in that immense Tract of Country, which they have assisted in obtaining from the Enemy; especially as they had not equal advantages when in Service; The Officers not being entitled to Half Pay nor the Men to Chelsea Hospital. They were generally paid off, & discharged, as soon as the Campaign was over. The giving these Persons Lands in Proportion to their Rank, & the Number of Campaigns they have served, will be likewise a Great Encouragement to the Colonists to enter into the Military Service on any future Occasion. And, besides, it is said, that at the Beginning of the late War, the Americans were promised, or given to understand, that such of them as engaged in the Provincial Service, should, when the War was at an end, have some such Gratification in Lands as is here proposed.

6. Let all Mines & Minerals belong to the Owners of the Land in which they may be found, except those denominated *Royal*

Mines, & of these let the Crown reserve a Fifth, clear of all Charges.[1]

Remark.—This will encourage People to be at the Trouble & Expence of searching for and working of Mines, but if the whole or too great a Part is reserved to the Crown, they will want the necessary Inducement to make Discoveries, whereby both the Crown and Nation may be prevented from receiving many Advantages.

7. Let there be 500 Acres reserved in every Township for the maintenance of a Clergyman of the established Church of England.

Remark.—As it is the Interest of every Nation, that the Religion, it has thought proper to establish, should be the Religion most generally prevalent throughout it's Dominions, this Matter ought to be particularly attended to in America, & the Church well supported there, otherwise Presbyterianism will become the established Religion in that Country. It is much to be regretted that the Crown did not reserve in each of the Colonies, Lands for this Purpose, at the Time of granting their respective Charters. It is however, not yet too late for the Crown to cause such Reservations to be made in many of the old settled Colonies, particularly Nova Scotia, New York, Virginia, North & South Carolina & Georgia. Care should likewise be taken, in Time, to make the like Provision in our new Acquisitions, Canada, & the two Floridas.

8. Let the Bounds of the Colony be as follows, Vizt. From the Mouth of Ouisconsin (or Wisconsing) River down the Mississippi agreeable to Treaty, to the Forks, or Mouth of the Ohio, then up the same River Ohio, to the River Wabash, thence up the same River Wabash to the Portage at the Head thereof, then by the said Portage to the River Miamis & down the said River Miamis, to Lake Erie, thence along the several Courses of the said Lake to Riviere à l'Ours (or Bear River) & up the said River to the Head thereof, & from thence in a straight Line, or by the Portage of St. Joseph's River & down the same River to Lake Michigan, then along the several

[1] Lead mining was an important industry in the upper Mississippi Valley in the eighteenth century. At this time it was largely in the hands of the French west of the Mississippi River. See Thwaites, "Early Lead Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin," in American Historical Association, *Report*, 1893, pp. 191–196.

Courses of the said Lake on the South West Side thereof to the Point of Bay Puans, & along the several Courses on the East Side of the said Bay to the Mouth of Foxes River, thence up to the head thereof, & from thence by a Portage to the Head of Ouisconsin River, & down the same to the Place of Beginning.

Remark.—These being natural Boundaries may be easily ascertained—Altho' no Person should be allowed to settle on any Lands, but what are within the Bounds purchased by the Crown of the Indians, yet it will be highly proper, that the Civil Jurisdiction of the Colony should extend much farther than will be probably purchased for many Years to come; Otherwise loose Evil disposed Persons may straggle into those Parts, & commit Disorders that may involve the Colony in Disputes with the Indians, & be attended with fatal Consequences. And it might have good Effects if a Civil Authority was likewise established at *d'Etroit*,[1] to take Cognizance of all Misdemeanours com[m]itted by British Subjects upon the Lakes & Country adjacent.

9. But that a Colony may be *speedily* settled at the *Illinois* & the Crown & Nation receive the Advantages to be derived from it, without Delay, a Company of Gentlemen of Character & Fortune are ready & willing to engage,[2] That, if the Crown will make them a Grant, in Fee of [*blank in MS.*] hundred Thousand Acres[3] of Land free of Quit Rent for [*blank in MS.*] Years, to be located in one or more Places as they shall chuse, within the Bounds above-mentioned, They will at their own proper Cost & Expence, settle thereon at least One white Protestant Person for every hundred Acres within [*blank in MS.*] Years next following the Date of their Grant; subject to the Forfeiture of such Proportion of the unsettled Part of the said Grant as shall be equal to a Deficiency of that Number of Settlers. And the said Company will likewise engage to settle at least 2,000 of the said Persons on the Lands aforesaid within [*blank in MS.*] Years

[1] At this time a company of provincial officers, of whom Thomas Mant was the leading spirit, was petitioning for the establishment of a colony at Detroit, and it is probable that Johnson had this enterprise in mind when writing this. Dartmouth MSS.

[2] See articles of agreement, *ante*, 203.

[3] According to the articles of agreement, the company expected to obtain twelve hundred thousand acres.

next after the Date of the said Grant, or the Arrival of a Gov^r^ in the said Colony; Unless an Indian War should happen to put it out of their Power.

The Crown need not be put to much Expence to procure the Settlement of this advantageous Colony. The principal Charges will be a Salary to the Governor, & some other Officers of Government for a few years, when the Colonists will be enabled to support their own Civil Establishm^t^ and if there were two or three Companies of light Infantry, & one of light Horse raised & disciplined in the manner & on the Terms, recommended by Col: Boquet in the Publication before mentioned,[1] they would not only be an effectual Security for the Colony in it's Infancy, but also contribute greatly to the Protection of the Frontiers of the old settled Colonies from the Incursions of the Indians; and they would likewise be of infinite service in case of a future War with the French. This corps might be raised & disciplined a Year, or two at farthest; when the Regiment now posted there might be employed upon other Service more suitable to such Troops, unless indeed it should be thought necessary to keep a few of them to do Garrison Duty for some Time longer.

The Officers who served during the War in America, in the corps of light Infantry & Rangers would be the most proper to raise & discipline the Foot Companies; but for the light Horse it will be necessary that Officers should be sent from England, who have been accustomed to that Service. Horses of a good Sort are to be had in great Plenty at the Illinois. If a Company or two of this kind of Soldiery were also to be kept at each of our principal Posts in the Indian Country, it would be the most likely means of deterring the Indians from going to War with us in future.

[*Endorsed:*] In Sir William Johnsons of 10^th^ July 1766.

[1] This refers to section 2 of *Bouquet's Expedition* (reprint of 1907, p. 92). This part was the work of Ensign Thomas Hutchins, the well-known geographer. He proposed settling soldiers with their families on the frontier. The men should receive special training for pioneer warfare. In return for their service they should receive land. The colonies of the soldiers should be laid out according to the New England method, in townships. The author writes "Necessity creating industry, our young soldiers will soon provide themselves with the most useful articles, and in a couple of years be able to raise provisions for themselves."

CROGHAN'S ACCOUNT AGAINST THE CROWN, June 12, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:206 — D.S.]

Dr The Crown,

To George Croghan Esqr Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs, for sundry Indian Expences

FORT PITT June 12th 1766

Pennsylvania Currency.

To Messrs Baynton, Wharton & Morgans Acct against the Crown for sundry Goods given to the Indians by Capt Wm Murray's Orders as ℔ Certificate, and Order to be included in my Accts	£937	16	6
To an Acct of Goods left in the Kings Store with Capt Wm Murray & given by him to the Indian Deputies that went to Sir Wm Johnson's last Year and which has never been Charged in any former Accts	327	0	0
To Mr Mackees Acct and Vouchers	174	16	9
To Richard Butler Gun Smiths Receipt for sundry peeces of Work done for the Indians	82	7	6
To Doctor Alexr Potts's Pay as ℔ Voucher	78	10	0
To Mr Thomas McKee's Pay as Pr Voucher	51	8	6
To Mr St Martains Pay as Interpreter at D'troit	40	3	7
To Mr LaButes Pay as Interpreter at D'troit	40	3	7
To Mr Theophilous as Gun Smith at D'troit	80	7	2
To Messrs Baynton, Wharton & Morgans Acct for Goods for a Condolance held with the Indians at Fort Pitt	363	15	
	£2176	8	7
2176 8 7 Penna Currency equal to York Currency	145	1	1
	2321	9	8

Received from the Honbl Sir William Johnson Baronet the amount of the above Acct by a draft in favour of Messrs Baynton, Wharton, & Morgan.

GEO: CROGHAN

[*Endorsed:*] Mr Croghans Acct & Receipt for £2321/9/8 July 1766 Fort Pitt June 12th 1766 George Croghan Esqrs Acctt £2321/9/8 Paid by Genrl Gage to Baynton &c

GAGE TO PENN, June 15, 1766
[*P.C.R.*, 9:318]

"NEW YORK, June 15, 1766.

"SIR:

"A Detachment of the Royal Highland Regiment which took Possession of the Illinois Country, is just arrived in this Port from Pensacola, and as they will March on the 17 Inst[t] for Philadelphia, I am to beg the favour of you to give Directions that they may be supplied with Quarters and Carriages when they shall enter the Province of Pennsylvania, according to the Act of Parliament made in that respect; and that they may be also provided with Quarters in Philadelphia, where the Detachment is to remain till further Orders. I have the honour to transmit you herewith a Return of their Numbers.

"I am, with great Regard, Sir, Your most Obedient h'ble Servant,

"THO[S] GAGE.

"HON[BLE] L[T] GOV[R] PENN."

"Return of a Detachment of the 42d Regiment, order'd to March to Philadelphia:

"1 Captain, 3 Subalterns, 1 Mate, 5 Serjeants, 2 Drums, & 102 Rank and File.

"THO[S] GAGE.

"NEW YORK, June 15, 1766."

GORDON TO [LUKENS], June 15, 1766
[P.D.P.R., 27:6 — A.L.S.]

FORT PITT, 15[th] June 1766

DEAR SIR

I have communicated with M[r] Croghan concerning our Manor Land—He entirely agrees with me in only taking a Farm for each of Us, he is also good enough to conform to my choice of the upper Part of the back Tract and desires you will survey me 250 Acres or thereabouts from Tobias Hendricks Land downwards—and he takes the Rest to the big River—I have wrote the Gov[r] by this opportunity, that you would locate these Quanities and carry them down with you for his warranting which I beg the Favour of you to do—I have men-

tioned your Desire of likewise having a Farm out of the Front Tract which I hope the Governor will agree to—M^r Croghan is entirely of my Opinion of the very great Impropriety of taking up any of the Proprietors Land to sell again or retail; and I would not have it said for the whole Manor that I should take any Advantage of the Gov^rs Indulgence.

I found Matters very well advanced on my Arrival here. The Assiduity and Influence of your Friend Croghan has got the better of the unfavourable Situation the Indian Affairs were in on his Arrival, and has attached more than ever the Nations to Him, and to His Majestys Service.

We set off tomorrow accompanied by several Shawnese and by a Gang of 70 Senecas going to War against the Southern Indians I hope my Health at present good, will continue, and I shall have a pleasant Journey, I continue to take Bark and am advised to during the Jant.

I shall be happy to see you at Philadelphia, as I am with very sincere Regard.

Dear Sir Your obed^t and faithfull Servant

HARRY GORDON

M^r LUKENS

PETITION OF LYMAN[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.67, f. 367 — D.S.]

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

The Humble Memorial of Phineas Lyman Esq^re on benalf oi himself & the rest of the officers & soldiers of the Several Corps' of American Provincial Troops raised in the late War for Your Majesty's Service & since disbanded; & also on behalf of four thousand three hundred & twenty persons who in the year 1755 subscribed under one

[1] General Phineas Lyman was a native and resident of Connecticut and served the colony as an officer in the French and Indian War. At the close of the war he organized a land company, composed of a number of colonial officers and soldiers, for the purpose of securing a grant of land on the Mississippi River. Lyman went to England to present and urge the petition above. There are several long petitions and other papers of Lyman in existence, but as their connection with the Illinois is somewhat remote, only a few have been printed. (See *post*, 265, 401, 405.) In 1775, he, his son, and General Israel Putnam, visited the Natchez district where a site for the proposed colony was selected. He did not long survive the establishment of the settlement. See American Historical Association, *Report*, 1893, p. 333, and Sabine, *American Loyalists*.

M^r^ Samuel Haggard[1] of Philadelphia, to petition His Late Majesty for a Tract of Land to be formed into a Government on the Ohio, & to settle the same; which plan was in the same year communicated to the Right Hon^b^^le^ the Earl of Halifax; also on behalf of a number of other Subscribers under the name of Military Adventurers for the Settlement of a New Government in some of the Conquered Lands in America.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Memorialist has served your Majesty & Your Royal Grandfather His late Majesty, King George the Second through the whole of the late War from the year 1755 to the year 1762 inclusive & was present at the action of Lake George, the First of those years, & at the taking of the Havanna the last as well as at Many other Engagements with the enemy & that the rest of the said officers & soldiers have served through the whole or greater part of the said War.

Your Memorialist begs leave humbly to refer Your Majesty to Your Majesty's able & brave officers who have commanded the British Troops in America for Testimony of the Zeal & Affection, with which your Memorialist & the other American officers & soldiers have done their duty.

That your Memorialist & many of the said American officers left very profitable professions, & other beneficial branches of Business, which would have enabled them to have made ample provisions for themselves & their Familys, & many of them have sold landed estates in order to equip themselves for the Military Service when they first engaged in it; that their pay while in Service was very small, & yet always ended with the Campaign; That they never have received pay through the Winter: and that they are now without half Pay or any other Similar Provision, usually made in time of Peace by all the European Nations for officers who in time of War leave permanent & established employments to engage in the military Service of their Country.

That they were encouraged to continue in the Service notwithstanding the insufficiency of their pay & without expectation of its

[1] For the details of the plan of Hazard, see Susan M. Reed, "Colony of Charlotina," in manuscript, University of Illinois; and Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies*, 16.

continuance, beyond the War, from the Consideration that if the War terminated favourably, Your Majesty would generously reward those who served him faithfully with grants of part of the Conquered Land, which would be at once a Reward for the Fatigues & hardships suffered in Your Majesty's Service; & by Settleing the same would be the only way to render those Lands of publick Utility, or a National Benefit; & the conquered lands are more peculiarly fit for such reward as the greatest part of those provincial forces are destitute of support but by returning to the business of Husbandry to which most of them have been brought up.

That the late Orders generously given by Your Majesty to the Governors in America to make Grants of Land to the reduced officers & soldiers who had served His Majesty in the late Wars in that part of the World as a reward for their Services has been understood by the Governors to whom Your Majesty's Orders were Sent, to exclude all Your Majesty's Provincial Troops, & under their Orders, all the valuable Lands within the Northern Governments have been granted out; so that the whole body of Provincial Forces are distinguished from the Europeans by being excluded from any part of Your Majesty's Bounty though they have served during the War for much less pecuniary Pay & were frequently encouraged by Your Majesty & Generals to expect a Recompense in Lands, & were besides, by their Educations much the best fitted for the Purpose of reducing a Wilderness Country to a state of Cultivation & to render it profitable to themselves & their Mother Country; & this without any Imputation on the Affection, Zeal, & Fidelity with which they have served Your Majesty & your Royal Grandfather.

That a very large Tract of Land situate on the East side of the River Mississippi from about 300 miles south of the mouth of the Ohio to as far north of the Same & for a very great Extent Eastward; is a very rich soil & a very fine healthy climate; the soil produces grain in great plenty & is besides particularly fit for the growth of hemp, Flax, Silk, Cotton, Indigo & Tobacco, all very good staple Commodities for an European Trade, & the Winters are so mild as to consume but little of what the Peasant earns in the Summer & consequently allows much more time to grow the Articles of Trade than the Northern Colonies, where the Length & Severity of the Winter consumes almost everything the Peasants can earn in the Summer

besides the Soil of the northern Colonies is by no means so suitable for the growth of any Articles fit for an European Trade.

That great part of the said Land lye utterly useless being neither inhabited by Indians nor even used by them as Hunting Ground & that the Establishing a Colony on the same, at the same time it was highly acceptable to the neighbouring Tribes of Indians would restrain them from the Disposition of Commencing hostilitys on light occasions against the Maritine Provinces, as well as prevent the facility with which an European Enemy may now seduce them from His Majesty's allegiance & afterward supply them with Arms & Ammunition.

That there are several thousand French Familys already in that country, a circumstance which Your Memorialist thinks furnishes another strong inducement for the establishing a Superior Force of His Majesty's natural born Protestant subjects & which if it could have been done immediately on the cession of that Country by the Peace would probably have prevented the late calamitous Indian War, which first broke out in that part.

That this Country is & ever must be very dangerously circumstanced by reason of the Jealousy of its Inhabitants while we keep at the present distance from them & leave only a Military force to awe them which tends rather to increase than lessen their jealousy & while the Country is thus circumstanced their Temper may easily be blown up to a blaze by an Enemy & they in arms before we know anything of it.

That this Country abounds in Iron & is perfectly fit for the production of Hemp & Flax, that many of your memorialists have been accustomed to the Cultivation of these Commodities in their former possessions, but that the Consumption of Hemp is so great in the Maritime provinces of America, that there is no probability that there will be a Surplus for an Exportation from thence to Great Britain; in many years & considering the soil in the other provinces & the length of the winter, the Exportation from thence can never be Great.

That almost the whole of that Commodity that shall grow in the above country may be brought to Great Britain down the Mississippi (because there will be but little Consumption for it in the Country of its growth.) with almost the same ease that it can be carried to any of the Trading Provinces in America, that not only Hemp, Flax, Silk,

Cotton, Indico, Tobacco but Iron, though bulky & heavy; may be brought down the River at little expence & the Commodities of Great Britain may be carried up on Terms sufficiently easy, because they are for the most part more valuable in proportion to their Weight & bulk.

That such a Settlement will greatly enlarge the Fur & Peltry Trade because it will not only Secure the Trade of the Inhabitants of that Country but must draw the Trade of all the Indians on the Western Branches which empty into the Mississippi North of such Settlement.

That it is a Mistaken Notion that a Settlement, in what has been called the Indian Country, is likely to produce an Indian War, or even to give Jealousy or Uneasiness to the Indians, that on the contrary, such a settlement so that it be undertaken with the Consent of Such as claim the country to be settled, which consent when asked for in the Case of a Country which the Indians do not usually inhabit or Hunt on is easily obtained for a small price & is even fondly embraced & very often sought for by the Indians themselves, as bringing to them nearer home many Conveniences that result from the neighbourhood of Europeans & is the most effectual means of preserving the Friendship of the Indians; not only by aweing them through the Knowledge we attain of their usual dwellings, Hunting & Fishing places, as well as accustomed retreat in time of Danger; but likewise by the habitual necessity those Indians acquire of European assistance & the supply of European goods so that by Degrees they become insensibly altogether dependent on the European Nation that Settles among them.

That your Memorialist could offer to your Majesty other Reasons for Establishing a Colony as proposed, drawn as well from his own experience of the Tempers & Disposition of the Indians, as from the Geography of the Country but is unwilling unnecessarily to take up too much of Your Majesty's time upon a Subject already Fully known to your Majesty.

That your Memorialist & those on whose behalf he approaches Your Majesty are desirous of undertaking the Settlement with the full consent of the Indians interested therein, at their own Expence, without any additional Burthern to the Crown.

And your Memorialist shall ever pray

P. LYMAN

LYMAN'S[1] REASONS FOR A SETTLEMENT ON THE MISSISSIPPI, 1766

[Dartmouth MSS., 251—A.L.]

Reasons shewing the necessity of the Settlem[t] of an English Colony on the Mississippi in America, as the only means of bringing both the French and Indians Inhabiting between the Endless Mountain and the Mississippi and also those who live on any of the Branches of that River and on the great Lakes, to a lasting dependance on the Crown of Great Britain and not only to lessen the Cost otherwise necessary to be expended for the keeping the Indians from an Open Rupture but to render them of Publick utility to the British Nation, by Civilizing them and bringing them to a more regular and industrious Life, and to consume more of the British Manufactures.

It seems necessary first to survey the present state of the abovementioned Country in order to see its faults and to know what attainable remedys are best adapted in Nature to correct them; And we shall find it inhabited by a number of distinct Tribes of Indians living 4. 6. and 8. hundred Miles, and even further distant from his Majestys English Colonies already settled in America; and who of Consequence have but very little intercourse or acquaintance with them; they live chiefly by hunting; together with a little Maize or Indian Corn, raised by the industry of their Women; the whole being a very scanty support for themselves and Families through the Year; even when they sell their Furrs and Peltry at a reasonable price and are not Cheated by the Traders: they have always been accustomed to expect some presents from the European Nation they are in alliance with, and such presents are even become necessary to their subsistance by reason of their Poverty; their Acquaintance and Trade has been chiefly with the French, who have made several Settlements amongst them to very good effect, by extending and strengthening their Acquaintance

[1] Lyman was continuously writing memorials of one kind or another and presenting them to the ministry, and this may have been written for that purpose; but the references to the "readers" towards the close seem to indicate that the paper was written for publication. The date of composition is uncertain; but since the paper is found in the Dartmouth MSS., it is probable that the date belongs to the latter half of the year 1765 or the first half of 1766 when Dartmouth was president of the board of trade. The mention of a possible tax on the fur trade (*post*, 270) precludes the possibility of the paper having been written as late as 1772, when Dartmouth again entered the ministry. Although the same reason may be alleged for as late a date as the early months of the year 1766, still we prefer to place it close to the papers illustrating the Illinois scheme and Lyman's own petition. *Post*, 203; *ante*, 260.

and intimacy and they have sent Jesuits and Schoolmasters to instruct them, and had by their industory before the last War attached to their Interest almost all the Indians of that Extensive Country; and viewing as they have always done the French Interest as opposite to that of the English were always carefull to raise the Jealousy and Prejudice of the Indians against the English, as on the other Hand we did with the Indians in Alliance wth Great Britain, in order to excite in them a Jealousy of the French, and though the Lessons given by the different Parties seem to be directed to different objects yet both conspired in this to make the Indians a Jealous People; which is undoubtedly their present temper of mind; now any measures which in their Execution naturally tend to feed & increase the Jealousy of their Minds must be improper and therefore cannot be depended on for the producing a friendly confidence between the Natural Inhabitants of that Country and the British Subjects, but which when once established must be the surest basis of Peace and good Order.

And at present the principal Acquaintance they have with the English is by means of a Military Force kept up among them and a few Indian Traders (as they are called) who go for the Sake of profit and under all the disadvantages of a very long, Tedious and Expensive Carriage of their Goods, to get to the Indian Country — yet make it a very lucrative Trade.

Now if we consider the natural Effect of Military Power only supported for the purpose of keeping a People in awe; I think all must allow that it tends to raise and increase the natural Jealousys of the Mind; perhaps beyond almost any other object, and I doubt there is not much to be expected in the way of Reconciliation from a few Indian Traders who go up among them, for the sake of Trade, and if we impartially weigh what real Service may be expected from these Garrisons in the Indian Countrys, it must appear that they are insufficient for the end proposed by them for though a Garrison in some important pass may serve to delay an Army Marching with their heavy Ordnance Baggage & Stores, and to give time to prepare for them; Yet a Garrison in these Indian Counties cannot have that Effect, where the Warriour carrys nothing with him in his Expedition but his Gun and Knapsack, and as willingly passes at a Mile distance, as near to the Fort, for he supports himself by hunting and plunder during his Expedition, so that those Forts can have but very little effect to secure the Frontiers

of the British Colonies already settled, and as to their Effect on the Indian Trade, it must be confessed the Trader & his Goods while in the Fort is protected; but as he always goes out of the Fort to the Indian Nations to Trade, so that both he & his Goods are liable to be taken, while absent from it, Witness the event at the breaking out of the last Indian War, where those Indian Traders lost nearly all their Effects, which amounted to a great Value; it is true, the keeping up Forts in that Country, seems to serve to keep Possession of the Country, yet if we consider the Cost, to maintain those Forts, at that distance, we shall find that the Provisions consumed in any of those Garrisons will cost four or five times the Money at the place of Consumption as at the place of Purchase, and so must be very expensive, and it may even be worth while to consider a little more, particularly how far we may depend on those Forts for the possession of the Country; as the Provision for the Support of those Garrisons must be Transported from the English Colonies at a very great distance, and the greatest part of the Way exposed to the attack of the Enemy unless they should always be defended by a Body of Forces equal to what the Indians can collect at any one place, they must be exposed to be taken, & so the Garrison be liable to be starved out by blocade, which was the case with many of those Garrisons and had like to have been of Detroit the last War, and in every Rupture or War with those Nations of Indians a Force must be sent from the Colonies to reduce them to Order, whose March through those Close Woods and over difficult Mountains where they must be always exposed to the Attack of the Enemy, must render the Event of their Expedition much more precarious than any Force they may have to meet on their arrival at the Country of their Enemy's, and the difficulty of Transportation on such Marches must render those Expeditions very Expensive; and if ever an Enemy should Attack the British Settlements on the Sea Coast the Attack of those Indians made on the Back Settlements at the same time must carry Terror and Devastation before it, while the Garrison in their Country must be altogether insufficient to restrain their Fury; or to Check their Rage; and must not this always be the Case while they remain a Jealous People, will it not be always in the Power of any Enemy, to blow up their Jealous Minds, to an Open rupture, with the object of their Jealousy and must not this danger be much heightened by the French who live amongst them and so by

their intimate Acquaintance & Friendship with the Indians: have great advantage to propagate their ill designs against us; untill some Measures shall be put in Execution, to Eradicate those Jealousy's and Prejudices from the Minds of both French and Indians and to plant in their Room a friendly confidence with the English; and untill some thing of that nature is effected, is not his Majestys Possession of that Country much more precarious and uncertain than if there were no Inhabitants in that Country?

Now to remedy all those difficulties I beg leave to propose that a strong Settlement should be made of a Colony at some place on the Mississippi between the Rivers Morgat about 250 Miles below the Mouth of the Ohio and the River Illinois about as far above the Ohio and at such place where it will be most agreeable to the Indians in general inhabiting in any part of that Country and in particular to those Indians who own the Soil, & where they Pleas who in such Case will with the greatest Freedom undertake jointly with the Settlers to defend the Colony against the Attack of any Enemy whatever, doubtless the Mouth of the Ohio would be the most important place if equally agreeable to the Indians because the Indians living on the Missouris and all the upper Branches of the Mississippi and on the great Lakes as well as those who live on any part of the Ohio, Wabach or Cherockee River will have an easy passage by water to that place, and it is a place where the Indians do not live and it even serves them but badly for Hunting as the Streams or Rivers are there too large for the Beaver to Dam a cross, and therefore it would be more likely for the Indians to agree to it without any inconvenience to themselves.

Now if we consider the natural Consequences of such a Settlement we shall find it the most Effectual if not the only way to obtain the object proposed.

For at such a place to which the Water Carriage makes it easy to come from all the Tribes & Nations who Inhabit the extensive Country abovement[d] it must occasion a frequent intercourse and intimate Acquaintance between the Settlers and the Aborigines (and as no Settler can be so void of understanding as not to see it is evidently for his Interest and Security to behave properly to the Indians;) it must have the best tendency to Eradicate from their Minds that distrust and Jealousy which is the bane of all Society and Substitute in its room a Friendly confidence which is the first thing to be done with

a View to obtain the proposed end; which when well done the greatest difficulty must be over; for no People in the World are more Faithfull and true to their Friends than the Indians and perhaps none even readier to take up Arms for their defence.

And I think such a Settlement must afford an oppertunity to collect & afterwards regulate the Indian Trade more Effectually than can be done in its present Situation for if a Fair was appointed at the Settlement at a time when their Hunting Season was Over and they wanted to dispose of or barter the produce of their Hunting and if the Governor and Principal Gentlemen of the Place would attend; some thing Similar to what the French Practised at Montreal I doubt not but it would bring together the Indians who live on the Missouris and all the Western Branches of the Mississippi, as well as the Inhabitants of the above described Country, for the Indians who dwell on the Great Lakes and on the Mississippi would while Montreal was in the hands of the French go down to the Fair at Montreal; when they knew they could have the same goods much Cheaper at the Truck House at Oswago, which was not half the distance, from their ambition to appear at such Assemblys, for I believe a general Ambition has appeared in the Indians to have an Acquaintance with the White People especially with Gentlemen of Rank ever since the First Settlement of the English in North America; now when the Trade is thus Collected & all Transacted under the Eye of Government it must be much easier to detect and Punish any Malepractices used by the Traders, & to put in Execution any regulation his Majesty or the Parliament may see fit to Establish respecting that Trade; perhaps it may be best that every Trader should make return on Oath of the Goods he puts off to the Indians and of what he receives of them in return and the prices of each which being returned to the Board of Trade, it would be easy to see whether they were farely used and the same method should be taken when any Traders went up into the Country of the Indians; or perhaps some easier way might be thought off to effect the same thing, now when the Indians had once Established a Friendly Acquaintance with such Settlers, if ever any of them should be injured in Trade, or Cheated out of the Effects of his Hunting Season, for two or three days drunkenness, & then have nothing left to Support himself & Family with; instead of going home to his Village, by his complaints diffuse a general uneasiness through

the whole Tribe (who in such case supply the Family themselves) he with confidence would complain to his English Friend and expect relief, but at the distance they now live of a Thousand Miles from the English People, with whom few Indians have any Acquaintance they have no Expectations of relief and therefore Sit down & indulge their own ill Temper, and diffuse it through whole Villages.

And the same Act that regulates the Trade, might impose a Duty, which that Trade would well bear, whereby a considerable Sum might be collected for Publick Use, instead of those large Sums which must be expended in presents to keep those Indians even from an open War; for they have always been taught to expect presents from the Europeans in alliance with them; & by reason of their Extreem Poverty even when they are well used in Trade, some Gratuitys are really necessary to their Subsistance.

And I think if we consider the sums of Money necessary to Answer the Expectations of those People, in Order to keep them from an open rupture, I doubt whether it will not exceed the neat Profit that the Merchant makes by the IndianTrade, if so, it may well be asked of what real advantage are those People, in their present Situation to Great Britain.

And another advantage arising from such a Settlem^{t}, is, that while by a Friendly acquaintance and an intercourse of mutual offices of kindness, a Friendly confidence is established in their Minds, they must always be sensible how easy it would be from such a Settlement to Penitrate their Country and destroy their Settlements, which must give them great caution agst offending, for though they are Poor and have but very little to lose, Yet they have such attachments to their own Country, that a Successful attack of their Castles, (as they are called) Seldom ever fail to bring them to embrace good Terms of Peace; for an Armed Force penetrating their Country, seems to give them the same Terror, it does to a People much Richer than they are, for what they have is their all, and they cannot live without it, besides the Force of a prejudice in favour of their own dwelling place, expressed by the Old Proverb, home is home though ever so homely; which takes place with all People of a narrow Acquaintance with the World, And if ever they should make War, a War on our part might from such Settlement be carried on with a quarter part of the Cost and Expence, as from the English Colonys already Settled, and in so

good a Soil and Climate the People would be soon able to supply any demands of that nature, at such new Settlement, and such an Expedition from such a Colony, must be Attended with a much greater prospect of success, than if Fitted out from any Colony now Settled, for when they have to March through close thick Woods, and over Mountains very difficult to pass, & they are obliged to take all their Provisions and Stores with the Army; And to be Sure it is the safest way, but then they must have so many Waggons or Carriages for that purpose, as to make the Line of March some Miles in length which renders an Attack of the Enemy well made very dangerous; and if the Indians were first taught and then headed by some skillful Officer, in making those Attacks, perhaps several Armys might meet the same fate, that the brave Gen[l] Braddock met, before a single one got through to the Indian Country.

Another good effect of such a Settlement would be the Supply of the Garrisons in that Country, at an easy rate, while the Money of the Garrisons would be a great help and encouragement to the Settlers.

And in Order to determine the good effect such a back Settlem[t] must particularly have on the Settlement of West Florida, it seems necessary a little to consider the state of that Government, and the necessary means of Settleing the Country, and improving the Lands; and we find there is but a very few Labouring People there, which seems to be the thing wanted, for what can the Merchant do without them, what Materials of Trade can he have, for the Merchant must begin and carry on his Trade by some thing, that grows from or is fed by what grows from the Earth, or else by bringing raw Materials from some other People and Manufacturing of them at home, and thereby make a profit himself, as to the last method, I believe all will allow that Manufactures, can never Flourish, but where there is a Surplusage of Labouring People, over and above what can be Imployed in Tilling the Ground, and no Merch[t] at present can be induced to Settle in that Government, on a prospect of Enriching himself by Manufacturing, but must expect Some thing from Agriculture, but where will the Labouring People be procured to Settle there, where the Soil is by no means so good as the above proposed for a Settlement, and the Climate so hot, that whereever the Experiment has been made of Settling such hot Countries with Northern People, it has not Succeeded well, for when a Constitution formed in a North-

ern Cold Climate, comes to undergo Fatigue in those Hot Climates, the relaxation is so great that it creates an Aversion to Labour, forms an unhealthy Constitution, and the Man after a short Life spent in Misery Dies; to be sure none of our Northern Labouring People in America could be perswaded to Settle there for that reason, for they are Universally of that Opinion, and where ever they have tried it, it has had the same Effect, Witness the Expedition to the West Indies, under Gen[l] Wentworth and Adm[l] Vernon; where not one in Ten that were sent from those Colonies ever lived through that Expedition, and the late Expedition to the Havana, under the Earl of Albemarle, where though the Expedition was very short, yet above half that were sent never lived to return; and some small number that Settled at Georgie suffered the same fate, which has raised a very general prejudice in those Northern People, against serving or settleing in any of those Hot Climates.

The only method of Settling such hot Countrys is by Negroes, a Method that Experience has led every Nation of Europe into, who have Settlements in the West Indies; now I doubt the Merchant will be diffident of Settling in West Florida, untill he can know who is to be his Consumers, and who in return can supply him with Materials for Trade; now if we should allow that West Florida, will make such progress in Settling as to Supply the Merchant with as many Articles for Trade; as the Settlem[t] proposed, which I think is much in favour of Florida, by this, the proposed Settlem[t] must double the progress of Settling that Colony; which is a Consideration of great Weight; I know this Opinion prevails in New England and several Merchants who had considerable Stock in Trade hearing that I intended to Petition for a Settlement up the Mississippi River; acquainted me that they would directly Settle in West Florida, if the Scheme took Effect, because such a Settlem[t] in that Fertile Country, must soon support a very considerable Trade on the Bay of Mexico.

Another Step I would propose to be taken which must have great Effect towards Accomplishing the design, is that of a Colledge, or Publick School, to be Established in some proper place in that Country, and impowered to give honorary degrees, in Order to instruct the Children of the English, French, and Indians, and amongst the honorary Arts the Art of Agriculture, or Laws of Vegetation should be taught, and on Account of their knowledge and Skill in that as well as

in other Arts, they should receive Honorary Degrees, and have a Sufficient tract of Land Appropriated to the Use of the Colledge; and the Pupils kept to Work on the Land a certain number of Hours every day, which would instruct them in the Theory of Agriculture, and enure them to Labour at the same time, and if it once toucht their Ambition would soon Eradicate from their Minds, the Prejudice the Indians too generally have imbibed, that it is disreputable for their Men to Work, which at present is an impediment to their Industry & Occasions their leading in the Intervals of their Hunting, Lazy, Indolent & unhealthy Lives, if this Plan should Flatter the Ambition of the Indians, so as to meet with their Approbation, I think it promises the best Effects; for what cannot be done by the Force of Infant Education when you have a fair Chance for it, by obtaining the Free consent both of the Parent & Child, or what reformation is to be despaired off, when that is the Case, and I think they ought to be Cloathed, Lodged, and Fed, alike, according to the English Fashion but in the Cheapest manner, which may likewise have a happy Effect on the Nations from whence they respectively come.

Several things encourage me to believe that such an Attempt, would be attended with Success, over and above the great Force there is in Infant Education, amongst all Mankind.

One is the Attempt and Success of the Jesuits in Paraguay, which I shall give in the Words of a late very Ingenious tho. Anonymus Author, of an Account of the European Settlements in America.[1] in his 15 Chapter of the first Vol. page 278 as follows Viz^{t}, because I can give it in none so good thought I sho^{d} refer to the Original Authentick Author from whom this Account is known to be extracted.[2]

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Here[3] we see they brought the Indians to a firm belief of their Doctrine of Religion, a thing of great consequence to bring a People from heathenish ignorance, to just notions of the Deity, they are regularly clad, they were brought to labour in agriculture and Manufactures, and were brought up to a most perfect Submission to Government, and to be instructed in the Military Art, with the more

[1] [Edmund Burke] *An Account of the European Settlements in America.*

[2] There follows a long quotation from the above book on the Jesuit mission state of Paraguay, which is here omitted.

[3] In Paraguay.

exact discipline, and some aspired to the elegant Arts; now if we consider what those People were before the Jesuits began with them, we find they were a ignorant Wandering, Idle, Lazy, People, just like the Indians inhabiting the Mississipi Country, first to bring them from their heathenish ignorance, to the knowledge of God and his Laws, must powerfully enforce their Obedience to good Order, to bring them to be regularly Cloathed, will increase the Consumption of the British Manufactures to bring them to an industrious Life employed chiefly in Agriculture, in the intervals of their Hunting, must enable them to support themselves, selling only their Furs & Peltry, to pay for their Cloathing, and to bring them to a reasonable submission to Government, or only to be really friendly to us, is to change them from their State in which they are really dangerous to the British interest, to a State wherein they will be ready and may be depended on to take up Arms for its defence, a Change surely much to our Advantage, for a few well disciplined Troops with a good number of Indian Warriors, must be a formidable Army to carry on War in that Country, and why should we dispair of this effect, it is an old Observation what has been done, may be done again: is the knowledge of humane nature confined to the Jesuites, is it not as well understood in Great Britain, and do not we understand those measures which are Conciliateing and tend to raise friendly Sentiments of Mind as well as they, and how to point the force of infant Education to as good advantage, if so, then we are as likely to succeed in such an Attempt as they, and I am of Opinion that a form of Government, where Liberty and private property, and a little more Freedom of thought, was Established, would take stronger hold on the human Mind, and so of Consequence be more durable and lasting than that in Paraguay.

Another attempt of the jesuits in Chili, as reported by the above Author, is encourageing (there they Established a Colledge for instructing the Indian Youths) of a number of Tribes of Indians who have always bravely defended their independany against the Spanish Government, and though they had contracted the greatest hatred to the Spaniards for their haughtiness and cruelty, yet the Jesuits by that method have been able to keep those Indians in Peace, which otherwise must have been very difficult according to that Author; which still tends to convince us, that infant education & friendly Usage has the same force on the Indians as it has on the rest of the

human Species and which is the same thing that the general Characteristicks of the humane mind are the same; and the differences are owing to Art and Education.

Another attempt of like nature, but nearer home, which tends to convince us of the Effect and importance of Education, amongst the Indians, is an attempt now in Embryo, made by the Rev^{d} M^{r} Whealock at Lebanon in Connecticut sev^{l} Years since, he set up a School called a Charity School, for instructing the Indian youths, he sent to S^{r} William Johnson for some of his Pupils and some he sent for to the more Southern Tribes of Indians, which were sent him; he instructed them in reading, Writing, and Arithmetick, and they appeared to be of different Geniuses, some learned very fast, and made surprising proficiency, one he so far instructed as that he has been regularly licenced to preach some Years since, and always behaved so well as to establish a very good Character, and Preaches to good effect among his brethren the Indians; in the intervals of Study, he takes them out to work on his Farm, to which they discover no aversion but labor with Freedom.

M^{r} Whealock is allowed by all to keep the best Order in his School, and subject them to strict rules, without ever offending them, it is a proof of this that they commonly come to his School in the Spring of the Year, and bring Horses with them in Order to return to Vissit their Friends in the fall, and at first are frequently speaking of their return, but by the time the fall arive, they have got to such a Degree of Contentment that they discover no desire of leaving the School, to visit their Friends, but continue with him for some Years, his School has some support from a Society in Scotland, and some from a Society in London, as well, as from many Charitably disposed Persons, both in Great Britain, and America; and though he labours under the difficulty of the want of being incorporated with Power to take real Estates Yet he has increased his school to the Number of more than twenty Indian Boys and Girls and every thing seems to promise the best effects.

Another instance I beg leave to report which is as follows, One M^{r} Serjeant many Years since dead undertook to Preach to a Tribe of Indians living in the North Western part of the province of the Massachusets Bay, now called the Stockbridge Indians; and one M^{r} Woodbridge was at the same time employ'd as a School master to

instruct the Indian Children in common learning Viz^{t} reading Writing &^{a} and in a little time after their first undertaking that business, that Government encouraged many White People to go and Settle among the Indians, when those Gentlemen first went among those Indians, they found them riveted in those Heathenish principals common to the Indians of America, they always esteemed their Priests or Physicians sort of Magicians and generally at their dances or Powows would pretend to raise some Spirit to direct them in what they wanted to do, or inform them of what they wanted to know; M^{r} Woodbridge told me that they went one very cold winters night to an Outhouse or Wigwam, at a little distance from their main Settlement, where they continued near all night, dancing Yelling and hallowing, and made a most hideous noise, and soon after many of the Indians had bad Colds, some had fits of Sickness, and some died, and they appointed another meeting at the same place, to dance & to raise the Speritt to enquire of him what was the cause of their Sickness, And M^{r} Woodbridge got leave to go with them to see their Ceremonys, and when they came to their Ball room instead of one like Almacks, it was a small tight Cabbin with a large Fire in it which heat the Air very hot & they would strip off all their Blankets and danced till they were in the greatest lather and then to cool themselves, would run out and wallow in the Snow, what information they pretend to have received from their Damon, I cannot say, but after this M^{r} Woodbridge undertook to explain to them how unkind and hurtful it must be to their Constitutions to heat themselves to such a degree, and afterwards to cool themselves so suddenly, that it would have the same Effect on the English in general and all other People, it would give Colds and occasion Coughs and bring on hard fits of Sickness, and many probably would die; and though at first such lessens, by reason of their former prejudices, cannot be expected to have their full effect, and govern their minds, yet from the friendly acquaintance with the English, Settled among them, and the Children growing up in a free open Acquaintance with each other, and the mutual intercourse of Offices of kindness almost necessary arising between them, together with the Force of a Preacher, and Schoolmaster to instruct them, This Effect is certainly produced, That they have intirely discarded all their Old heathenish Opinions and very gravely attend divine Worship in the Church every Sunday, they live chiefly by Agri-

culture and instead of taking up Arms agst us themselves, there never has been one party of Canadian Indians came downe by that rout to attack the Western Frontiers, which lye below that place, since M^{r} Serjant first went among them, although before that time it was the common rout of the Enemy; and in the last War the Earl of Loudon when he commanded the British Troops in America, raised a ranging Company of those Indians, and gave the Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign their several Commissions, which they were very Ambitious of, and I believe all the Commanders in Chief who was Acquainted with their Service, will allow they behaved very well.

I think the above experiments enough to convince any impartial Mind, that Education has the same Effect on the Minds of an Indian, that it has on the rest of the humane Species, and that the Colour of the Face does not alter the properties of the human Mind, if this was the Case, I should think we might determine a Mans sensibility by the shades of his Countenance, and every degree of darkness must suppose a less degree of Sensibility, but this is so contrary to truth, that the Supposition must appear rediculous, or at Least disagreable.

And the only reason that some people have imbibed the Opinion that Education would not have the same Effect, on the minds of the Indeans & on the rest of the human race, is because they viewing only those where the force of Education has not been applyed Sufficient to alter the habits formed by their way of Life, and seeing them in general in that uncultivated Form without proper examination, conclude that there is something in nature, Viz^{t} in the properties of their Minds distinct from what arises from Education and Management, which is the Cause of that uncultivated Appearance, which is Yet found to be a wrong Judgment by every tryal that has been made among the various Tribes of Indians in every part of America, And I do not at all doubt, but that we might make as great alterations in the present dispositions of the Indians in Alliance with Great Britain, and bring them as much, and indeed more permanently to depend on the Crown of Great Britain, than the Jesuits have those of Paraguay, to depend on themselves if equal pains were taken, for the prejudices of those Indians against the Spaniards for their hautiness and cruelty must be a very great Obstacle in the Way of the Jesuits which would not impede the proposed Attempt, for they have no such prejudices against the English, and what then can be wanting

but such an Engagem[t] of mind sufficient to undertake the Task and to execute the Plan; now the Attempts which have been gone into, to instruct the Indians in any parts of America, has been in private Schools, kept among the Indians where in all the Intervals of the School, the pupils return to their homes every day, and it is found very difficult, and complained of by all such School masters, that they could not fix their Attention to the rules of the School, so as to keep up good order, but when they have taken them so far from home that the Master could have the direction of their Cloathing; Lodging and Victualling, as well as of their instruction, that task has been found much easier.

Now if a number of youths from each of those Indian Tribes were regularly Educated; first regularly Cloathed, as a uniform of the School and tought to be industrious in Agriculture where it was taught as an honorary Art on Account of their knowledge therein, as well as in other Arts they have honorary degrees conferred on them, will it not have the most powerfull effect to eradicate from the minds of the Indians that Old prejudice that it is disreputable for an Indian to Labour; which at present is a great Obstacle to their industry, and if some of the Pupils should be so instructed as to be schoolmasters and preachers, and all sent home to their respective tribes with some English Missionarys, mutually to Assist each other will it not be the most likely way to obtain the desired effect, and if those people were once brought to a regular and Industrious Life, is it not most likely that their insatiable thirst for Speritous Liquors which is common to such cold Constitutions as their way of life forms would cease, and they become more vigorous, and so would increase their Numbers, instead of Diminishing as has hitherto been their Case and if they should have some presents made in Cattle to till their Ground instead of Blankets while it would Encourage them in their industry, it would bring in View an end of the necessity of making them any presents at all for their own industory would soon enable them to live well, without, but in their present Situation their poverty makes it even necessary for them always to insist upon the Customary presents, and though national reformations are always gradual, yet are they in any case to be dispaired of, where you have a good Chance at infant Education and I should think that the thought of bringing in such a large Number of Poor Miserable ignorant people from their present

state to be happy in themselves and happy to Society must warm the breast of every true hearted Englishman whose distinguishing Characteristick is to be Charitable and as all Government was Originally introduced and is still kept up solely to make mankind happy I think no man who does not feel in his breast the Warmest Wishes for the happiness of those miserable creatures has an equitable right to the happiness of Government himself.

And would it not be worth while to establish a charitable Society, to receive and dispose of such donations, as people Charitably disposed, should give to Civilize Christianize, and render industrious and happy to themselves, & Society; those poor Miserable ignorant heathens is it not most likely that it would have much more effect than any of those charitable donations, which have hitherto been generously sent to any part of the British America.

But supposing that instead of the above plan, the administration should adopt a plan of managing those Indian Affairs by a Commission to some one or more persons who might be thought best qualified, living in some of the English Governments on the Atlantic, let us impartially consider what will most probably be the event, or rather the effect, on the Minds of the Inhabitants of the above mentioned Country; in the first place the greatest part of those Nations or Tribes of Indians, no one Man of them will ever see a Commissioner, and what little effect can it have towards a national reformation only to hear of him at a Thousand Miles distance even if they should always hear a good Character of him. But it is easy to see that he cannot transact that business by himself he must have a number of Officers under him and appointed by him and dependant on him, surely will not this flatter the Ambition of the mind, to increase the number of his dependants, and be able to provide for his Friends; surely it must make any Man fond of his post, because it makes him of importance, which always Flatters the vanity of the mind, and if he should be able to gain such an influence as to convince the Indian Traders that his pass would be of Service to Carry on their Trade, he at once makes that Set of People his dependants, and for such a favour they might think it reasonable to make him a present of Five, Six, Eight, or Ten Pounds, which by a little practise becomes a sort of a Perquisite and so always expected, the Commissioner since it falls in with his Interest, easily flatters himself that for the trouble he is at in his

Attendance on that business, and some expence he is at it is reasonable for him to take it when freely offered, and the Indian Trader flatters himself that he may find his Account in it, for if he should happen a little to exceed the rules of fair Trade with the Indians, he should not be called to so severe an Account on his return, now will not every man in his situation feel his own Emolument, and thereby be influenced to make such representations as tend to secure his own importance, and if he can but convince his Majesty that the Indians are of such unsettled, fickle tempers, that no Body can safely have any concern with them but himself and those under his direction dos not he at once not only make himself of importance but really Essential to the Crown, and what greater emolument, than that can any Man have in view in America; And is not every representation which falls in with a Mans private emolument to be suspected, or can a Man be found who will not see his own Emolument when the object is presented fairly to his View or that he will not feel it when he sees it, it is a Maxim that interest will not lye, because every Man has so quick and sensible a feeling of it, and is not the Permanent Laws of nature much safer to judge by, than any man's Opinion in this Situation; and can any such reports be sufficient to convince a Rational Mind, that a free Open and friendly Acquaintance and infant Education will not take hold of the mind of the Tauny Tribe, and have the same effect, it has on all the rest of the Human Specie, when it never once failed of the same effect on their Minds when it has ever been tried; which has been often, but if the Commissioner should send an Officer to each of the most considerable Nations of Indians to protect their Trade; will it not be much easier to gain his assent to pass by some irregularity in Trade than it would be if the Trade was to be managed at a large Settlement where there was a Sort of a national acquaintance and intimacy and a mutual Confidence subsisting between them where the English would be ready enough to exclaim against any Indian Trader who should use the Indians unfairly and doubtless would be very forward to encourage Prosecutions for their remedy which would tend to heighten their friendly confidence and to discourage any Officer from behaving ill, for there could be no such thing as bribing the Multitude, And no wonder if such an Officer from an Opinion that it would serve the interest and increase the importance of his Constituent and consequently to continue his own

imployment in which he may indirectly receive some profit by the Indian Trade, should suggest some ill ideas to the Indians of an English Settlement amongst them and endeavour to rouse their Jealousys and Prejudices against it, which in effect would be to lessen their Friendship for the English in general, and so to procrastinate the Settlement to any future time, would rather tend to Embarras than to facilitate it.

But I must own, that if there was ever so much force in the Execution of the proposed plan, yet one thing is necessary in Order to enter upon it, and without which, it cannot be executed, which is the Consent of the Indians, now if the Indians are so Jealous of the English that they will not allow them to Settle amongst them, that is in some part of the proposed Country, the Plan must be given over for the present, and untill such consent can be obtained, and I am sensible that some representations of this kind have been made, which brings me to consider what Indians complained and what the Object was they complained of, now I know that the Indians of the Six Nations, many Years since complained of some large grants of Land being made in their Country, which at the time of making the Grants, they never knew any thing of, or ever heard off, till Years after, and who w^{d} not complain of such usage. I am satisfied that the People of Great Britain would complain as loud, and their resentment would raise full as high if their Land should be granted away without their consent, another thing some Indians have complained off: is, that as they do not understand English well, more Land has been comprehended in the Deed than they understood or intended to sell and surely it is an Object that would offend any Man, and I never yet heard of any complaint made by any nation of Indians, of a grant which they had fairly made; and all the Complaints of any nature have been confined to the Indians on the east side of the range of the endless Mountains, and I suppose never any Grant has been made to an Englishman to any part of the Mississippi Country, and so none could be complained off, and of consequence their Jealousy of the English cannot arise from any such Object, if we were to enquire whether the Indians inhabiting that Country were prejudiced against Christian People settling among them, or not. I should think we ought to enquire what effect the French Settlem^{ts} in that Country has had on the Minds of the Inhabitants, because they are the only Christian

People who have Attempted it, and we shall find, that their Settlem[t] on the Illinois River, and also at Fort Detroit on the Lakes have Flourished, and have, and do still live in harmony and peace with the Indians without complaints from any of the Indian Nations, although it is said that they never purchased their Land of the Indians but built their Forts and Carry on their Settlements without purchase, and if we should further enquire of the French whether the Indians of that Country were so averse to be instructed in the principals of Religion, as to render it in Vain to attempt it, I think they must Answer that scarcely ever; one Attempt of that nature has ever failed; though they attempted it only in a sort of private Schools, but have they not by settling with them, and by their Instructions Attached to their interest almost every Indian in that extensive Country before the breaking out of the last War; indeed the Effect may not be so great on their Minds, as what the Jesuits have on their Pupils Yet it is very easy, to See the reason, for the Jesuits had much more Opposition to meet in their Attempt than the French had in theirs, Viz[t] a fixed riveted prejudice of the haughtiness and Cruelty of the Spaniards, Whereas there was no such prejudice in the Way of the French Clergy: but the one taught it by publick Schools, where the pupils puts himself under the direction of his instructor, as to his Cloathing, Victualling and Lodging as well as to his learning and such Publick Schools flatter the ambition of the Mind, and consequently have more force to Change the Sentiments of the Pupils than the private method of instruction fallen into by the French, And a reason of their different Effects is hinted at before, But surely both methods have had great Effect, then why should we despair, is the knowledge of Conciliateing & pleasing confined to the French and Spaniards. I should be very sorry to believe that, and I do not think that any Man does believe it; no I think it Shows the force of an Open friendly Acquaintance, and of Infant Education; then what must the Jealousy of these people Arise from, and if we consult their former Situation their Genius and Expectations which is necessary to be consulted, for the well management, of any people, we shall easily satisfy ourselves from whence their prejudices arise.

It has always been the practice of the French on their part, as it has been of the English on our part, to endeavour to gain some Advantage in Securing and attaching the tribes of Indians in their

Alliance, to suggest some thing Ill of the opposite party, as I have said before which is indeed but too Common in partys amongst ourselves.

The French on their part no doubt have suggested to the Indians that they are their best Friends they settle and live among them in a Friendly manner as bretheren, their Fathers are sent among them to instruct them, they frequently make them presents of blankets for their comfort, and they have two Markets to depend on, but should the English conquer they must expect to be neglected and kept under by Military power—they would not be courted by both parties, some of those things have often been mentioned by the Old Indians themselves, and when they found on the conquest of Canada, that they were not called together in some publick Congress and carress'd and assured of our Friendship they easily believed the Suggestions of the French to be true, and as a Jealous Mind easily takes Fire and kindles up to a rage, they took up the Hatchet to use an Indian Frase, for declaring War, and made open War, on Us and a most terrible Massacre ensued; now this being the Case, I think it points out to us, that the above proposed plan, is the most direct and efficacious method to convince them of our Friendship: to remove their prejudices, and Jealousy's, of us, as well as the most powerful means in nature to effect a National reformation, and though National reformations, must be allowed to be slow and gradual yet from the moment they embrace the plan their expectations are raised, and they by that means are secured in our Friendship, how much more human and friendly is this plan, than to wait for the destruction of those poor heathens, by strong liquor, and the Sword: in Order to avail ourselves of the advantages of that rich fertile Country, undoubtedly the best in America; and if well settled will be of the greatest Advantage to their Mother Country.

And when can we ever expect a better Opportunity to make a Settlement there, than now, when there are so many Thousands of the Provincial Forces disbanded whose trade has chiefly been to Settle, Clear up and bring to new Lands, and whose Minds have been hardened up to meet danger by their Services in the late War, which would Embolden them to undertake; and would form an Excellent Militia for the defence of the place when Settled, and have by their Service together in the late War, contracted a Friendly Acquaintance with the Indians, and learned their Customs and ways of Life, and by some successful engagem^{ts} with the Enemy together, the Indians

have contracted a high opinion of their Merit as Wariours which must give some advantage to an easy introduction and great part of them will be from the Northern Government, who from their first Settlement at Plymouth in New England though but a very small Number and Surrounded with an infinite number of Indians, yet without any Cost to the Crown, have bravely defended themselves till the last War, and the Land in some of those Governments is all granted out and in most of the Familys by the divisions of Estates made by their Laws to all the Children is reduced to very small quantities so that when a Man has a Number of Sons which is very common he must of necessity either teach some of his Sons trades which tends to bring on Manufactures, which at present can be of no real Service to that Country, though in time it may hurt their Mother Country, or else they must Settle on some new Land.

Now the unsettled Land to the Northward, Lyes where the length and Severity of the Winter consumes almost every thing the Peasant can earn in the Summer, and consequently the Settler can not be of so much advantage to himself, or to his Mother Country, where he must and will receive all the wares, as to Settle on the above proposed Country where the Soil is rich, and will produce much better Staple Commodities for an European Trade, the Climate very healthy, and the Winters so Temporate and Mild as to allow the Peasant much more time to cultivate and raise Articles for an European Trade, And I believe who ever duly Considers the State of those Northern Governments where a Man must at least lay up as many tons of hay as he has heads of Cattle, to support them through the Winter. And where the Winter is so severe for about five Months, that the peasant cannot do much but tend his Cattle and keep good Fires to keep himself and Family comfortable, that if the Soil was equally good; (which is far from being true) that they might rationally expect more hemp Flax, Tobacco, Silk, and other Articles for an European Trade to grow at the above proposed Government at the end of Ten Years, than could be expected from any Settlement to be made in those Northern Governm^{ts} at the end of Fifty Years, from their first Settlement, for the fertility of the Soil is such in the Country propose for a Settlement, that it would take the Peasant much less time to grow grain and other Articles for the Support of his Family, and if he had ever so large a Stock of Cattle they might feed in the Savana both Winter

and Summer without Cutting any hay for them, and the mildness and Shortness of the Winter would allow much more time for labour; that he can have in the Northern Governments and by reason of the fertility of the Soil the same labour would grow many more Articles of Trade. and when the place begins to Flourish I cannot but think, it would be very easy to invite over a great Number of Settlers from Germany and soon make it a strong Settlement.

But I am very sensible that of late Years there has been some disputes between the English about some Indian Land wherein the Claims of some English People of a very considerable Value, has been concerned and no wonder the Indians were courted on both sides, and it is very certain that some Indians were desired to Object against the Settling the Lands Concerned in that Controversy, and they answered that they would make no Objection against it, for they had fairly Sold it, and some other Indians were procured to Object against it, and I fear that Controversy and some other things of a private nature; has occasioned some representations tending, to lead the Administration into the belief that the Temper's of the Indians was so Jealous and Restless at present that it would not be safe to form a Settlement amongst them but I fully believe that whatever has led or has had an influence leading to such a representation, has arisen from private Interest or an intire mistake of the disposition of the Indians, for to learn the Genius or permanent principals of any People, it is necessary to view and Observe them for a long space of time, and if we consider the Indians with regard to the English and French ever since either nation have had any Settlement in an Indian Country we shall find that some principal or other, has had a general influence on the Minds of the Indians the Effect of which has made way for the easy purchase of their Lands both by the English and French and in general they have had a fondness of Associating with white People; And I take it to be very evident from their general Conduct that they look on the White People to be of a class or rank of Life above them and consequently have a pride and fondness for Associateing with them, and always find this benefit in their Settling among them that it brings nearer home to them; the Conveniences of Life; And I believe it may be observed as a general Rule from the English first Settling among them that from the influence of an Open free Acquaintance and the Mutual interchanging of kind Offices to each

other, that an uneasiness and Jealousy of Mind has very seldom if ever arose to make any difficulty, but those Jealousys and Uneasiness of Mind, which has some times ended in Open War, have generally took raise among some Nation or Tribe living at a distance, who had but little intercourse with the English, and so the English had no Opportunity to remove their Uneasiness of mind, till their Jealousys inflamed their Mind to a rage and they soon appeared in Arms, but the tribes living near would generally give the English Notice, that they might be prepared for them even when they would not take up Arms to defend them.

And is not this the natural Effect of Jealousy, if two Gentlemen in England begin to grow Jealous of each other; if they keep apart as they are too apt to do, it soon gets to Open enmity, but by frequent Conversation together at the beginning their Jealousys are dispersed and they remain good Friends, to be sure when Old Mixon Wrote his History he Taught us this Doctrine as an Affection of the human mind, and I believe a little Consideration will convince any Man he was right, but what Signifies all those Objections made by a few People that live above a thousand Miles from the Land proposed for a Settlement; must we conclude that the Indians on the Mississippi will not Chose to have an English Settlement made among them, because there may be half a Dozen Indians to be found that can be prevailed on to Object against the Settlement of a particular piece of Land on the Atlantick? I think whoever draws such a Conclusion must be influenced more by a fondness to believe that consequence, than by any connection in the Argument especially since such a fondness has so generally Appeared in them, for the white people Settling among them that scarcely any one request to purchase their Land for such Settlements properly made by any Number of People was ever denied but on the Contrary embraced with fondness, and their Lands Sold very reasonable for that purpose and the Indians very kind and Obliging to the Settlers, surely the Indians on the Mississippi have shewed this Temper to the French who were Settled among them through the whole of the late Indian War and in all their rage never hurt one of them and have always Admitted their Clergy amongst them, to instruct them in the principal of Religion and it has had a good influence on their Minds and now I should think that unless the French or English Clergy should continue to instruct them in the principlls of Religion they would be very likely to complain that they were forsaken and would be affraid they should loose their knowledge

of religion and I should think for that reason this is the most Convenient time to introduce it and thereby to convince them that we are as friendly to them as the French and as willing to instruct them and Settle among them and to use them with as much kindness as the French used to do while they were connected with them which I think will be impossible to do at the distance we are now from them.

And I am in no doubt, but that whenever his Majesty pleases to attempt to make a Settlement in the Country proposed it may very easily be Accomplished by sending some Gentlemen of sense amongst them to contract an Acquaintance and gain their Confidence of his Friendship and then to propose to them the Plan & design of such a Settlement the Experiment will convince us that they will fondly embrace it, but since the Indians receiving and embracing the Plan Cordially is a matter of so much Consequence to the wellbeing of such a Settlement, and for the well executing the Plan; I should think that without any great Cost Six or Eight of those Sachems of the largest Tribes of Indians that inhabit that Country, and who would be of the greatest Consequence to such a Settlement might be brought over that his Majesty and the Administration might know from their own Mouths Whether they were fond of such a Settlement or not and might Settle the whole plan of the Settlement with them, or in any other method whereby his Majesty might be certain that the Indians were fond of the proposals.

But I fear I have been too Prolix for my readers patience and I am very sure that by the time he has read thus far; I have no need to tell him that Writing is neither my trade nor my Talent I should have been glad to have rendered this task more delightsome by the Embelishments of Language, though that some times misguides and plainness of dress is the fashion of the Country I am speaking off I hope the reader will from the Candour of his own mind excuse the plain dress of this peice; I desire him candidly to consider whether the object propos'd is of Sufficient importance to Justify the undertaking and then whether the means proposed are not by the Laws of Nature the best adapted to obtain that object and in Order to this I beg his patience to consider, whether the principlls of Religion do not make stronger impressions on the Human Mind than the Principlls of any other Science and raises the strongest Attachments; and when the principal of Subjection to Government and good order are taught as principlls of that Science and received with the same firm-

ness of mind must have the most permanent and lasting Effect not only to bring those people from their heathenish ignorance to the knowledge of the divine being and the Laws whereby they might persue the Object of their eternal happiness by rational principles but must at the same time form their minds most effectually to a proper Submission to Government and good Order, and I would further desire the readers patience to consider whether, if we should take (for instance) Ten Young Boys from the principal Familys of some one of the most considerable Nation of Indians and Educate them at the above proposed Colledge, first they are to be taken from the Ill examples of the Indians and put under the Government of their instructer and be regularly Cloathed, to Lodge comfortably and to eat and drink what is for their Comfort and to be taught those Arts and Sciences which shall appear to have the greatest effect on their Minds particularly the Art of Agriculture and always to keep them industrious and in proper Obedience to the Rules and Orders of the School, now they being kept steady in this way for five or Six Years, what are the habits of Mind what must be expected at the end of the term, they are all this time Associating with the White People and school Fellows who will always give the leading manners may we not reasonably conclude that at the end of that Term such a pupil will be very averse to Exchange his Cloaths for a dirty Blanket and his Bed for a piece of the Earth to Lodge on and his plenty of Food for that Sterved life, in dayly want of Food to allay their hunger which the rest of his Nation are used to: he now becomes proud of being a Man of learning; and his Family proud of him, what are the Effects we should expect under Similar Circumstances of our own Children; for from the Sameness of the humane Mind we must expect the same Effects from the same Causes with respect to the mind as well as in every branch of Philosophy and would not any White Children as well as black have an Aversion to exchange the Fashionable Life, for such a dirty way of Life, which those Indians now live I think we find it verifyed in every experim^{t} made among our selves which has any thing Similar in it to the above proposal; and when they have been used to industry in Agriculture during the same time and instructed in the Theory as an honorary art and taught by experience that plenty, a fashionable and comfortable Life of which I suppose they are now become fond are dependant on industory, in Agriculture, and they must

likewise be fully Taught that by Manageing their Land well they will have double the Crop for the same labour that they now have in the Indian Method of manageing their husbandry affairs I say will not this reconcile them to industry does not the same considerations reconcile others to it, and why not them, now should these Ten Young Men thus prepared to be sent with one or two English Missionary's of Virtue and prudence to instruct the People of their Nation; and coming to their old Friends with the importance of Men of learning as well as with the Advantage of belonging to the best Familys, and with their prejudices against their Old dirty Starved Way of Life will not they gradually bring the tribe to an industrious life which gives plenty and affords a more elegant Way of Life surely the Jesuits at Paraguay have done much more than this, and I hope it will not be an Objection against this plan that they taught some bad principles for I think that only shews that the Ignorance of the Indians makes way for their being formed to any thing the instructor pleases and where the Effect of their Labour is their private property and a much more easy and rational Government proposed to them, and where they have no prejudices against us for our hauhtiness and Cruelty the Plan must be much more likely to take effect than that proposed by the Jesuits to the Court of Spain, and I think it must have the same good effect on the French Inhabitants of that Country that it has on the Indians.

And if we should not Attempt it on our part nothing more likely than that the Jesuits in the Spanish Interest may considering the Consequence such a Body of Indians would be to the Interest of that Monarchy and would no doubt as easily secure the Indians of that Country, as those they have done at Paraguay which must be of very dangerous Consequence to the British Interest and I should think that nothing could give his Majesty greater Satisfaction and pleasure, nor in any thing more imitate the Attributes of the Divine being, than in delighting to make his Subjects happy to themselves and happy to Society, when at the same time he renders them of real Service to the Trade of Great Britain; And if any thing I have said shall be of any Service to Establish that Interest in that part of the World and render it a real benefit to the British Nation, I shall be well rewarded for my Trouble.

[*Endorsed:*] Gen[l] Lyman's Reasons for a settlement on the Mississippi.

CHAPTER VI

THE RENDEZVOUS AT THE ILLINOIS, JUNE 18, 1766—JULY 18, 1766

CAPTAIN GORDON'S JOURNAL — CROGHAN AND HUTCHINS GO WITH HIM — DESCRIPTION OF THE OHIO — GORDON'S ACCOUNT OF THE ILLINOIS — FRENCH GETTING ALL THE TRADE — MORGAN WRITES OF HIS EXPERIENCES TO HIS WIFE — THE JESUIT PROPERTY AGAIN — GAGE WRITES FARMAR — JOHNSON RECOMMENDS THE COLONY — COLE WRITES OF HIS JOURNEY — THE MISSISSIPPI UNDERMINING FORT DE CHARTRES.

GORDON'S JOURNAL, May 8, 1766–December 6, 1766[1]

[P.H.S., Hutchins Papers, 2—C.]

Journal of Cap[t] H. Gordon 1766

Having received His Excellency the Commander in Cheifs Orders & Instructions the 9[th] of May, I proceeded to Philadelphia with Ensign Hutchins Assis[t] Engineer the 13 of same Mon[th.] Having purchased at that Place the necessary Store[s] for our further Journey, and hired Carriage for them to Fort Pitt; we left Philadelphia the 23[d] and got [to] the Ohio the 14[th] June, having been delayed by Sickn[ess] several Days on the Road; of which I acquainted Mr Croghan, Dep[y] Indian Agent by Express as I had Orders to accompany Him. I found the Road over the Allegheny Mountains extremely bad, and will be most probably impassable for Carriages by next Summer—The Fort at

[1] The copy in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania extends only to October 26 where it ends abruptly as indicated, *post*, 307. We have taken the rest of the journal from a copy in the Durrett collection of the University of Chicago. A comparison has been made between the two copies and divergences noted. There is also a copy in the Lansdowne MSS., 48, which we have not seen. The journal was first printed in an abridged and inaccurate version in Pownall, *Topographical Description*, appendix 4, pp. 2–5. This copy was reprinted in the Illinois State Historical Society's *Journal*, 2: 55–64. The journal was partially printed from the Durrett copy in the Missouri Historical Society, *Collections*, 3: 437–443. The best version, but only to the date October 15 after the departure from New Orleans, is printed in Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2: 40–55. The complete journal in unchanged form is printed here for the first time. There is a short journal of a trip made by Thomas Hutchins in 1768 in B.M., Add. MSS., 21686, f. 41 (printed in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 2: 418); but a comparison with the above shows that it is extracted practically verbatim from the above. This raises the question: did Hutchins write the original Gordon journal?

Ligonier near the western Foot of the Mountains is much Shattered by the Timbers & Stockades being almost rotten—The Country near the Fort is very fine, healthy, & Soil rich producing plentifully all Kinds of Grain, Hemp or Flax; There are some Inhabitants now and many more would assemble there, was any Rig[ht] of Possession or Property secured to them.

I described to the Commander in Cheif the Condition of Fort Pitt by Letter 16th of June[1]—The 18th Mr Croghan having finished his Bussiness with the Indians, the Battoes being fitted, and having engaged the sufficient Number of Battoemen, we embarked on the Ohio at 1 P. M. By the Rains that fell this and the preceeding Day the River Ohio had risen between 2 & three Feet, so That the largest Battoes of the Merchants,[2] that were sent under our Escort Which consisted of Indians, never touched altho 7 Tons Burthen.

The 19th we arrived at the Mingo Town which by our Reckoning is 71 Miles below Fort Pitt The Country between broken with very high Ridges—the Valleys narrow, and the Course of the River plunged from many high Grounds which compose its Banks—At This Village Indian Bussiness detained Us A Day but Altho the Rains abated the 19th in the Morning, the River rose for several Days; and run so rapid as to carry us with moderate rowing from 6 to 7 Miles ℔ Hour—The 23rd we came to the Mouth of the Muskingum before Noon, observed and found the Lat: to be 39° 19′ The Muskingum is a large River 250 Yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, it is said to be navigable 150 Miles upwards for Battoes, & runs thro a pleasant Country as that near its Junction appeared to be—Many small Creeks and Streams run into the Main River, a Mark of the Lands near it being plentifully watered; our Indians killed several Buffaloe between the Mingo Town and the Muskingum, we first met with a herd of this Kind of Animal about 100 Miles below Fort Pitt, but they are not so common untill we pass the Sioto. At This Place we arrived the 29th June 366 Miles below Fort Pitt the Navigation we found uninterrupted to our largest Battoes, The Flood indeed was with us, but at any Time there will be no Obstacle from the Mingo Town which is 71 Miles from Fort Pitt, nor much from the Big Beaver Creek. The River Ohio from 50 M. above Muskingum to Sioto is

[1] The Durrett copy omits the beginning to here.

[2] Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan.

most beautifull, a number of Islands are to be seen of different Sizes but all covered with the tallest of Timber; The long Reaches, among which is one of 16 Miles and a ½, inclosed with the finest Trees of different Kinds, of various Verdures & Leaves of the largest Sorts, afford a noble and enchanting Prospect—The Stillness of the Current & a calm Sunshine put a smooth Face on the Water, from which was reflected the most beautifull Objects of simple Nature, that I ever beheld—The glorious Vista was terminated by two small sugar Loaf Hills, of an easy Ascent, from which can be discovered all this magnificent Variety[1]—The Rivers Hockhoking & Canawha fall into the Ohio in this Space, besides others of a smaller Size. Up the big Canawha the northern Indians penetrate into the Cherokee Nations—It is a large fine stream by Report navigable 100 Miles towards the the Southward. The Country is every where pleasant, in the Bends of the Rivers Course, are large level Spots of the richest Land; and on the whole is remarkably healthy, by the Accounts of Traders who have been some Time with the Indians hunting in those Parts—One Remark of this Nature may serve for the whole Tract of the Globe, comprehended between the western Skirts of the Allegheny Mountains, beginning at the Post of Ligonier, thence bearing S. Westerly to the Distance of 500 Miles opposite the Ohio Falls, then crossing them Northerly to the Heads of the Rivers that empty into the Ohio—thence East along the Ridg[e] that seperates the Lakes and Ohio Streams, to French Creek, which is opposite the Post of Ligonier northerly—This may be from proper Knowledge affirmed, that it is the healthiest, (as no sort of chronicle Disorder ever prevails on it) most pleasant, and most commodious, Spot of the Earth known to European People (supposing a State of Nature).

We remained near the Sioto untill the 8th July observed and found the Lat 38° 09′[?].[2] The greatest Part of the Shawnese Nation were assembled here at the Desire of Mr Croghan. This Nation is composed of a few, but choice Men—Their Influence over the Ouabache Indians is great, which joined to their Situation and other Circumstance, make them an Object worthy our Attention[3]—Matters being settled with them, (altho' with Difficulty) we pursued our Route the

[1] The Durrett copy omits all from "The Stillness" to "magnificent Variety."
[2] The Durrett copy has 30° 22′.
[3] The Durrett copy omits all from "This Nation" to "our Attention."

8th July—The 16 we encamped opposite the great Lick & next Day I went with a Party of Indians and Battoemen to view this much talk'd of Place—The beaten Roads from all Quarters to it easily conducted us, they resemble those to an inland Village where Cattle go to & fro a large common—The Pasturage near it seems of the finest Kind, mix'd with Grass & Herbage, and well watered—On our Arrival at the Lick, which is 5 Miles distance S. of the River, we discovered laying abt many large Bones, some of which the exact Patterns of Elephants Tusks, and others of different Parts of a large Animal—The extent of the mudy Part of the Lick is ¾ of an Acre; This mud being of a Salt Quality is greedily lick'd by Buffaloe Elk & Deer who come from distant Parts, in great Numbers, for this Purpose. we pick'd up several of the Bones some out of the Mud, others off the firm Ground, & returned; proceeded next Day & arrived at the Falls 19th July.

The Ohio continues to be narrow the whole Distance from Fort Pitt to within 100 Miles of the Falls, Its Breadth seldom exceeds 500 Yards and is confined by rising Grounds, which causes many Windings, altho the Reaches are sometimes from 2 to 4 Mile long. The longest of them and most beautifull, are (as has been said) above Sioto—The River, 100 Miles above the Falls, widens to 700 Yds in many Places—a Number of Islands appear the Grounds dimenish generally in Height, & the Country is not so much broken; some few of the Banks are overflowed in high Freshes but this is but seldom, and there is hardly any Place, from Fort Pitt to the Falls, where a good Road may not be made along the Banks, and Horses be employed in drawing up Bilanders against the Stream, which is gentle, if no rain Flood is in the River—The Height of the Banks permits their being every where inhabited, nor do they seem Subjected to crumble much away—The little and big Mineami Rivers fall in below the Sioto, on the N. Side & The Licking Creek and Kentucke on the S. side—There are many good Encampments on the Islands & a very remarkable & safe one opposite the Big Lick.

The Flood that accompanied us many Days, left us at Sioto, and we found the Water at the Falls low—The Falls ought not to be called so, as the Stream on the North Side has no Sudden Pitch, but only runs rapid over the Ledge of a flat Limestone Rock, which the Author of Nature has put there to keep up the Waters of the higher Ohio;

and to be the Cause of that beautifull Stillness of the Rivers Course above it—That this bed or Dam should not wear it is made almost flat and Smooth to resist less the current, which would sooner get the better of greater Resistances, but as it is still subject to wear, there is made enough of it, being two Miles wide, and its Length into the Country on each Side, as covered with Soil, unknown. Mr Morgan unloaded one third and with the assistance of the Indians who knew the Channel best & were usefull and willing, got his Boats safe down and raised[1] on the N. side. The carrying Place is 3 Qrtrs. of a Mile on this Side & half as much on the S.E. This last is safer for those that are unacquainted, but more tedious, as during Part of the Summer and fall they must drag their Boats over the flat Rock. had we continued with the Flood we should have had no carrying at all—The Companys Boats that passd in April were not sensible of any Falls neither knew the Place where they are—In the course of Communication a Serjts Post will be necessary & usefull here. The Situation of it will be mark'd on the Plan. The Water was reckoned low at the Falls, it could not be other wise, as since the Rain that fell at Fort Pitt when we set out, we have only had two small Gusts of abt an Hours Continuance each—The Heats of the Day have been by no Means intolerable, & the Coolness of the Nights have required a thick Blanket for covering in our Tents. notwithstandg of our Distance from the Fort being 682 Miles our Lat. is not much Southerly. At the Falls we make it 38° 8′. another Observation before I leave this Place, which is that the Westerly & S. W. Winds generally blow up the River, And will assist that Navigation—Several Pieces of Spar and Oar were brought in by our Indians while we remained here.

We left The Falls the 23rd and encampt the 31st on a large Island opposite the Mouth of the Wabash which we make 317½ Miles below the Falls. from the Falls to about half this Distance the Country is very hilly, the Course of the River very winding and narrow, and but very few Spots of level Land on the Sides of the River. The Hills are mostly Stoney and Steep, but from the great[2] Herds of Buffaloe we observed on the Beaches of the Islands & River, into which they come for Air and Coolness in the midle of the Day, it may be imagined good Pasturage is not very distant—837 Miles below

[1] The Durrett copy has a better reading, "The Rapid."

[2] Durrett copy has "general."

Fort Pitt, we leave the ridgy Ground behind, the Country grows flat, & the River whose Bed widens is often divided by Islands—The Navigation is good from the Falls—but where the low Country begins Attention must be had to keep the principall Chanel, which is in general to the Right coming down—The Wabash is markt by a large Island round which Boats may go most Times of the Year. The End of the Fork of the two Rivers is narrow and overflowed, 1½ Miles upwards it is higher Ground. The Party of Indians we had two Days sent before to view the Country joined us, and reported they could only discover Tracts of some small hunting or War Parties, but none of any Number together—The Herds of Buffaloe are hereabouts extraordinary large and frequent to be seen—The River Wabash at its Confluence is 306 Yards wide & issues in with a considerable Quantity of Water of a muddy kind—It is navigable between 3 & 400 Miles upwards, but should be used by small Boats, as those of the Companys sent up it were obliged to be lightened in order to proceed. indeed the Dryness of the Weather had caused a lowness of Water in both Rivers. observed the Lat: at Wabash, 37° 41′—The Country between the Course of this River and that of the Mississipi is in general Flat, open & of a Rich luxuriant Soil; That on the Banks of the Ohio is level & in many Places overflowed hereabouts.

The 2nd we left The Wabash in the Evening. next Morning we halted near the Saline or Salt Run—Of which any Quantity of good Salt may be made. from this Place the Deputies from the northern Nations, were sent across the Country by Mr Croghan to the Illinois, to acquaint the Commandant & Indian People there of our Arrival in those Parts.

The 6th in the Morning we halted at Fort Massiac formerly a French Post, 120 Miles below the Mouth of the Wabash, & 11 below that of the Cherokee River; The Country 25 Miles from the Wabash begins again to be Mountainous, being the N. W. End of the Apalachian Mountains which entirley terminate a small Distance from the River, Northerly—They are here between 50 and 60 Miles across and are scarpt rocky Precipices. below them no more high Lands are to be seen to W.rd as far as those that border the Mexican Provinces. The Reason of the French's sending a Garrison to this Place, was to be a check on the Cherokee Parties that came down the River of that Name, which is navigable for Canoes from their upper Towns, and who harassed extremely the French Traders intending to go among the

Wabash & Shawnese Nations; The Situation of this Fort is a good one, jetting with a Point a little into the River, the Reach of which up & down it discovers to a considerable Distance. A Garrison here will protect the Traders that come down the Ohio, untill they have Accounts from the Illinois. It will prevent those of the French going up the Ohio or among the Wabash Indians. Hunters from this Post may be sent amongst the Buffaloe, any Quantity of whose Beef they can procure in proper Season, & the Salt may be got from the above mentioned Saline at an easy Rate to cure it, for the Use of the Troops at the Illinois & in the other Posts on the Mississipi. The Situation is a good one no where commanded from, nor can the Retreat of the Garrison, (a Consideration in the Indian Countries) ever be cut off—The River being, from the Entrance of that called the Cherokee, from 7 to 800 yds. wide. It will in a political Light hold the Ballance between the Cherokee & Wabash Indians, as it favours the Entrance of the former, across the Ohio, into the laters Country, and covers their Retreat from it. There is no proper Spot for a Post nearer the Cherokee River above or the Mississipi below but This, as the Grounds on the Banks of the Ohio begin to be very low. The Current of the River towards the Mississipi is very still and may be easily ascended if Affairs are any Way doubtfull at or near the Illinois.

7th We got to the Fork of the Ohio in Lat. 36. 43. about 40 Miles below Massiac; we took a Survey of the River in coming down. Our Bearings and Distances from the Method we imagined, and carefully pursued have a considerable Right to be exact, & have been corrected with Observations on the Lat: that are to be depended on. The gentle Ohio is push'd back by the impetuous Stream of the Mississipi, whose muddy white Water is to be seen above 200 yds. up the former. we examined the Ground for several Miles within the Fork, It is an Aggregation of Mud & Dirt interspersed wth Marsh and some Ponds of Water, and is in high Times of the Mississipi overflowed; which is the Case with the other Sides of both Rivers.

9th & 10th repaired the Boats, and fitted them strongly with every Thing in our Power, to encounter the Stream of the Mississipi, which we thought hardly possible, having been so long used to the much gentler One of the Pleasant Ohio.

11th Augt having been joined by a Party of the 34 Regt from F. Chartres, we began to ascend the Mississipi—whose rapid Stream

has broke thro the Country, and divided it every where into a Number of Islands. The low Lands on each Side continue 8 Leagues upwards —when it becomes broken and small Ridges appear for the Rest of the Way to Kaskaskias. There are many Islands in this Distance, some of which entirely of Rock; That called by the French La Tour, which it much resembles, is 11[1] Leagues below the Kaskaskias River. The Distance of This River from the Forks is 31 Leagues.

The Mississipi's principal Stream is from 5 to 700 yds wide, but it is scarcely ever to be seen together; and some small Parts are above a mile distant from one another—the Principall Stream likewise often shifts & the deep Chanels also, which makes the Pilotage of the River extremely difficult, & boats often get a Ground in ascending, cheifly when endeavouring to avoid the rapid Current.

The 19th we got in the morning to the small River of the Kaskaskias 80 Yds. wide at the Mouth but Deep 5 Feet which it carries up to the Village and is said to be navigable 50 Leagues further. A Detchment of 1 Offr & 30 Men are Quartered here where we arrived the same Day; distant from the Mouth of the River of that Name 2 Leagues. The high Grounds mentioned, skirt along the South Side of the Kaskaskia River, come opposite the Village and continue along Northerly, in a Chain nearly paralel to the East Bank of the Mississipi, at the Distance from it of 2 to 3 Miles. This Space between is level mostly open, & of the richest Kind of Soil in which the Inhabitants of the Illinois raise their Grain &ca. The Kaskaskia Village is on the Plain, it consists of 80 Houses well built mostly of stone, with Gardens and large Lots to each, whose Inhabitants live generally well, & some of them have large Stocks of Cattle & Hogs. There was a new Fort begun by the French of Logs, opposite the Village on the rising Ground, t'other side the River but entirely commanding it. Ensign Hutchins I sent by Water to compleate the Survey to Fort Chartres;[2] That I might see the Country I went by Land.

The Road to Fort Chartres is along the Plain, passing in some Places, near the Chain of rocky Heights above mentioned. The Distance to the Fort is 18 Miles. The Road passes thro' the Village of the Kaskaskia Indians of 15 Cabbins and afterwards thro' a

[1] Durrett copy has "6."

[2] Hutchins made a careful survey of the Kaskaskia River, which is printed *post;* see general index.

French one called Prairie de Roché in which are 14 Families. This last is distant 3 Mile from Fort Chartres; between is the Village called L'Etablisment[1] mostly deserted, and the Inhabitants gone to Misere on the West Bank of the River, a little higher than the Kaskaskias.

20th arrived at Fort Chartres where I found one of a well imagined, and finished Fort of 4 Bastn of Stone Masonry, designed defensible agt Musquetry; The Barracks are also of Masonry, commodious & elegant. This Place is large enough to contain 400 Men, but may defend itself with a Third of the Number against Indians, if Care is taken to mow the Weeds near it, which grow to 10 & 11 Ft Height and very rank.[2] It is now in Danger of being undermined by the Mississipi, whose Eastern Bord is already within 26 Yards of the Point of the S. W. Bastion. The Bank I found thirty Feet high, Sandy with small Gravel (very uncommon Soil for the Banks of this River, that are mostly Mud or fat Clay) and perpendicular; so that the crumbling occasion'd by Frost, would demolish in a little Time this small Space before the Bastion. When we took Possession of this Fort the River was above 100 Yds Distance, & before that, the French who foresaw its Approach had expended much Labour & Money to try to prevent it; They fascined and piled the Banks, but the Torrent soon got Passage behind them. Had they brought the Banks to a large Slope, retired those of a gravelly Kind so as to have an Eddy on them in Flood Time; drove a Number of Button Wood short Stakes in the Slope, which immediately take Root, and got together floating Trees and any Thing else of that Kind the Floods bring down, made those fast at the Point where the Stream divides to come by the Fort & round the Island opposite to it; This last might have averted the Strength of the Current towards the western Bank, and by stopping the Rubbish that comes along with the Floods have formed a Bar at the Point; The gravelly Banks would not have resisted the Flood, an Eddy would have laid upon them; nor would there have been any Ressistance to the Current at Bottom, whose Effect would have thereby been diminished. Upon these Principles I gave Instructions to Lieut Pitman Assist Engineer at this Post to proceed. The Ruin of the Fort was inevitable next

[1] Evidently Nouvelle Chartres.

[2] Durrett copy omits the last clause.

Spring without doing something, But a Part at least may be saved at a small Expence to lodge the Garrison till other Measures are resolved on. The Sickly State of the Troops did not allow of getting any Number to work during my Stay, nor was the Water low enough or the Heats abated to make much Work otherwise adviseable. This being the Case I proceeded the 28 to view the Country upwards; our own Boatmen being sickly and much fatigued I went by Land, accompanied with Lieu[t] Pitman & Ensign Hutchins, to Kyahokie—45 Miles distant from The Fort, & the upper most Settlement on our Side. In the Route we pass le Petit Village,[1] 5 Miles from the Fort, a Place formerly inhabited by 12 Families now only by one since our Possession. The abandoned Houses are most of them well built and left in good Order, the Grounds are favourable near the Village for Grain, particularly Wheat; and extensive cleared Land, sufficient for the Labour of 100 Men to cultivate. We turn off here to the Eastward and in 2 Miles come on the high Ground, when we keep on till within 3 Miles of Kyahokie, when we return to the Plain to get to that Village. Here are 43 Families of French who live well, & so might three Times the number as there is a great Quantity of arable clear Land of the best Soil near it. There is likewise 20 Cabbins of Peioria Indians left here. The Rest and best Part are moved to the French Side 2 Miles below Pain Court It is reckoned the Wheat thrives better here than at Kaskaskias owing probably to its being more Northerly by almost a Degree. At This Place we endeavoured to hire 3 Men & a Canoe as we said to view the Missouri but our Intention was as far as the Illinois River. we could not prevail by Intreaty or Money to get such a Number or even a Canoe to go with us; An Invitation came from Mr S[t] Ange the French Commandant in the Illinois to go to Pain Court with Promise to be assisted in our Progress upwards. We went to Pain Court the 30[th] where we staid next Day, were civally treated by Mr S[t] Ange and the other Gentlemen, but, thro a little Jealousy, were dissappointed in going upwards, & returned to Kyahokie the 31[st] in the Evening.

The Village of Pain Court is plesantly situated on a high Ground which forms the W. Bank of the Mississipi. it is 3 Miles higher up than Kyahokie—has already fifty Families supported chiefly from thence, & seems to flourish very quick.

[1] St. Philippe.

At This Place M^r^ Le Clef[1] the principal Indian Trader resides, who takes so good Measures, that the whole Trade of the Missouri, That of the Mississipi Northwards, and that of the Nations near la Baye, Lake Michigan, and St Josephs, by the Illinois River, is entirely brought to Him. He appears to be sensible, clever, & has been very well educated; is very active, and will give us some Trouble before we get the Parts of this Trade that belong to us out of His Hands.

We found it impractiable to go further upwards, without waiting for a Boat from the Fort, which would have been a long Time of coming, & otherwise might have given Jealousies that would have occasioned greater Dissappointment, as Mr le Clef is readily served by the Indians he has planted within 2 Miles of Him. We returned to Fort Chartres the 2^nd^ of Sept^r^ by the same Route we came. Some Days were employed in visiting and directing Lieu^t^ Pitman in the Work he was set about, and Composing Instructions regarding his viewing the Country towards the Illinois River, and likewise that on the other Hand to the Ohio and the old Post of Massiac. I found myself no longer usefull at Fort Chartres, & returned to Kaskaskias the 6^th^.

The next Day viewed the Country round this Village, in order to fix a Situation for the principal Post in Case of the Demolition of Fort Chartres by the Curr^t^ of the Mississipi, which will most probably will hapen in 3 Years Time perhaps in less. viewed that part to the Nor'w^rd^ of the small River, as also along the Bank of the great one upwards to search for a rising Ground, and a Shelter for Craft; which now lays at the Village, thro' want of such at The Fort. We discovered nothing to Purpose. The Afternoon, we cross'd the small River, with much fatigue and a Foot visited the Situation of the Fort begun by the French as mentioned already. We found it a very good one accessible only on the East Side; the West by which we went up narrow; steep and easily defended. It commands the Town, the River below, overlooks the Plain towards the Mississipi, which does not seem 3 Miles across in a Streight Line, and has a fair Chance of being a healthy Spot, at least an airy one, as it is high Placed, on dry Ground, & near good Water.

Our Possession of the Illinois is only usefull at present in one Respect. It shows the Indian Nations our superiority over the French,

[1] Laclede.

to whom, they can thence perceive, we give Law. This is dearly bought by the Expence it is to us, and the Inconvenience of supporting it. The French carry on the Trade all round us by Land & by Water; 1st Up the Mississipi, & to the Lakes by the Ouiascoasin, Foxes, Chicagou, and Illinois Rivers;[1] 2ndly Up the Ohio to the Wabash Indians, & even the small Quantity of Skins or Furs that the Kaskaskias and Peiorias (who are on our side) get by hunting is carried under our Nose to Misere and Pain Court. A Garrison at the Illinois River & a Post at La Baye will partly prevent the first; and one at Massiac will, as has been said, stop their Intercourse with the People on the Wabash, who consist of several Nations. Coop'd up at Fort Chartres only, we make a foolish Figure; hardly have the Dominion of the Country, or as much Credit with the Inhabitants as induce them to give us any Thing for Money, while our neighbours have Plenty on Trust.

8th Septr we were prepared to descend the Mississipi but that Night I was seized with a Fever which continued with unremitting Violence untill the 16th at Night.—17th being much better, I pursued my Route down the Mississipi the 18th tho' but in a weakly State of Body.

Lieut Pitman had made a Plan of the River in coming up, which upon examining we found to be exacter than any thing we could do, in tumbling down this rapid Torrent.[2] We therefore continued to descend the River untill we came to the Natchez. To give an Idea of the Mississipi at this Season when the Water is low; one must suppose a large Hollow in which you are, and a low Country into which you must descend—Where you are, on one Side, is a Bank from 25 to 30 Feet high, whence[3] very often you see and hear great Pieces of Mud or Clay, on which are growing Trees, tumbling into the Torrent—round you is the Stream running from 3 to 5 Knots an Hour in which are huge Trees in the Current, fast to the Bottom but bent by the impetuous Stream, and some of them only bobbing up their Heads, when their own Elasticity gets the better of the Strength with which the Water bends them down. on the other Hand is a large Beach of Mud spread over sometimes with Sand, in which one or more Spots

[1] Durrett copy omits "Foxes, Chicagou, and Illinois Rivers."

[2] See Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*.

[3] Durrett copy reads "where."

are seen covered with Trees. Before you is a quick Descent of Country appearing much under you; This you see divided sometimes with sandy Beaches, & at others with Streams of Water intersperesd with a thousand Logs, and thro' which to direct your Course, is a very great Incertainty. When you land, and with much Difficulty scramble up the Banks of falling Mud, you find Traces of the Floods and Stuff that hinders your going far, or you find yourself on Mudy Sands where you may wander among Pieces of broken Land for a mile at least without reaching the firm Ground. indeed it has little Tittle to be called so any where to the Westward, as there is no Height to be seen, nor any sort of Soil to tread on but soft Mud, or among Canes. On the Eastern Bank there are the following high Lands after we pass'd the Ohio, before we reached the Natchez—viz^{t} Mine au Fer—those on Artaguet & Margot Rivers—That on the Yazous—The Small and great Gulf—where Stone is to be seen—These are the only habitable Grounds above the Natchez. It may be thought next to impossible to navigate against this Stream yet such is the Force of Oars, that large Boats of 20 Tons Are brought[1] by them to the Illinois in 70 odd Days, which is in some Parts 500 Leagues by Water from New Orleans, when the River is low. At That Season there are many large Bends, along the inward Side of These, the Boats get on, as there the Current is not att all strong. When the River is high and overflows its Banks, the Distance is lessened, and the Water does not run with such Rapidity as when lower and narrower. In those high Times there must be Tracts of Country thirty Miles wide, overflowed. Those Boats go to the Illinois twice a Year, and are not half loaded in their Return; was there any Produce there worth sending to Market, they could fetch it at no great Cost. They bring however Lead, the Produce of a Mine on the French Side; But it comes in but small Quantites; they have not skill in working of it, neither have sufficient Numbers of Hands to carry it on. The Boats in Time of Floods, which happen only in May & June, go down to N. Orleans from the Illinois in 14 and 16 Days.

The 6th Oct^{r} we visited the Fort at the Natchez. A Detachment of Sixty Men of the 21st Regiment had come up to this Place six Days before. They found the Fort in a repairable State. The Parapet made of Cypress hewn Timber, was only deficient in one Side of Five

[1] Durrett copy inserts "down."

which is its Figures—several of the Walls of the Houses and some of the Roofs were entire, and the Bridge, altho not very sound served by being a little supported. It was lucky this Condition was such; had it been otherwise, the Want of either Artificers materials or Tools, would have put the Detachment to great Inconvenience. The Situation of this Place is high and pleasant commanding a Prospect of a very large & handsome Country, in many Places cleared, diversified with gentle Risings, which are covered with Grass and other Herbs of a fine Verdure. It is ¾ of a Mile from the River, and cannot command the Craft that lays under the Bank, a Look out for a Serjts or Corporels Guard must be built for that Purpose.

The Natchez was among the first setled Spots in Louisiana, and had not the Catastrophie befell the Inhabitants of being masacred by the Indians who lived among them; It would have now been thick peopled, and a very flourishing Colony.[1] The soil is good on the highest Grounds. black & light, & properly exposed for the Growth of the Vine. Indigo will prosper on the Flat Parts, or even on the Ridges for some Time; The Number of Mulberries and the Climate are favorable for Silk, & Tobacco would be a mere Drug there. The Place from the Goodness of the Water, & Soil must have Good Air. It is in Lat 32° 20′[2]—yet the Winters cold is considerable. The Distance from New Orleans is 94 leagues and 50 of them above their highest Setlement at Point Coupee—(the few Banditti at Arkansas don't deserve the name of Setlement—) which most probably will be the highest for many Years. This is a proper Distance to attack from, but not easily to be attackt up such a Stream. The common Communication to the Natchez is up the Mississipi. But it may be supported down the Ohio, and a Force sent from thence that will be truly formidable to our Neighbours below. Such is the Natchez. Its only Disadvantage is a Port to the Sea. The free Navigation of the Mississipi is a Joke, no Vessel will come to Ibberville from Sea. It was once done and found merely possible at the Kings Expence. Neither is there any Restriction by the Treaty from building what Forts they Please at the Bar or on the River, as will certainly be done when the Spaniards get the Dominion. In Time of War they probably will make Use of these Forts to keep us out of the Mississipi;

[1] The Durrett copy omits all from "and had not" to "flourishing Colony."

[2] Durrett copy reads "25."

which may be possible to do, as Vessels must warp up to N. Orleans, had this Place been given to us, We would have had on the Mississipi in a short Time the most valuable Colony to the Crown in N. America, without it we have only the land of the Country. I fancy this was not well understood by the Peace Makers.[1]

The 8th we pass'd the River Rouge, 50 Leagues up it the French have a Fort at Natchitoché. The Spanish Govr went up to visit this Post—as it is the nearest Place to Mexico, and not very distant from the Out Post of the Spaniards.

The 9th we went a shore on the French Setlement of Point coupée. It consists of 110 Families who live much at Ease; Their Produce is at present only Tobacco & Corn. They likewise cut some Lumber. They are not strong enough in Negroes to attempt making Indigo which is the only Reason they don't. Their Situation is low and are obliged to have Leviés of Earth to keep off the Floods. These People are much displeased at the Approach of Spanish Government. There is here a small, ruinous Stockade Fort with 1 Officer and 10 Men in it.

10th in the Morning we visited Fort Bute which is 12 Leagues below Coupée. This is a Square with half Bastions (they had better been whole ones) of 600[2] Stockades. There are Huts in the inside, for Officers & Men of 100 in Number; The Intention of this Post is to cover our Communication to the Mississipi by Pontchratrain and Maurepas Lakes, and thro the Gully or Ditch of the Ibberville when there is any Water in it, which is only the Case when The Floods come down the River; The Bed of this was now 24 Feet under That of the Ibberville. we endeavoured to view the clearing of this last, but were only able to go along it for 3 Miles on Account of the Rankness of the Weeds, thro which there is no Path. The Bottom of the Ditch in that Space was pretty clear, only some Logs cut up that are not hauled away. Had there been any Craft at the other End I would have endeavored to penetrate to it, & viewed the obstructions between the Amit and Lake Maurepas. Those are now the principal, and by Mr Robertson Engineers Report of them they will require a great Deal of Labour to remove. It is now to determine, whether that is to be done; or continue at the Option of the French or

[1] The Durrett copy omits all from "had this Place" to "Peace Makers."

[2] Durrett copy reads "bad."

Spaniards for our Communication by Boats up the Mississipi. While they indulge us they make us pay for it, as I fancy the Expence of our Equipments at New Orleans will confirm.

The 13th we were within 2 Miles of New Orleans—we did not make this Day above 10 Miles with all our Strength of Oars, of which we rowed 8 our People having mostly recovered, so strong the Easterly Wind blew. The Colony of New Orleans is inhabited 20 Leagues above the Town on each side of the River, which is to within 10 Leagues of the Ibberville. A little below this last Place the Mississipi Stream is less rapid, The River widens, The Banks are lower, and the whole appears more plesant. The upper Setlers of the Colony are just planted, consisting of poor Acadians for the most Part—but 40 Miles above the Town you will see well built Houses, many Negroes and several Indigo Works in good order—of this last there is a Quantity made and is reckoned good of its Kind. The Plantations continue well improved towards the Town—whither we arrived the 14th in the Morning.

There are no Nations of Indians below the Illinois on the Mississipi till you come to the Arkansa's. They live up the Branches of the Arkansa River near the French Post which is half way to N. Orleans. They consist of 150 Men. The Mississipi in Floods runs round the Island formed by the two Branches of this River. The next Nation of Indians is the Tonicas below the Natchez a small Nation of about 30 Men. Then the Oumas & Alibamous of about 150 both The last has setled here lately having withdrawn from the River of that Name when we took possession of West Florida.

Neither the French nor Spanish Governor were in Town. The great Aversion the Inhabitants had shewed to be under the Spanish Dominion—Their Remonstrances against the Ordinances he published, had chagrined Him so much as to be the principal Reason of his Stay so long at the Balise.

New Orleans is but a small Town, not many good Houses in it, but in general healthy and the Inhabitants well look'd. Its principal staple is the Trade for Furrs and Skins from the Illinois—their Want of Negroes keep back the Indigo making. They have attempted Sugar, and there are now 5 Plantations that produce it; but they do not make it turn out to great Account. There is only a Stockade round the Place with a large Banquet, their Dependance

for Deffence is the Difficulty of approach. That up the River is tedious & easily opposed particularly at the Detour d'Anglois and there is only 12 F^t^ Water on the Bar.

The Military Force at this Place is at present Small—not above 80 Spaniards remain of those brought with their Governor. He it was said, expected a 1000 Men, 300 of which would be sent to the Illinois—whether that reinforcement was to come from Old Spain or the Havannah I [could no]t learn with Certainty.

Our Boat and Bagage being carried to the Bayoue,[1] for which we paid 20 dollars for the Boat alone, and is only 2 Miles distance—we left New Orleans the 15^th^ in the Evening and lay that Night at the Bayoue. To this Place the Trade from Mobille comes and all manner of smuggling: There are three Schooners constantly ply between the East Side of Lake Pontchartrain and here employ'd in bringing Tar. There is a good Harbour for Craft here.

The 16^th^ in the Afternoon we went along the Bayoue which is 2 Leagues long, and only five & twenty Feet wide in many Places—It is deep enough but the windings are so short sometimes That a Schooner has Difficulty to turn—The Grounds on each Side were under Water except in three or four Places where Rice had been cut off—and in General the Country is overflowed between Lake Ponchartrain and the Mississipi to within 2 Miles of the last—this particularly in high Eastery Winds, which was now the Cause of the Waters Height—At Dusk we pass'd the Block House at the opening into the Lake,[2] in which was a Serj^t^ and 12 Men French & Spaniards & some small Cannon mounted—we continued rowing till 11 o'clock and rested—next Day by Noon we were across the Lake the Wind in our Teeth—That Afternoon we went down the Regolets which is the Communication between the Lake and the Sea—It is 2½ Leagues long and deep from 4 to 5 Fathom—in crossing the Lake we saw several Smokes on the East Side, which we were told by our Pilot was as many Tar Kilns. Part of the Produce we saw unload^g^ at the Bayoue a Small Post between the Lakes Maurepas & Pontchartrain would put a Stop to this Smugling. The Tar and Turpentine Part of which being very considerable may sensibly affect us, This Post would favour Spanish Desertion and answer many Purposes, it will run a

[1] Durrett copy adds "de St. Jean."

[2] Durrett copy adds "Pontchartrain."

risque of being unhealthy altho' not more so than the French Post at the Entrance of the Bayoue S[t] John.[1] We continued coasting along untill the 25[th] when we reached Isle Dauphine the Wind contrary the whole Way—we landed several Times, but were always carried or went in a Can[oe, the] Coast being so Flat as seldom to permit our Boa[t that] only drew 27 Inches of Water to come near the s[hore] one Place excepted which was during the Storm on the 22[nd] when the Ferret a little Way without us lost her Masts—We landed several Times and saw the shore the whole Way—It is covered with Pines and in general barren Land, but good for Pasturage—The few Inhabitants, being only six on this Tract of Country that is near 100 Miles in Length, have Num[bers] of black Cattle—Any Quantity of Tar or Turpentine may be easily made; One Crips employs a dozen of Negroes on this Commodity which he sends to New Orleans to a good Account—There are a Number of Cattle on Isle Dauphine the only Stock can live on it. Its Soil is like that of the Coast already described.

26[th] we entered Mobile Bay and got to the Fort the 28[th] which is 160 Miles Distance from New Orleans The Soil on the S.[2] Side the Bay is better than that on the Coast—It will fetch Corn and Coton, Garden Stuff and excellent Pasturage, an Inhabitant called Rochon has by Repute above 1000 Head of black Cattle. he has likewise a Number of Negroes, who he chuses chiefly to employ in the Tar & Lumber Way.

There are several good Houses near the Fort at Mobille—This is a Square with 4 Bastions built of Brick in the Way of Revetment—with a Counterscarp[3] of Brick and a Glacis. The Barracks in the Fort are so low that they are deprived of air and are mere ovens in the summer time from the reflexion of the sun. 60 men will defend the Fort against Indians. The Navigation up the Bay, ten leagues long is not to be attempted by strangers and it is only capable of receiving small sloops. There are a great many King's houses outside the Fort that will be of but little use, if a larger Garrison than the above is not kept there. Two Rivers run into the Bay from the Chactaw Coun-

[1] Durrett copy omits all from "a small post" to "St. John."

[2] Durrett copy reads "N."

[3] The copy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania ends here. The remainder is printed from the Durrett copy.

tries, but I am informed most of the trade of that Nation is carried by French Traders across Lake Ponchartrain and up the Bayouc to New Orleans.

30th. Sailed for Pensacola, whither we arrived only the 4th of November, altho' the distance is but 13 leagues between the Bars; I should have gone much sooner in my boat that I left at Mobile. We carried 3 and ¼ Fathom over the Bar. Pensacola Bay is a very good roadsted yet 2 Brigs and 4 schooners and sloops were drove from their anchors and wrecked, the storm of 22nd last Month altho' the height of the Gale blew off the nighest shore.

On entering the Fort I was astonished to see the poor Huts that are in it, but much more so when viewing the condition of them and that of the Poor Soldiers who inhabit here. Their barracks are covered with Bark on the sides and roof which naturally shrivels in a short time by the heat of the sun which was the case now; the Firmament appeared thro' the top and on all sides. The men were walking about like ghosts on a damp sandy floor that is near a foot under the level. They were repairing the roofs, but this has been the bane of cost, and but a short time serving as a cover, never to keep out the rain from those large buildings, some of the officers huts were similar only the differences of a few boards laid over the sand to tread on, others of the officers were well enough lodged, but this the fewest part. The Hospital has only the distinction of always being first covered and the Provision stores that of being the last. The Destruction of the best Regiments is thus accounted for, without the climate which yet I am apt to beleive also does its part.

It is high time to fix the necessary Garrison for this place and as soon as that is done, to erect proper Barracks for them. The rooms should be raised at least 5 feet above the ground, there will be more and better air, and I am convinced be healthier. In the furnishing of them, attention should be had in those parts to prevent the men from being tormented in their beds by the Muskitos being open to them as they are now, exposes them like the beasts of the field to the sting of these venomous insects or fly, only there is not so many out of doors as inside nor do the beasts eat salt meat as the soldiers are obliged to live on, and therefore not so much inflamed by their poisin. The underparts of the Barracks may serve for stores of different kinds. After this it ought to be considered in what manner the whole is to be

inclosed. The stockades round it at present are and will be totally rotten by next year.

While we remained here, I viewed along with Brigadier Taylor, the country adjoining the Town in order to fix on proper situations for 3 blockhouses demanded by the Governor for the protection of the town from the creek Indians. These were accordingly fixed and as the situation of 2 of them will probably be healthy if executed, they will be convenient for hospitals when the Creek alarm passes.

Having given the acting Brigadier all the intelligence demanded of me, and taken the proper inspection and information at this place and a vessel being ready to sail that was to touch at the Havannah, Augustine and Georgia with the approbation of the Brigadier Mr. Hutchins and I embarked the 12th. The 17th in the morning we were off the Havanah but the wind blowing fresh at N.N.W. we could not land with our Boat and the Master of the Vessel having been threatened to be fired into from the Moro the last time he was at the place a few months ago, would not go in with the vessel. This day we were off and on sometimes within ¾ of a mile of the Moro, and could discover very plainly the ground of the Cavannas, and all that from the Moro, to where our Encampment was, that the Artillery and stores were landed at.

The Moro itself is completely repaired, several casemated cannon added towards the sea. The piece of rock by favor of which the assault was given is blown level with the bottom of the Ditch, The counterscarp and covered way in good order and considerably raised, and a redoubt as before in the Point towards the Sea with 4 embrasures, A counter guard or Fleche now making before the left or Bastion next the town. There is a very large work erected on the Cavannas, which by the centry places on the Angles, I take to be a Horn Work, with a double Branch towards the Ground before the Moro: This work is very nigh Compleat. The Bastions of the Town are raised considerable and a large New Work raised on Mount Jesus the form of which being at a greater Distance I could not ascertain. The Punto and North Gates are completely repaired.

The 28th, 29th and part of the 30th in the Latitude of Augustine, but the Wind did not permit us to visit that garrison of likewise a Battalion, which altho' not in His Excellency's Instructions, should gladly have seen. Probably such a Dimunition of Numbers may safe-

ly be made of troops and staff in these Floridas as will defray the expence of accomodating them that remain.

The 30th being very short of Provisions and the wind just permitting to pay a course for Charlestown, we steered for that Place whither we arrived with some difficulty the 6th of December.

A Table shewing the Distances of the Remarkable Places on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

		Miles
From Fort Pitt to	Logstown	18½
	Big Beaver Creek	29½
	Little—Do.	42
	Yellow Creek	52
	Mingo Town	71½
	Long Reach	123¼
	End of Do.	138
	Muskingum River	161
	Little Kanawha River	172¾
	Hockhoking River	186
	Big Kanawha River	266¼
	Guyandot River	308
	Big Sandy Creek	321
	Scioto River	366
	Big Buffalo Lick	390
	Little Mineami River	492¼
	Licking Creek	500¼
	Great Mineami River	527
	Where Elephants Bones are	560¼
	Kentucke River	604
	The Falls	682
	Beginning of a low country	837¾
	Large River on East Side	902¼
	Ouabache River	999¼
	Big Rock	1042
	Shawanoe River	1094¾
	Cherokee River	1107¾
	Fort Massiac	1118¾
	Mouth of Ohio	1164



From Fort Chartres to Cascasquia River

Mine au Fer

River Margot

River Arcansas

River Yazous

Grand Goufflé

720

Au Roche D'Avion

River Rouge

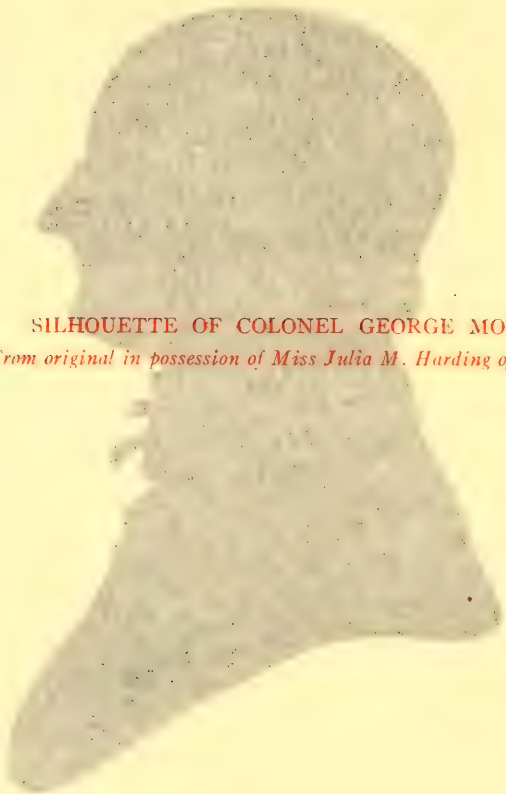
End of Settlements

(Signed) HARRY GOLDEN

MORGAN TO HIS WIFE, June 20–28, 1766[1]

Eighty Miles from Fort Pitt.

[1] George Morgan.



SILHOUETTE OF COLONEL GEORGE MORGAN

From original in possession of Miss Julia M. Harding of Pittsburgh

	Miles
From Fort Chartres to Cascasquia River	24
Ohio	114½
Mine au Fer	129½
River Dartaquet	236¼
River Margot	300¾
River St. Francois	371¼
River Arcansas	479¼
River Yazous	637½
Grand Gouffie	684
The Natches	729
Au Roche D'Avion	772½
River Rouge	783
Center of Tonicas Village	811½
Beginning of Point Coupee	813
The Fort	828
End of the Settlement	832½
Center of les ecors du lait	835½
River Ibbeville	867
Village of the Oumas	903¼
Beginning of German Settlements	918¼
The Fort	930½
End of Settlements	941
New Orleans	963½

(Signed) HARRY GORDON

MORGAN TO HIS WIFE, June 20–28, 1766[1]

[Thacher MSS.— A.L.]

CAMP NO. 2, June 20th, 1766. Thursday Evening.
Eighty Miles from Fort Pitt.

MY DEAR MOLLEY:—

On Wednesday the 18th Instant I took my Departure from Fort Pitt at One O'Clock in Company with Col. Croghan, Capt. Gordon & Lieut. Hutchins, under a salute of — Guns from the Fort. As my Boats were come on before, I embarked on board Mr. Hutchin's

[1] In the possession of Mrs. E. S. Thacher of Nordhoff, California, a descendant of George Morgan.

Batteau, which I choose in preference to Mr. Croghan's as he takes a particular Plan of the River &c which will be of assistance to me in making mine the more correct. The first Night we encamp'd about 40 Miles below the Fort at the Mouth of a Creeck. This Morning we proceeded from thence to this Place where I found our little Fleet, all in good Order, but I was much concern'd at the Death of One of my men who was drown'd about 15 Miles below the Fort, by jumping overboard when the Boat he was in grounded & delay'd following her too long after she was push'd off. We have now thirteen Batteaus in Company & only wait for Mr. Croghan to proceed on our Voyage. He was delayed a little below the Fort in taking Indians on board but I look out for him every hour.

Friday Noon.

I have just taken up my pen to write a few Lines but Mr. Croghan appears & I must give Orders to our little Troops to embark. Every Place we stop at I will do myself the Pleasure to tell you our Situation &c, in order that you may know every little Circumstance of a Fleet you are so deeply interested in.

1 O'Clock. The Signal is given for Sailing & we are all hurrying to embark, but I shall go only a few miles further to Night. The first Stop we make, I'll tell you how agreeably I am fitted out in my little Boat. My Men are all hearty & David is my Coxswain. Adieu, my dear Polly till tomorrow.

Camp No. 6, Monday Evening June 23d, 1766.
About 170 Miles below Fort Pitt.

The greatest Pleasure I can have whilst absent from you my Dear Molley, is to know you are well by hearing from you, & the next greatest, is, telling you I am so. During our Passage down, you may well imagine I have a great deal of leisure Time, as I have nothing to do but steer my Boat or sit still whilst David does it.

On Friday we came but about 5 or 6 Miles. On Saturday 35, Sunday 28 miles & to Day to this Place. Our Company is so large that we cannot move faster without giving offense to the Indians. They are very slow in their Motions & we must abide by the Loss. Had I my Will, I should not wait for either them or Mr. Croghan, but I endeavour to make myself as easy as possible during our

Delay. We have not yet embark'd till half past Six in the Morning or row'd till after five since Mr. Croghan has joined us. Which will render our Voyage not a little tedious.

Saturday, June 28th, 1766.
CAMP—ABOUT—MILES FROM FORT PITT.

MY DEAR MOLLEY:—

Since writing the foregoing the Weather has been so extremely Warm that I could not with Comfort sit down to write to you of an Evening after our day's Journey. A violent Storm with Thunder has this Moment forced me to lye by which gives me the agreeable Opportunity to tell you I am well. We have hitherto made but a slow Progress on our Voyage. I give up the whole Direction in this Respect to Mr. Croghan for sufficient Reasons, tho' I assure you I should look on myself as perfectly safe without as with him, & my Journey would be ten times more agreeable to myself, as my time would be my own & I could proceed as I choose. I expect that we shall tomorrow Night be at the River Scioto where we shall tarry two or three Days. From thence I hope to have an Opportunity to send you this Letter.

Notwithstanding it now rains very fast, I sit quite comfortable on board my Boat, over the Stern of which I have Hoops, & an Oil Cloth on them, with Curtains of the same to let down before & behind.

My Cabin Furniture is my Gun, Pistols, Sword, Spy Glass, Speaking Trumpet, Pipe, Tea Chest, Compass, Pen & Ink & Chest of Drawers, which serves me as a Desk. I had like to have forgot my Chair. I was so extravagant whilst at Fort Pitt as to give a 20/ Bill for a Leather Camp Chair with a Back to it. The Morning I came away I had it put on Board the Boat, but a shower of Rain coming on some of the Batteau Men thought I would want it & carried it to my Room, by which I am prevented from indulging as I intended. The One I have now is without a Back, which I borrowed from Mons. Maissonville. It contributes much to my Ease on board my Boat & is handy to carry on Shore & therefore you'll not think me tedious in telling you such little affairs. 1 O'Clock. It has clear'd up & I have given my Batteau Men Orders to hasten Dinner that I may follow Mr. Croghan & the rest of my Batteaus which are now I

imagine twenty Miles before me—Occasion'd by two Indians, who I had employ'd to hunt for our Company, having kill'd two Buffaloes last Night or rather in the afternoon a considerable Distance up the River & came in about 9 O'Clock & made their Report of its being but about a Mile above us—As we have had very little Fresh Meat yet, I agreed to rise early this Morning & row my Boat up to the Place—About four O'Clock we rose & started before five with one of the Indians to show us the Meat—Instead of One Mile, we rowed about Ten against the Stream, in doing which we were four Hours & fifteen Minutes—After I had got two Miles up & the Indians made Signs that it was still a great way further, I would have turn'd back, but I wanted to see whether the Current could be stem'd or not with a loaded Boat—We were one Hour & a half returning from there to this Place where we started from—Mr. Croghan with all the Boats left this about Six O'Clock.

Please to tell Mr. Baynton that I am of Opinion that Nine Men would row One of our Boats to Fort Pitt from the Mississippi in fifty fair Days, provided she could be so loaded, as to admit of eight rowing at One Time, & not be cramp'd in their Strokes—Of this I shall be able to judge when I have an Opportunity to see one of [them] loaded — Which shall be as soon as I am possess'd of sufficient Beaver &c — Tell him we had Six Oars in my Boat to Day — Let him also know that in the Manner all Our Boats, except Mine, are loaded, there is scarce room for our Oars — Therefore we cannot compute that One of them can ascend the River with more than half the Bulk they now have on board — Should I write to him by the Opportunity this goes by, you need not say anything of it to him, as I will mention it in my Letter.

Half Past two O'Clock—

I have just made a most delicious Dinner on Buffaloe Soup & Marrow—A good Portion is set by for my Supper—What with the Repetition of this & other Etceteras I fear you will dread the Consequence—But keep a good Heart & there will be no Danger.

I must put by my Paper untill I arrive at Scioto,—It has cleared up & the Boat is already under way.

Goodbye my Dear Polley till I have an Opportunity to begin a new Sheet.

Morgan to his Wife, June 29–July 8, 1766[1]

[Woodbridge MSS.— A.L.]

Sunday Morning, June 29, 1766.

My dear Molley:—

You are now getting ready to go to church. My heart is with you in this and everything else, but I must not wish to be at home. My face is set a contrary way, yet I cannot help looking around. I expect to be at Scioto this afternoon, if it is possible you shall hear from me thence.

We are all under way for the river, and go at about the rate of five miles an hour, was it not for the intense heat of the sun, nothing would be more delightful than passing along this river. In so narrow a passage five hundred yards one would think little variety was to be seen. But what can be more agreeable to the sight than the sportings of nature through so extensive a country. From the great numbers and [*MS. illegible*] of the hills and rivers you would think we were turning back to Day, to the place we left yesterday. Then another frolick gives the river a short turn to its proper course and perhaps in a few miles she takes two or three reels again to the right and left. The woods afford us good shelter from the piercing rays of the sun at noon, and give us plenty of buffalo meat, turkey and venison. The river also yields us a supply of good fish, which with the natural [*MS. illegible*] our tables are daily crowned. I am just now going to sit down to the marrow bone of a buffalo for breakfast, but don't be afraid of my eating too much of that delicious food.

Scioto River, July 1st, 1766.

We arrived here Sunday afternoon and pitched our tents on a fine ground on the edge of the river. About two hundred Indians had been waiting here several days to receive us.

Mr. Croghan has had several conferences with them in all which he is much pleased. They never were more heartily disposed to continue a peaceable correspondence with their fathers the English.

I yesterday morning opened a considerable parcel of goods and have been ever since engaged in delivering them to the savages and expect to continue in that agreeable employment till tomorrow

[1] In the possession of Maria P. Woodbridge, of Marietta, Ohio, a descendant of George Morgan.

night which will deprive me of what would be still more agreeable, viz, telling you every minute I am well, however every intermediate hour shall be dedicated to you and our honored father. Lest I may be too much hurried tomorrow I will now sit down to give him two or three lines. Therefore for this night my dear Molley, I most sincerely wish you pleasing dreams of him who ever is, and will be, your truly affectionate and faithful husband.

Camp Four Miles below Scioto,
Tuesday Morning, July 8th, 1766.

The moment I had finished the above I was called to supper and the next morning and since then I have been so much engaged That I have not had time to speak to you. Mr. Croghan did not finish treating with the Indians untill last Thursday night. They have fixed on a number of their Chiefs to accompany Mr. Croghan. How many others will offer their services to go along I do not know, but I suppose we will have at least fifty in all.

He has made them presents to the amount of £1800 all of which he bought of me and yet you cannot perceive any have been taken out of my boats, so deep are they yet loaded.

Our company are very agreeable, the open good nature of Captain Gordon is far beyond what I had expected, his honesty of heart is without restraint and no one can be more agreeable. A sly, cunning, designing man is a fool compared to such a character in the common understanding. A better disposition than Mr. Hutchins has you will seldom meet with. He has great command over himself which is a mark of understanding. But above all Mr. Croghan is the most enterprising man, He can appear highly pleased when most chagrined and show the greatest indifference when most pleased. Notwithstanding my warm temper, I know you would rather have me as I am than to practice such deceit. We are on the best terms and I do not doubt will continue so. We all mess together morning, noon and night.

When I arrive below I intend to keep a house to my self and David must be my brother. I dare say you would like to be mistress. I know I shall be at a great loss for one.

If Hannah had come along she would have been of great service to me and I would have some satisfaction in knowing who I had with me. If ever I take such another jaunt it shall be in a large vessel

with a good cabin and every convenience. When Mr. Wharton comes down[1] in the fall I beg you will commission Lawrence to put up a few necessaries to render my passage home agreeable. If I return by the way of Pensacola I shall want two small Glocester cheeses, one pound of green tea, one case six square bottles, one Keg of Vinagar (5 gallons), Six pounds of raisons, Two of the best gammons, and any little things you please to think will be agreeable, but don't let them be bulky. I have not yet had occasion to taste Aunt Arthur's Madam What's her name's drams. I intend to keep them to give to sick people, those who are well have no occasion for them. Give my affectionate love to her and Cousin Betsey.

Remember me to the good old Patrick and all the family, particularly Aunt Polly, who I shall ever love for your sake and her goodness.

Pray excuse me to my brothers for not writing to them. Tell each of them and Mrs. Watkins how I am and that a few lines will be agreeable when an opportunity offers.

Let Johnny particularly know that I would write to him had I not had so much to do with so many inconveniences.

I every moment expect Mr. Croghan to call to me that the express who carries this to Ft. Pitt is ready. We shall leave this about ten o'clock this morning and expect to go thirty miles every day before dinner and lie by in the afternoon for the Indians to hunt. Some days we shall go forty miles. By the first of August we may easily be at the Mouth of the river but you must not look out for a letter from me till the tenth of October.

I beg of you, my dear Molley, to take care of your health, ride as often as possible, visit all your acquaintances and to make it the more agreeable I beseech you will spare no expense for what you choose.

As I shall need all the shirts I have with me it would not be amiss to have a few with narrow ruffles ready for me when I return. I do not care how coarse they are but do not let them be too fine, as they are for winter.

The cheapest linen in our store will be the best. I hope deep ruffles will not be the fashion where I am going to, as they are very inconvenient.[2]

[1] Although there are many references to the expectation of Mr. Wharton's visit to the Illinois, there is no evidence that he actually made the trip.

[2] The remainder of the letter is lost.

JOHNSON TO W. FRANKLIN, June 20, 1766[1]
[A.A.S., Johnson MSS.— Draft]

JOHNSON HALL June 20th 1766.

SIR,

I have been favored with your Letter of the 7th Inst together with the Enclosures containing a Letter from the Company with the Reasons for Establishing the Colony &ca[2] of all which I before gave my approbation, & shall chearfully do every thing consistent with my Office for Carrying it into Execution as early as possible;—I have already hinted the Affair in a Letter to the Lords of Trade[3] & I am somewhat of Opinion it would answer better that I recommended it in Genl Terms, as an Affair I had heard was in Agitation, but as it is deemed necessary to the design that I shod enclose it I shall not Scruple to lay it[4] together with my recommendation thereof before the Ministry under a flying Seal to your father who will doubtless be consulted on the Occasion.

I have sounded Genl Gage on the Occasion, who declines being concerned[5] I apprehend it will not be the Case with Lord Adam Gordon. As to what you say of Applyg for an Extensive boundary I agree in opinion with you on the Utility of it, but the Government should I think be previously Sounded on the head least it might obstruct or retard the Design.

I am persuaded you will use all your Endeavors for bringing the Murderers of the Indians to Justice, the Conduct of the frontier Inhabitants in many Colonies being such as gives us great reason to dread a Renewal of that Cruel War from which we are but Just

[1] Printed by C. H. Lincoln in American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, 11:47.

[2] Printed *ante*, 247, 248.

[3] The following words are crossed out in the draft: "and I shod apprehend they are the best persons for me to Lay the particulars before, my Correspondence being Chiefly with them. I dont know in what light they may take my transmitting them a Scheme for a Colony, or whether."

[4] The following words are crossed out in the draft: "before the board of Trade or perhaps it may be misconstrued should I sent it thro' your Fathers hands, but this is only conjecture, however, as, I shall only enforce the Reasons assigned in the paper, it will be imaterial whether he sees it, or not previous to the delivery for he will Certainly."

[5] Assertions that Gage was interested in the schemes promoted by the land companies have been made by Bancroft, in *History of United States*, 6:32; by W. C. Ford, in *Writings of George Washington*, 2:326; and by Winsor, in *Westward Movement*, 38.

freed every Week brings me fresh Complaints from the Ind[s] & but Just now I have rec[d] an Acc[t] of the Murder of 4 Onondajas on their return from the South Ward with 2 or 3 more tow[d] Fort Pitt So that I have great reason to doubt of Succeeding in attempting to Calm the Minds of a Revengefull people to whom we are giving fresh provocation.

I promise myself great Satisfaction from your friendly Correspondence which I shall be glad to improve by every occasion that Offers as I am—

I shall write to the Comp[y] by next Opp[ty]
Gov[R] FRANKLYN

[*Endorsed:*] June 20[th] 1766 To Gov[r] Franklin

JOHNSON TO WHARTON AND OTHERS, June 20, 1766
[Johnson MSS., 12:214 — Draft]

JOHNSON-HALL June 20[th] 1766

GENTLEMEN

I have had the favor of yours of the 6th inst. with the inclosure containing Reasons for establishing the Colony &ca which I had before received & thereon gave my Sentiments last Month to Gov[r] Franklyn from whom I have now a Letter on the same Subject.

As I then Signified my approbation of your design according to the plan proposed I can add little more at present than my Assurances of Contributing all in my power consistent with my duty for promoting or carrying it into Execution, and to that End I shall enlarge upon what I have already Wrote in fav[r] of a Colony there.

And Lay a Copy of your Paper before the Ministry with my recommendation of it, in the manner requested [stating[1] the proposed boundaries on a Separate Sheet as Submitting the same to them, I shall not take upon me to alter any part but presuming you will Judge kindly of me should I point out anything which might admit of a little correction I observe that the Reasons which retarded the increase of the Ilinois Colony cannot be solely attributed to the Inhabitants being Subject to Military Authority, & obliged to March when Ordered as this was the Case in Common with all

[1] "Stating the proposed boundaries" to "in your paper," which is inclosed in brackets, is crossed out in the orginal draft, but is of sufficient interest to be reproduced.

Canada, but much more practised in the Latter than at the Ilinois & without it the French could not have held out so long as they did, As the Affair appears to me The Country was too remote, and the Inhabitants of Canada too few for us to Expect a Larger Colony considering the lateness of their first Settlement there, and the Advantagious Trade by the Lakes & the Ottawa River in which the French were mostly Engaged, We have nothing to fear from a Military Establishment from Which a young Colony will derive many advantages particularly in the Circulation of Cash, and the severity of their discipline will always make them very necessary for Defence of the Country in case of a War and render it more respectable in the Eyes of an Enemy, for altho' in the Woods, Woodsmen are the best, yet in any other Situation we must Consider a Regular force as our Surest defence. I hope you will Excuse the freedom of these Remarks which I leave entirely to your Consideration, nor do I insist on their importance as requires an alteration in your paper.] All which I shall Send to Gov^{r} Franklyn to be forwarded,

Should your proposals receive any Advantage from my Representation it will afford me much satisfaction as I am Gent^{n}

[*Endorsed:*] June 1766 To Mess^{rs} Wharton &ca concerning the projected Settlem^{t} at the Ilinois.

Cole[1] to Johnson, June 23, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 12:218 — A.L.S.]

Dear Sir

Your kind favour of the 17th of Ap^{l} I received Yesterday with your appointment of me to be commissary of Indien affairs at the Illinois, You may be assured I shall Strictly adhear to your Instruc-

[1] Printed by Alvord, in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3: no. 3, p. 27. Cole was formerly a lieutenant in the regular army and served for a time as lieutenant colonel of provincials. After his retirement from the army he was for a time engaged in the Indian trade. He met with small success in this business, however, and at the time of his appointment had retired. (Johnson to Gage, March 15, 1766, *ante*, 189. For the duties of Indian commissary see *post*, 529.) Cole retired from the service early in 1769. (Cole to Johnson, June 13, 1769, *post*, v. 3.) There appears to have been considerable dissatisfaction with Cole's management of Indian affairs on the ground of his extravagance. (Maturin, Gage's secretary, to Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, May 7, 1768, *post*, v. 3.) There is a tradition that Cole was the military commandant at Fort de Chartres from 1766–1768. For a discussion of this error, see Carter, *Illinois Country*, 57, 58.

tions, and shall leave this in two or three days for Fort Pitt, to go down the Ohio — upon adviseing with my friends, 'Tis thought, the best, Safest, and most Expeditious Rout I could take, and should M^r Croghan have left Fort Pitt, I shall soon joine him at Illinois.

The honour you have done me in appointing me to that important Trust, I shall ever Greatfully acknowledge, I foresee many Difficultys in the Discharge of that duty, and only wish, that through a Stedy application for the General good, I may be Capable of Acquiting myself with honour and Credit to the Department.

Three Illinois Indians are here, a principal Chief, a Son of Dequones & another, they would have been with you at the Congress had not Pondiac stab'd the Chief, I hope he will recover, I have applyed to the Commedant for provisions for them till he recovers and shall treat them Very Civilly, which may be of Service as they pass through so many Indians on their Return:

I now beg leave to Congratulate you upon the honour confered on your son in England and doubt not he will continue to merrit Every mark of Esteem shewn him;[1] I shall procure for you what curiosities I can, my Compliments to your family, I am with much Respect Sir

Your most ob^t Serv^t
EDW^D COLE

DETROIT June 23^d 1766
TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

[*Endorsed:*] Detroit June 23d 1766 Comis^ry Coles Letter

GAGE TO CONWAY, June 24, 1766
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 315 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK June 24^th 1766.

SIR,

The Detachment of the Royal Highland Regiment which took Possession of the Ilinois Country, is lately arrived here from Pensacola, and is marched to take up their Quarters in Philadelphia. The News I have received by this Opportunity is that the new Spanish Governor,

[1] Johnson's son was made a baronet.

Don Antonio de Ulloa, brought about one Hundred Men with him to New-Orleans from the Havanna, chiefly French and Germans. All the French Troops in the Province of Louisianna have entered into the Service of Spain; and the French Inhabitants in general seem so well Satisfied at the Conditions of becoming Spanish Subjects, that they are inclined to remain in the Country. One Condition, I am told is, that they shall have free liberty of Trade with France, and it is publickly reported, that New-Orleans would be declared a free-Port. I have the honor to transmit you a Copy of an Extract from a Letter, which I have received from Don Ulloa,[1] wherein he assures me of his wishes to promote Concord and Harmony and to establish a Union between the two Nations. From what I have been able to learn, The Spaniards mean to adopt the Plan of the French with respect to Indian Affairs, and that the Agents employed by the latter, will continue in the Service of the Spaniards to manage and Negotiate with the Savages. It is reported, that Don Ulloa has already engaged in the Trading Company of the Ilinois, tho' said at the Same Time, that he is not to remain long in Louisiana, being only sent there to regulate Affairs, against the Arrival of another Governor.

By the same Opportunity I have received Letters from Fort-Chartres to the 10th of April. Major Farmar who commands there, had some Suspicions of the Designs of the Indians, but his greatest Fear was the want of Provisions,[2] with which the Country was not able to supply him according to our Expectations, and with which he apprehends the Regiment must be supplied from the Northward, both this year and the next. The Difficulty of immediate Supplys are great, as all Preparations thereto are to be made; The Craft which transported the Detachment of the Royal Highland Regiment from Fort Pitt, having been detained at the Ilinois. No Means will be untryed to support the Post. Some Indians have been engaged to transport a Cargo in their Canoes, tho' not so large as I could wish; but other Tryals are making, and Boats are Building; so that it is hoped the Regiment will be supported till this year's Harvest is brought in. And it is proposed to Send large Supplys in the Autumn, when the Waters will be high, and our preparations com-

[1] Printed *ante*, 208.

[2] The letter from Farmar is printed *ante*, 131.

pleted, which will get to them long before the Fruits of the Harvest are consumed.

I have the honor to transmit you a Paper relative to the Effects of the Jesuits[1] in the Ilinois Country; from whence it appears, that their Effects were confiscated for the use of the French King, by a Decree of the Superior Council at New-Orleans, after the Treaty was concluded, which ceded that Country to the Crown of Great Britain; and which I think must have been known by the said Council at the Time the Decree was issued. I am informed, that the French Governor alledged, he had a Right to seize their Effects, because the Society was considerably indebted to the King His Master who would on that Account demand also an Attachment upon the Effects of the said Society, in the Province of Quebec. The French King may have a Right to demand Payment of a just Debt from the Subjects of another Prince, and Sue for the Same; but I don't conceive that it is consistent with the Law of Nations that he should confiscate the Effects belonging to the Subjects of another Prince, out of his own Dominions, on any Pretence. The Negroes and Moveables sold and carried away are not easily recovered; but I presume that the Lands, Buildings and other Immoveables, as the Jesuits are gone, must fall to the King, and I have ordered them to be claimed in His Majesty's Name. There was also a Mission at the Ilinois from the Order of St. Sulpice,[2] who after the cession of the Country sold all they could and retired. They might have had a Right to sell everything which belonged to their Society, but they also sold Donations of private people, given for the support and use of the Church, which I conceive to be unalienable, and ought to be reserved for the support of any Curate the Inhabitants shall choose to serve their Parish; And I propose to send orders to this Purpose, as the Inhabitants are demanding and solliciting for a Priest, and if they get none will go over to the French Side of the River; a circumstance that would at present be very prejudicial to our Interest.

The Extract inclosed of a Letter from Mons[r] Aubry, late Governor of Louisiana, will acquaint you of a Difference in Opinion between His Majesty's Servants, and those of His Most Christian Majesty,

[1] Printed *post*, 326. For an account of the banishment of the Jesuits, see *ante*, 1:62.

[2] This refers to the sale of the property of the Séminaire des Missions Étranres gèat Cahokia. See *ante*, 1:45, 48.

in the Explanation of an Article of the Treaty of Peace.[1] I am of Opinion that Mons[r] Aubry writes on this Subject, merely for his own Justification, as a sort of Protest against the Delivery of the Military Stores to His Majesty's Commissarys at the Ilinois, in Case that Measure should be disapproved of by his Court. I had the honor to inclose you an Invoice of those Stores in my Letter of the 16[th] of January last.[2]

Many of His Majesty's Troops are now in Motion in this Country, Six Companys of the first Battalion of the Royal American Regiment are marching out of this Province to the City of Quebec. The Second Battalion of the said Regiment is moved towards the Lakes, to relieve the 17[th] Regiment in the distant Forts; and will be posted two Companys at Missilimakinak, three at Detroit, Three at Niagara, and one at Fort Ontario. The 46[th] Regiment is lately arrived here from Niagara, and I soon expect the 28[th] from Canada.

(Sir Henry Moore will acquaint you of the Resolves of his Assembly, respecting a Demand made on an Application from me, for the granting a Supply to enable the Civil Magistrates to quarter His Majesty's Troops in this Province, agreeable to the Act of Parliament. and of their way of Acting in the Transaction of that Affair. I have sent Troops through the Jerseys and Pensylvania, where they have been quartered without any Difficulty, and at the Time that the Assembly and the Magistrates have been making use of every evasion here) Application has been made to me for Three Hundred Men to quell Insurrections in Dutchess County in this Province, where dangerous Confedracies have been formed, and the Officers of Justice deterred from putting the Laws in Execution. This Requisition of Troops is approved of by every Branch of the Legislature, for they find their Militia is not to be depended upon, and the Rich and most Powerful People of the Province, are those who are most affected by the Proceedings of the Confederates. They certainly deserve any Losses they may sustain, for it is the work of their own Hands. They first Sowed the Seeds of Sedition amongst the People and taught them to rise in opposition to the Laws. What now happens is a Consequence that might be easily foreseen after the Tumults about the Stamp Act, and I could wish that this uneasiness amongst the People

[1] See *ante*, 139.

[2] Printed *ante*, 102, 136.

had happened just at that Time. As it is incumbent on me, to grant a Military Aid to the Civil Power, when so regularly demanded, to enable the Officers of Justice to do their Duty; I have ordered Major Browne with the 28th Regiment under his Command into Dutchess County, and to put himself under the Directions of the Sheriff.

Several Nations of Indians have been lately assembled at Fort-Pitt, to lay their Grievances before us. They complained, that several of their People have been murthered by the Inhabitants of Virginia, Pensylvania and the Jerseys, besides three upon the Ohio, and no Satisfaction given them. And that the Moment they had made Peace with us, a Number of People crossed the Mountains, and Settled upon their Lands, at a Place called Red Stone Creek. Sir William Johnson's Deputy acquaints me, that he hopes from the free Manner in which they have made known their Causes of Complaint, and being convinced of their Ardent Desire to live in Peace with us, that he shall be able to remove their Present Disgust: But if effectual Measures are not speedily taken to remove the Settlers from Red Stone Creek, and that the several Governments pursue vigorous Measures, to prevent the Inhabitants from Murthering the Indians, we shall be involved in another general War.

The above Intelligence will be immediately transmitted to the Governors of the respective Provinces, to whom I mean to represent in the strongest Manner, the Necessity of making some Examples, and bringing the Murtherers to Justice; as well as the Removing the Settlers from the Indian's Land: In doing which I shall offer them every Assistance in my Power.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard Respect, and Esteem, Sir, Your most Obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO^{S} GAGE

RIGHT HON^{BLE} H: S: CONWAY One of H: Maj$^{ty's}$ Principal Sec^{rys} of State

[*Endorsed:*] New-York. 24th June 1766. Major Gen^{l} Gage. R 25th July. (2^{d})

Illinois Jesuit Mission

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 331]

Quelques traits sur La Mission des Jesuites aux Ilinois.[1]

La Mission des Ilinois avoit été etablié par Les Jesuites, qui en avoient fait en decouverte environ L'an 1685. Ils l'ont entretenue jusqu'en 1763. Ils y'avoient toujours eu cinq a Six Missionaires Jesuites. Ils avoient par leurs epargnes et œconomie, formé un bien en cultivant la terre que Le Roi de France leurs avoit concedé comme a tous autres Habitans. Les Jesuites l'avoient fait defricher et cultiver et ensemencer avant tous autres Habitans. Ils avoient augmenté leurs fonds par des achats a mesure qu'ils se trouvent en moyen. Ils y'avoient mis dabord deux Menages Negres qui s'etoient multipliér, et leurs avoient suffis pour les faire subsister pendant tout le temps de guerre, qu'ils ne recevoient pas des pensions. En 1763 a limitation des parlemens de France, Le Conseil Souverain de Sa Nouvelle Orleans, proscrit L'Institut des Jesuites, saisit et confisquat sous le Nom et profit du Roy tous leurs biens, meubles et immeubles, et

[*Translation*]

Some Points on the Jesuit Mission in the Illinois[1]

The mission of the Illinois country was established by the Jesuits who made the discovery of it about 1685. They maintained the mission up to the year 1763. They had always there five or six Jesuit missionaries. They have by their thrift and economy increased the value of their property by cultivating the land which the king of France had conceded to them as he did to all the other inhabitants. The Jesuits have cleared, cultivated, and sown their land before all the other inhabitants did. They have added to their holdings by purchases as fast as they found the means. They placed on it originally two Negro families, which have multiplied and have been sufficient to raise supplies for subsistence during all the time of war when they did not receive pensions. In 1763, in imitation of the *parlements* of France, the superior council at New Orleans prescribed the constitutions of the Jesuits, seized and confiscated in the name and to the profit of the king all their property movable and immovable

[1] For the official documents in the case of the Jesuit property, see *ante*, 1:125 *et seq.* The date of the above account is, of course, earlier than June, 1766.

decretat tous les Jesuites pour etre transportés en France. Cet Arret fut envoyé par le dit Conseil aux Ilinois pour y etre executé dans sa forme et teneur. Cet Arret envoyé par un Courier Exprés y'arrivat le 23^{me}, ou 24^{me} du mois de Septembre, y'arriva secrettement pendant la nuit, et etoit mis en execution a la pointe du jour.

Les Missionaires Jesuites etoient pour lors au nombre de Six pretres, et un Frere laie qui faisoit en quantité d'œconome valoir les terres, et pourvoyoit aux besoins des pretres occupés a leur Mission.

Les Negres la plupart ouvriers, forgeron, Charpentier, Menuisier, Brasseur, Munier &ca avec leurs femmes, et Enfans etoient au nombre de soixante huit.

Les Batimens consistoient en un Corps de logis de cent vingt pieds, un Batiment pour les Negres, Boutiques, Offices &ca 260, ou 80 pieds, item forge, Brasserie, grange, Etables, Ecuries, Moulin a Cheval &ca.

Les terres six arpens de face dans un Endroit, trois dans un autre et quinze de l autre bord de la petite Riviere Sur laquelle est un Maison et Etable au grange.

[*Translation*]

and decreed that all the Jesuits should be transported to France. This judgment was sent by the said council to the Illinois to be executed there in its form and tenor. This judgment was sent by an express courier and arrived there the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of September. It arrived there secretly during the night and was put in execution at the break of day.

The missionary Jesuits numbered at that time six priests and one lay brother whose duty it was to superintend [?] the lands and provide for the needs of the priests who were occupied with the mission.

The Negroes, for the most part workmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, brewers, masons, etc., with their wives and children numbered sixty-eight.

The buildings consist of a main building of one hundred and twenty feet, a building for the Negroes, stores, offices, etc., two hundred and sixty by eighty feet, also a forge, brewery, barns, stables, horse-stables, horse-mill, etc.

The lands are six *arpents* frontage in one place, three in another, and fifteen on the other bank of the little river on which there is a house and barn.

Le Vieux Bauvois et son fils Raphael ont achetté terres et Maison, Le S^r^ La Grange forge et chaudiere de Brasserie & Lencan Mobilier s'est monté a environ 10,000^ll^.[1]

[*Endorsed:*] Quelques traits sur La Mission des Jesuites aux Ilinois— In Maj^r^ Gen^l^ Gage's, of the 24^th^ June 1766. (2^e^)

[*Translation*]

The elder Bauvais and his son Raphael have bought the land and house; M. Lagrange, the forge and the brewing caldron; and the auction of the furniture has amounted to about ten thousand *livres*.[1]

[*Endorsed:*] Some points on the Jesuit mission in the Illinois, in Major General Gage's of June 24, 1766. (2d)

Contract for Boat Building, June 30, 1766

[P.D.P.R.— A.D.S.]

Articles of Agreement indented and made this the Thirtieth day of June One Thousand seven hundred and Sixty Six Between Baynton Wharton and Morgan of the City of Philadelphia Merchants, of the One Part, and John Cornelly, Felix Fitzpatrick, James Lynch, David Evans; Daniel Cornelly and James Andrews of the other Part Witnesseth, That Whereas the said John Cornelly, Felix Fitzpatrick, James Lynch David Evans, Daniel Cornelly and James Andrews. For and in Consideration of the Wages hereafter mentioned, to be paid to each and every of them have covenanted and agreed to and with the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan, that they will this Day, set off and proceed to Fort Pitt, and that they will there immediately after their Arrival proceed to work as Sawyers in sawing such Timber as may be necessary, for the Building Batteaus, for the said Baynton Wharton and Morgan And that they will diligently and faithfully work, so as aforesaid for and during the Space of Six Months, Sundays excepted. And in like manner the said John Cornelly, Felix Fitzpatrick, James Lynch, David Evans Daniel Cornelly and James Andrews do covenant, promise, contract and agree, to and with the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan That they will not either during

[1] For the auction see *ante*, 1:125, 129.

the Continuance of this Contract, or after the same is expired work for, or saw any Timber for any persons whatsoever either at Fort Pitt, or in any Part of the Country near to the River Ohio, save for them the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan.—And the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan, on their Part do Covenant, Contract and agree to and with the said John Cornelly, Felix Fitzpatrick, James Lynch, David Evans Daniel Cornelly and James Andrews. That they will pay unto them the said, John Cornelly, Felix Fitzpatrick James Lynch, David Evans, Daniel Cornelly and James Andrews, seperately at and after the rate of Eight pounds P^{r} Month, for Six Months Certain—That, they will allow and pay each of them Three shillings and nine pence P^{r} Day for each and every Day, that they shall be going to and from Fort Pitt aforesaid. That they will furnish and provide them with Sufficient Meat, during the Service they are in at Fort Pitt aforesaid, for the said Baynton Wharton & Morgan, And, for the true performance of each and every, of the Covenants and Agreements herein before mentioned, the said Parties respectively do bind themselves, their Executors and Administrators unto the other in the Sum of Two hundred Pounds Currency, To be paid by the Party not complying to the Party complying.

In Witness, whereof the said Parties have to their presents, interchangeably, set their hands & Seals The Day & Year above written.

Joh Cornely (seal)
his
Phalix × Fitzpatrick (seal)
mark
his
James × Lynch (seal)
mark
his
Daniel × Cornelly (seal)
mark
David Evans (seal)
James Andrews (seal)

Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of us—

Cornelius Barnes

W^{m} B Hockley

COLE TO JOHNSON, June 30, 1766[1]
[Johnson MSS., 12:224 — A.L.S.]

DEAR SIR

Since I wrote you I have altered my Rout, and go by the Meamies, with a french man and the Illinois Indians I mentioned to you, I am Just now Embarking, and doubt not of soon meeting M^r Croghan, the S^t Joseph Indians have takeing a prisoner at the Illinois, with Which I suppose they purpose to Demand the two prisoners in gard here.

I am D^r Sir Your mos^t ob^t Serv^t

EDW^D COLE

DETROIT June 30^th 1766

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON, July 5, 1766
[Johnson MSS., 12:236 — L.S.]

PHILAD^A July 5^th 1766

SIR

We do Ourselves the Honour of inclosing you several Letters, which Our M^r Wharton brought with Him from Fort Pitt, and also M^r Croghan's Draft upon your Honour for £2321/9/8, New York Currency.

He drew upon Us at sight, in favor of the different Persons in your Honour's Service, and a considerable Part of the Account debited by us, is for Articles had from different People, which at his Instance, We discharged, That so you might not be troubled, with a variety of Accounts.

We have directed this Packet to go by Post from hence to Albany and from thence to be conveyed by a special *Express* to your Honor; where We have ordered, That He should wait untill such Time, as you shall be so kind, As to dispatch Him to New York, with an Order for the immediate payment of M^r Croghan's Bill.

We have been honoured with a happy Experience of your indulgent Disposition & Therefore we flatter Ourselves Sir, That you will be so good, As to Pursue the most expeditious Method, in Putting Us in Cash, for the Amount of the inclosed Draft — Which We assure you, will be conferring a very essential Obligation upon us; As We are at present, in much Want of Cash.

[1] Printed by Mr. Alvord in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3: no. 3, p. 28.

Should it be necessary in the Negociation of this *Bill*, To have the Services of any Person in New York, We beg leave to inform your Honor, That Henry White Esq^r^, is Our Correspondent there, — who will immediately execute any Commands, your Honor may judge expedient for Him to do. Before M^r^ Croghan left Fort Pitt, There was a very uncommon Rain, which raised the Ohio, at least 15 feet Perpendicular & the Waters were rising, for several Days afterwards; —So that, He must have a very short Passage to Fort Chartres.

We have the Honor of being Sir, with the sincerest Respect Your Honor's Obliged & most Obedient humble Servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN[1]

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bar^t^ &c &c

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia July 5^th^ 1766 Mess^rs^ Baynton Wharton &^cas^ Letter

GAGE TO FARMAR, July 7, 1766[2]

[V.S.L., Clark Papers — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK July 7th: 1766.

SIRS,

I have received your Letters of the 18th and 28th of March and 8th of April.[3]

It's very possible some English Traders from Detroit may have been plundered, particularly if they took the Route of the Ilinois River. You will be so good to send me the best and most particular account you can get of the illicit Trade which you make Mention of; that Means may be fallen upon to prevent it.

Your greatest Distress I find is the Article of Provisions, which I could have sent you the more easily, had Captain Stirling's Boats b[een ?] returned to Fort Pitt. But [*MS. torn*] from the reasons you sent by M^r^ Switzer and dated the 5th of March, that you could be so

[1] Signature in handwriting of Samuel Wharton.

[2] Printed by Mr. Ambler in the *Branch Historical Papers*, 4: no. 2, p. 86, but the above copy has been collated by Mr. Alvord. These letters from the Virginia State Library were among those captured by George Rogers Clark when he occupied Kaskaskia in 1778. The blank pages of some of the letters were used by Clark for his own correspondence and business so that many are lost. Those that have been preserved were recently found in the basement of the library at Richmond.

[3] For the letter of March 18–19, see *ante*, 191. The others have not been found.

short in the Article of Flour or Corn in lieu of Flour. They make out from M^r^ Switzer's Return that you had then in store 22,120 Rations of Flour, reckoning one Pound of Indian Corn-Meal, or one Pint of Indian, equal in Food to one Pound of Wheat Flour. In your Letter of 8th of April you say that the Consumption of the Garrison P^r^ week is 1659 Pounds, at that Rate the [*MS. torn*] again that this Consumption P^r^ Week is at the Rate of two Ration P^r^ Man P^r^ Week. If that is your Consumption and you only give two Rations P^r^ Man P^r^ Week your Garrison should consist of 849 Men. In short there is something in all this that seems ill explained, or that is our fault in not understanding but however Cap^t^ Murray is directed to leave no Means untryed to send you as much Provision as he possibly can, and I am in hopes that he will be able to send you sufficient to supply you till the Harvest is gathered which I suppose will be the Wheat Harvest the latter end of July or beginning of August. There are above one hundred Recruits for your Reg^t^ now here and at Lancaster whom I do not propose to send till you have Plenty to feed them. The waters [*MS. torn*] the Fall and the Ra [*MS. torn*] under the Care of Lieu^t^ Steele of your Reg^t^ with Cloathing, Barrack Utensils and bedding Ammunition and a large Cargo of Provisions.

I am glad that the officers whom you complained of are brought to a sense of their Duty and that all is accomodated betwixt you. And at the same time am sorry you should have had occasion to make Complaint of such a Nature against Lieu^t^ Pitman [*MS. torn*] can't refuse, as his Pretentions are so very strong; if Lieu^t^ Baugh and Ross can be spared when the other officers arrive and their Business very pressing you may in that case grant them also leaves of Absence.

I have already wrote about the staff of the Garrison of Fort Chartres, which must not be increased beyond what is mentioned with respect to the allowance for the officers Commanding that must be regulated at home, and shall be mentioned to the Secretary at War, when the out-Posts are established it will be Time to think of them. You will please to transmit me a particular account of the Expence which the Garden cost the Regiment, I can conceive a good deal of labor in making one, but what cost there will be in [*MS. illegible*] you will let me know.

The inhabitants will [*MS. torn*] take the [*MS. torn*] They will increase, it is new to them coming under the British Government.

They may be startled when they find that the Spanish Governor is arrived, and prefer us to the Spaniards. I am glad the missionary Indians have been with you, and that you have settled with them in an Amicable Manner.

I am sorry that I can't send Cap[t] Lieu[t] Campbell's Resignation to the War Office, as I don't hear that he purchased. You will receive the Regulations about these Matters, and the orders to me are so strong that I can't venture to recommend any officer to sell a Commission which he did not purchase all I can do is to get them to exchange on half-Pay receiving the settled Difference.

When Leave shall be given to make Grants of lands the vacant Houses will be a Temptation for settlers to transport themselves down the ohio and should on that Account be preferred as much as possible.

M[r] Croghan and Captain Gordon will I hope be with you and have brought you some supplys of Provisions. M[r] Croghan will be able to judge of the Designs and Policy of the savages with respect to their conduct towards the English and French and nothing can be determined about Posts till Captain Gordon shall [*MS. torn*] I shall succeed in getting one which may be a means of keeping the Inhabitants with us.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant

THO[s] GAGE

JOHNSON TO W. FRANKLIN, July 8, 1766[1]

[A.A.S., Johnson MSS.—Draft]

JOHNSON HALL July 8[th] 1766

SIRS

The 20[th] ult[o] I acknowledged the receipt of your last favor & Signified my Intentions of Enclosing the plan for the Colony with my Recommendation to the Ministry which I now send you with a Letter thereon to M[r] Secretary Conway,[2] wherein I have said all that I could Venture to do from my very slender knowledge of him and the delicacy of the Subject but I hope Nature of it and the interest of some Gentlemen at home may render it an Object worthy of attention.

[1] Printed by C. H. Lincoln in American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, 11:47.

[2] Printed *post*, 334.

As I have not had the pleasure of your fathers Correspondence I just wrote him a few Lines wch you can Explain more fully as I should think it were better that my Letter was put into the Office for the Sec^{y} of State but this I submit to his discretion & hope You will write him thereon.

I am sorry it goes over at a time when from the daily Murders & Encroachments complained of we have all the reason imaginable to Expect an Ind^{n} War Sev^{l} other Murders have been Committed Since my last so that I know not where it will end.

As I am Just Setting off to meet Pondiac & the Western Nations who are arrived at Ontario for that purpose I have only time to add that I am with much Esteem, Sir, Your &c

I shall be very Glad to hear from you & shall return in Three Weeks

JOHNSON HALL July 8th 1766
To SIR WM FRANKLYN Kn^{t} Gov^{r} of N. Jersey

JOHNSON TO CONWAY, July 10, 1766[1]
[Johnson MSS., 13:1—Draft]

JOHNSON HALL, July 10, 1766.

. . . . . .

I beg leave now to address you on a different subject at the Request of several Gentlemen of fortune & character in the Province of Pennsylvania who have transmitted to me the inclosed proposals of erecting a Colony at the Ilinois & earnestly desired I should refer it to you with my thoughts upon the subject.

As the Scheme appears to me so reasonable & so well calculated for the mutual Interests of Great Britian & its colonies I could not refuse their request & I am persuaded it is duly conducted with the approbation of the Indians & a due regard to their rights, it will answer many good purposes & prove a means of checking the attempts of the French or Spaniards tow^{ds} establish'g a colony on the other side of the Mississippi which might draw off our new acquired allies & deprive us of the great benefits we may expect from a commerce with so many Nat^{s} whilst at the same time it will tend to the Security of our Southern frontiers & enhance the public Revenue.

[1] The original from which this extract was made by Mr. Carter was completely destroyed at Albany. Search in London has failed to locate it.

I shall be happy sir, if my thoughts on this subject may coincide with Yours and I flatter myself w^th^ Your pardon for the liberty I now take as it is intended for a public benefit & proposed by men of whose Motives I can have no doubt.

LORDS OF TRADE TO JOHNSON, July 11, 1766[1]
[P.R.O., C.O., 324.18, f. 12 — C.]

To SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, Bar^t^ Superintendant of Indian Affairs for the northern District of America.

SIR,

As the Subject Matter of the several Letters we have received from you has reference to the whole State of that interior Part of His Majesty's Dominions in America which is by the Royal Proclamation of October 1763, precluded from Settlement, and taken out of the Jurisdiction of the civil Governments; and as that State is complicated with a great Variety of Considerations of the most difficult and extensive Nature, it has been impossible for us, amidst the other pressing Business that has occur'd, so to prepare our Thoughts & opinion upon this important Subject, as to be able as yet to lay them before His Majesty, we will endeavour however, before the next Packet, to bring on the Consideration at least of such Parts of your Correspondence as do in any Respect stand detached from and independent of the general Plan proper to be pursued, in order that such Regulations may be made, & Directions given thereupon as shall appear to be necessary preparatory to that general Consideration which the present State of the national Interests in this essential Point, appears to require.[2]

In the mean time we avail Ourselves of the present Occasion to transmit to you the inclosed Petition presented to us on Behalf of the French and English Inhabitants of Montreal, desiring you will examine into, and report to us, the Nature of the Regulations at Michilimacanac therein complained of, and use your Authority to redress any

[1] Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:842 *et seq.*

[2] The Rockingham ministry was still in power and the only step looking to the determination of a western policy had been made by Lord Barrington who drew up the plan which has been printed (*ante*, 234). Shortly after this letter was written, the Chatham ministry was formed and a new policy inaugurated.

Grievance which the free Commerce of His Majesty's Subjects in that District may labour under.

As to that Part of the Memorial which relates to the extraordinary Claim of certain Persons to a Right of the Soil, and of an exclusive Right of trading in that immense District to the westward of Lake Michigan, pretended to be purchas'd of Mons[r] Vaudreuil; We have not the least Doubt but that such Claim will, upon an Examination of every principle upon which it is set up, be found to be invalid, and without the least Shadow of real Title to suport it; but we conceive it will be necessary before any Determination can be had upon this Matter, that it should undergo the Examination of the Law Servants of the Crown. We are,

Sir, Your most obedient humble Servants,

DARTMOUTH,
JOHN ROBERTS,
J. DYSON,
W[M] FITZHERBERT,
PALMERSTON.

11. July 1766,[1]

BAYNTON TO HIS DAUGHTER, MARY MORGAN, July 11, 1766[2]

[More MSS.— A.L.]

PHILAD[A] July 11[th] 1766

MY DEAR MOLLY:

. . . . . .

I think it is very probable that by Sunday Week our dear Mr. Morgan may eat his Dinner at the long, very long wished for Fort Chartres—and I hope by that time to forward you an account of his arrival at Sciota (a place about midway between Pitsburgh and Fort Chartres) as from that place Coll: Croghan was to dispatch an Indian Runner to Sir William Johnson. My dear Daughter Molley need not make herself the least uneasy about Mr. Morgan's descending the River in perfect Security. I really think as matters are circumstanc'd that no cross Accident whatever has interrupted his Journey. He not only ought to have the prayers of our Congregation, but of

[1] This date is in the margin at head of page in the entry book.

[2] In the possession of Mrs. H. C. More of Gaviota, California, a descendant of George Morgan.

every well wisher to North America, as the peace of it is intimately concerned in his undertaking. For nothing is a plainer Fact than that to live in Amity with the numerous Tribes of Indians Westward of us, must be brought about by a liberal Trade with them—The Supplys that we shall send to them by our several Divisions will far exceed any they ever had introduced to them—and can be afforded infinitely cheaper to them, than what they formely received from the French. who usually sold their goods to them (many of the Articles were shockingly sophisticated) at 1000 ℔c^{t} profitt. If our Comp^{r} disposes of their effects at 200 ℔c^{t} I may sit down very easy the remainder of my Days as to Money Matters.

But I must correct my Self for I find the last Paragraph appears as if I was writing to a plodding Merchant instead of a Daughter—But before I quite finish the Illinois Subject, I must acquaint you that I have rec'd ℔ the last Packett the most comfortable Intelligence I ever got since I have been in the Trade, which is that Mr. Neavé has most happily effected on our first divisions of Batteaus [*MS. illegible*] at the small premium of 2% ℔C and I have reason to flatter my Self as that got down in Safety, that the remainder of our little Fleets may be done something under—This fortunately realises our [*MS. illegible*] to that Quarter & gives our Enemys as much Pain, as our Friends are cordially rejoiced at it. I pray that my Family may have a proper Sense for the Favours lately conferred on us and sincerely thank the gracious Donor of them. Our very worthy F^{d} Doct^{r} Franklin has been not a little instrumental in getting our Insurance perfected. For which, and for many other Instances of his kindness to me, you and mine are greatly indebted to Him.[1]

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON, July 12, 1766[2]

[Johnson MSS., 13:2 — A.L.S.]

PHIL., July 12, 1766.

SIR,

We have the honor of the [*blank in MS.*] of June, acknowledging the Receipt of our Letter with the Proposals &c for a Colony at the Illinois.

[1] The remainder of this letter has not been preserved.

[2] The original of this letter from which Mr. Carter made this copy was completely destroyed by fire at Albany.

We are greatly obliged, by your kind assurances, That you will contribute all in your power to carry it into execution—which permit us to say, we are persuaded will tend greatly, to its speedy & happy accomplishment.

By the May Packet we received Letters from Dr. Franklin in respect to the Establishment of the Colony at the Illinois. He writes us: "I join fully in opinion with you, that a western Colony, would be highly advantageous & *very easily settled.*"

He writes also to Mr. Galloway: "I think that a strong Colony in the Illinois Country, is a most desirable measure. The Proposal is much listened to here."

Upon the first thoughts of the Scheme, Mr. Galloway & I wrote to Dr. Franklin, so that he might essay it, with the Ministry, wherefore he now advises us, in the foregoing favorable manner.

From time to time as we receive any intelligence, we shall take the freedom of communicating it to your honor.

We have the Honor of being Sir, with the sincerest Respect Your Honor's Obliged & most Obedient humble Servants

BAYNTON, WHARTON & MORGAN.

COLE TO JOHNSON, July 15, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 13:8 (2) — A.L.S.]

DEAR SIR

I shall Leave this to morrow, Upon my arrival here The Chiefs, Sent for me, to take me by the hand, and well come me to their Villige, and made a speach in which they Declared their firm Resolution to adhear Strictly to the peace they had made, then I acquainted them, where I was goeing, and my business, and gave them, a little milk they Seem'd much pleased with the new regalations and now hoped every thing would go wright.

By a Shawanese that past through here Some days past, I shall be at the Illinois near as Soon as M[r] Croghan, who is to meet Some Indians at the mouth of the Ouiabache which will Detain him Some days.

[1] Published by Mr. Alvord in the Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3: no. 3, p. 28.

I hope soon to write you from the Illinois, and in the interim with my Compts to your Family,

I am Dr Sir Your most obt Servt

EDWD COLE

MIAMIS July 15th 1766

[*Endorsed:*] Miamis July 15th 1766 Comisry Coles Letter

GAGE TO CONWAY, July 15, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.84, f. 335 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK July 15th 1766.

SIR,

In my Letter of the 24th of June I had the honor to acquaint you, that His Majesty's 28th Regiment under the Command of Major Browne had been ordered into Dutchess County in this Province to assist the Civil Officers in putting the Laws in Execution, and to quell some dangerous Riots. A Small Body of the light Infantry Company was fired upon by the Rioters, and three of them wounded: They returned the Fire, wounded Some, pursued and dispersed the rest notwithstanding their Numbers. The Disturbances had spread into the County of Albany, where a skirmish happened between the sheriff with about two hundred Followers, and a Party of the Rioters; Some few were killed and wounded on both Sides, but the Sheriff and his Possé put to Flight. A great many Prisoners have been taken, or delivered themselves up, and amongst them are several Principals. After restoring Tranquility to the Country the Regiment came to this Place, leaving a Captain and 50 men to guard the Jails, and brought with them the principal Ringleader of the whole Confederacy. The Magistrates commend the Regiment greatly, as well for their Spirit and readiness in Apprehending the Rioters, as for the Strictness of their Discipline; not having taken the least thing during their Stay in the Country, and even refusing to plunder the Houses of Some of the proclaimed Rioters, tho' desired to do it.

The Assembly of this Province has passed a Law to provide Quarters Bedding Fuel and utencils for two Regiments and one Company of Artillery. There is now in this Place the 28th and 46th Regiments, the latter very weak from some infirm and old Men

discharged, and a great Number of Soldiers whose Times of Service were expired, and the 28th Regiment will also be soon very much reduced in their Numbers for the Same Reasons. Recruiting Partys have been Sent home from the 46th Regiment to endeavor to compleat them. Two Companys of the Royal Regiment of Artillery are encamped at the Magazines about four Miles from the City, where they have a Field Train drawn out, and the Men kept in constant Practice in the Exercise of the Guns.

Advices from the Ilinois mention an illicit Trade, whereby French Goods are Smuggled up the ohio and to the Lakes; and the Peltry of those Countrys carried down the Mississippi to New Orleans, where Skins and Furrs bear a Price of ten Pence pr Pound higher, than at any British Market. The best Means, Seemingly, to prevent this Trade, carried on by Collusion between some of His Majesty's new Subjects from Canada Detroit and other Places, and the French Traders, would be, to pass a Law to Seize and confiscate all Furrs and Skins going down the Ohio below Ouabache, or down the Ilinois River below the Rock as well as all Skins and Furrs from the Ilinois Country or above it, which shall be found on the Mississippi below the Mouth of the Ohio, or carrying over to the West Side of the Mississippi. All foreign Goods found on the East Side of Said River, I presume are confiscable. It would be necessary to put such Laws in Force that Posts should be erected on the most convenient Spots near the Junction of the Ohio and Ilinois Rivers with the Mississippi. It is not easy at present to ascertain whether the Ilinois would answer such Expence; It is reported from Philadelphia, that the Traders from that Province have sent Goods thither amounting, with Costs of Transportation, to £50000. but it remains to be informed, what Returns they will get from thence: I would observe however, from the Plan adopted to support and extend the Furr Trade by Means of Forts and Posts in the Indian Country, that the Ilinois Seems from it's Situation the most proper Place to secure the whole Country Eastward of it to the British Traders, and to prevent the French gaining the Peltry from the Nations inhabiting the Lakes, and other parts of His Majesty's Territorys where fine Furrs are produced.

The last Letters from the Ilinois are of the 28th of April,[1] by which I am informed, that a great deal of the Bank between Fort-Chartres

[1] This letter has not been found.

and the River had fallen, and it was apprehended that it would continue falling to the Fort before the End of Summer. From all Accounts the River gains so considerably upon the Banks every Year, that Fort-Chartres must soon tumble; nor can I find there is any Possibility to prevent it, by means of Facines and Pickets, or taking any other Precautions. The Situation of the Fort is bad on many Accounts, but the Construction of it the best of any yet built in the Indian Country. From a List which has been transmitted it appears, that there are in the different Settlements in the Ilinois Country viz^{t} Kaskaskies, Chartres, La Prairie du Rocher, S^{t} Philipe and Kaokia, above one Hundred and Twenty Inhabitants, exclusive of Women, Children, and Servants. A large Quantity of Provisions has been transported from Fort-Pitt for the use of the 34th Regiment, and I hope it will be Sufficient to support them. till the Harvest is home.

There are fresh Complaints from the Indians of Murthers committed upon their People, Sir William Johnson endeavoring to pacify them, but very apprehensive of the Consequences, from the Difficulty of giving them Satisfaction. I have offered my Assistance to drive the Settlers off the Indian Lands, which possibly can not be effected without Force, but whether the Councils would advise their respective Governors to apply for Military Aid, may be rather doubtfull.

Permit me Sir to trouble you with the inclosed Copy of a Letter from the Merchants of Quebec to Major Browne, with an Extract of a Letter to me from the Major upon it; which I take the Liberty to transmit at his repeated Sollicitations. Altho' ignorant of any Complaints which may have been sent home against the 28th Regiment, I can't but approve of the Major's Zeal for the Credit and Reputation of the Corps he has commanded, and of the strict Discipline he seems determined to keep in it.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect and Esteem, Sir, Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THO^{S} GAGE

R^{T} HON^{BLE} H: S: CONWAY one of H: Maj$^{ty's}$ Principal Secretary's of State

[*Endorsed:*] New York 15th July 1766. Maj^{r} General Gage. R 25th Aug^{t}

JOHNSON TO B. FRANKLIN, July 18, 1766[1]

[A.A.S., Johnson MSS.— Draft]

JOHNSON HALL July 18th 1766.

SIR

At the request of your Son Govr Franklyn, & sev[l] Gentn of Pensilvania, I now enclose you a Scheme proposed for Establishg a Colony at the Ilinois, together with my Letter to Mr Secretary Conway in favr thereof,[2] which the proposers desired might be transmitted thro' your hands. I have accordingly sent it under a flying Seal, & must request you to forward it as Adopted.

I daily dread a Ruture [*sic*] wth the Inds occasioned by the Licentious Conduct of the frontier Inhabitants who Continue to Rob and Murder them. I am immediately to meet Pondiac with the Western Nats at Ontario and wish I may be able to satisfy them.

I have not had an Opportunity of Cultivating Your Acquaintance I shall always be Glad to render you, or yours any Services as I am, &c.

TO BENJN FRANKLIN Esqr

[*Endorsed:*] Johnson hall, July 18th 1766 To Benjn Franklin Esqr London, with proposals for a Colony at Ilinois, &c Letter to Mr Secy Conway thereon

[1] Printed by Mr. C. H. Lincoln in the American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, 11:48.

[2] Printed *ante*, 248, 334.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRADE AND COLONIAL PLANS PROGRESS, JULY 30, 1766–OCTOBER 11, 1766

LAGRANGE'S CREDITORS COME TO AN AGREEMENT — THE FIRM INSTRUCTS IRWIN — CLARKSON'S DIARY — THE FIRM EXCUSES ITS ILLICIT TRADE — B. FRANKLIN WRITES OF THE COLONIAL SCHEME — THE OPINION OF THE LORDS OF TRADE — CROGHAN REPORTS — THE CANADIAN TRADERS OBJECT TO THE TRADE REGULATIONS — COLE'S EXPENSES.

AGREEMENT OF THE CREDITORS OF LAGRANGE, July 30, 1766

[K. MSS.— D.S.]

Nous Soussignés creanciers du Sieur Lagrange, Sur les representations qu'il nous a Faites qu'il Se trouve actuellement hors d'etat de nous payer les Sommes Capitales quil nous doit, Sommes unanimement convenus et demeures d'accord de luy accorder un delai convenable & proportionné a la Situation de Ses affaires, lequel delai nous Fixons par le present accord au terme de trois ans pour nous payer en entier nos dittes Sommes Capitales, en deux pactes egaux Scavoir. La Moitié dans Dixhuit mois et la moitie restante dans trois ans, l'un & l autre pacte a compter de la date du present accord, ou du Jour de Son homologation Si elle est necessaire, moyenant quoy nous

[*Translation*]

We, the undersigned creditors of M. Lagrange, since he has represented that he is not at present in condition to pay the amounts he owes us, have unanimously decided and agreed to allow him an extension of time suitable and proportionate to the condition of his business, which extension of time we by the present agreement fix at a term of three years, he to pay us all the said sums in two equal notes, namely: one half in eighteen months and the remaining half within three years, both notes to count from the date of the present agreement, or from the day of its engrossment, if that is necessary, by means of which we grant henceforth to the said M. Lagrange provisional freedom

accordons des a present au dit Sieur Lagrange la recreance libre de Sa personne, et pleine et entiere main levée de Ses biens meubles, immeubles, ou Sommes Saisis ou arretés, Et Si quelqu'un d'entre nous refusoit de Souscrire aux presentes au point qu'il fallut Les homologuer, dans ce cas nous Nommons, pour notre Sindic Monsieur [*blank in MS.*] l'un de nous qui a bien voulû accepter la charge, auquel nous donnons tout pouvoir de requerir en nos noms la ditte homologation en tel tribunal de Justice au quel la connoissance en appartiendra, et de demander aussitot que le present accord Sera Signé par la majeure des creanciers, que ceux qui ny auront pas Souscrit y Soient contraints, a l'effet de quoy, nous luy donnons tout pouvoir de nous representer en tout & partout ou notre interet commun pourra l'exiger, et afin que luy et les creanciers puissent avoir connoissance des affaires du Sieur Lagrange, ce dernier Sera teneu de remettre Sous la quinzaine entre les mains du dit Sindic un etat contenant Ses dettes actives et passives et Ses biens meubles et immeubles, afin qu'il Soit a meme de veiller a leur Conservation: ce que dessus nous promettons entretenir et executer de point en point et de bonne Foy a

[*Translation*]

and free and complete control of his property, personal and real, and sums seized or attached. And if some one of us should refuse to subscribe to these presents, in such a way that it would be necessary to engross them, in that case we name as our representative M. [*blank in MS.*], one of us, who has kindly accepted the office, to whom we give all power to demand in our names the said judicial authorization in such tribunal of justice to which cognizance of the affair belongs, and to demand as soon as the present agreement shall be signed by the majority of the creditors, that those who have not signed it be forced to do so. For this purpose we give him all power to represent us in everything and everywhere where our common interest may demand; and in order that he and the creditors may know of the business of M. Lagrange, the latter shall be bound to put into the hands of the said representative fortnightly a statement concerning his active and passive debts, his real and personal property, in order that the representative may be able to look after their preservation. The above we promise to carry out and execute to the letter and in good faith, under pen-

peine de tous depens domages et interest. fait au village SAINT LOUIS le Trente Juillet Mil Sept cens Soixante et Six

J PAPIN.

papin ℔ la Somme de seize Cent quatre vingt deux livres Treize sols en pelteries et Cinq Cent soixante livres en argent.

LEFEBVRE

pour la somme de Dix neuf cent quatre vingt onze Livre en argent

LACLEDE LIGUEST

pour la Somme de mille quatre Livres quatre Sols papier courant de deux mille Sept cent Soixante cinq Livres un Sol et Six deniers en argent Reel et de cinq cents Soixante Livres onze Sols en Pelleterié Sauf a tenir compte à monsieur Lagrange de quelques fourniture dont Le Prix n'est pas fixxé

Pour onze Mil neuf cent Vingt livres en bon argent, et cinq Mil quatre cent Soixante une livre en pelleterie.

Par Procuration de M^r^ Dutillet

A. BÊRARD

[*Translation*]

alty of all expense, damages and interest. Done at the village of ST. LOUIS, July 30, 1766.

J. PAPIN

Papin for the sum of sixteen hundred and eighty-two *livres* thirteen *sols* in peltries and five hundred and sixty *livres* in money

LEFEBVRE

For the sum of nineteen hundred and ninety-one *livres* in money.

LA CLEDE LIGUEST

For the sum of one thousand and four *livres* four *sols* in current paper money; for the sum of two thousand seven hundred and sixty-five *livres* one *sol* and six *deniers* in real money and for the sum of five hundred and sixty *livres* eleven *sols* in peltry, save M. Lagrange must be credited with some provisions the price of which was not fixed.

For eleven thousand nine hundred and twenty *livres* in good money and five thousand four hundred and sixty-one *livres* in peltry.

By a procuration of M. Dutillet. A. BÊRARD

℔ La somme de mille livres

AYMÉ LE COMTE

GAVOBERT

Pour la Somme de Vingt mille livres argent Reel a Deduire Vu Compte de Differents articles quil ma fournira

pour sept Cent Livres En argent reel

CERRÉ

pour La somme de huit milles livres En argent reel

LA CRELY

poure La somme de six mille neuf cens quarante huit livre seize solle arjan Reelle

DECHOFOURE LOUVIERRE

Resu a conte 2900[11]

pour onze mil quatre Vingt dix Livres Sans lobligation des mineurs denis

JANIS

[*Translation*]

For the sum of one thousand *livres*.

AYMÉ LE COMTE

GAVOBERT

For the sum of twenty thousand *livres* in real money, from which is to be subtracted an account of different articles which he furnished me.

For seven hundred *livres* in real money.

CERRÉ

For the sum of eight thousand *livres* in real money.

LA CRELY

For the sum of six thousand nine hundred and forty-eight *livres* sixteen *sols* in real money.

DÉCHOFOURE LOUVIERRE

Received on account twenty-nine hundred *livres*.

For eleven thousand ninety *livres* without the indebtedness of the minors Danis

JANIS

pour La Somme de deux Mille huit Cent Cinquante Livres En argent reel

CERORAUN[?]

[*Endorsed:*] 1770. Conventions Et traittemens des creanciers de feu Lagrange. Le 30 juillet Letter of Licence from the Creditors of Lagrange

[*Translation*]

For the sum of two thousand eight hundred fifty *livres* in real money.

CERORAUN[?]

[*Endorsed:*] 1770. Agreement of the creditors of the late M. Lagrange. July 30. Letter of license from the creditors of Lagrange.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO IRWIN, July 31, 1766

[Draper MSS., 1Q5—L.S.]

PHILADELPHIA July 31st 1766

M^R^ JOHN IRWIN

SIR We particularly desire that you would from time to time, as we send up the Kings Stores, take a most exact account of them, and get full receipts from the Commissary at Fort Pitt for them — otherways extreme confusion will unavoidably arise, which would of Consequence embarras us with the General, and may produce the worst Consequences. You must take two receipts of the same Tenor and Date, one of which you are to keep by you, and the other you are to transmit to us by some safe Hand. We do not know how this matter has been managed heretofore, but no doubt our Agents, have faithfully attended to it. We count ourselves fortunate, in your being at Fort Pitt, as we think we can repose a Confidence in you. Which if we are not disappointed in, you will in future benefit yourself by. Pray let us hear from you by all opportunitys, how our Business goes on; you cannot be too particular in this respect.

We are your Friends & humb Serv^ts^

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

August 2^nd^

George Righter with his two Companions have agreed, that their teams shall hawl, three Logs each, as their horses are very fine ones.

They may probably be induced to hawl 6 or 8 apiece for us, you must prepare a Canoe in order, that when the Batteaus under the direction of Sadler arrives at the Confluence of the River, He may step into it, in order to proceed up the River Mississipi and the moment he gets to Fort Chartres, he will send down a Number of Frenchman to help the Batteaus up. If the Waggoners refuse to haul the Logs, Coax them to comply at any Rate. But if they should prove obstinate, threaten them that they will not receive their pay for many months after they come down. If they haul the Logs, Pay them handsomely for that Service. Righters Waggon is loded altogether with Kings Stores, save the Rope for our Batteaus. We have sent Samuel Armitt his stills—We find the Waggoners will not take them. We shall try to send them ℔ the next Oppy which weighs [*blank in MS.*] wt which he is to pay you for. If he cannot do so, then write to Mr Morgan concerning it. He is a Poor Silly Body, press him hard for the payment of his things. If he goes in our Boats, he must do the Business of a Batteau man. If Captn Smith and yourself should think him qualify'd for the Command of one of the Boats, He may go in that capacity. But we are afraid, he is not Qualify'd for it. If he is we should be glad to Indulge him in it. We wrote to Captn Smith very amply concerning our Business and it will save us the Trouble of mentioning many Matters to you, as you can have recourse to our Letter to him, wherein they are particularly taken Notice of, and we therefore desire, that you and Elliot may apply for a Coppy of the said Letter. In Ephraim Hunters Receipt you'll observe there is mention'd a Cask of Burrs Rivets &c N° 2, which through a Mistake was marked Kings Stores, whereas it Contains Iron work for our Own use. We have desir'd Mr Hunter to alter the mark at Carlisle, but least he should not we thought it proper to mention it to you. Let William Storer have the Command of one of the Batteaus. He appears to us to be a sober, worthy man, and is very well recommended to us. He has been Genteely Bred, and we believe an absolute dependance can be placed in his Fidelity. Daniel Heerlikoy is to receive 50/ on his Arrival at Pittsburgh. The General has been so good, as to acquaint us, that the Kings Batteaus, will positively leave Fort Pitt the first Week in Octor At which time, we shall send away our Division pr Capn Smith. This we have just Concluded on, but as you value our Friendship communicate this to

no Person whatever. If once the Carpenters had Knowledge thereof, they would Slacken their work immediately. By their thinking our Company, are to sett off long before that time, they will we believe exert themselves to the utmost, to dispatch as great a number of Batteaus as possible. Dont spare a few gallons rum extraordinary at proper times, to effect this great work for us. We have already mentioned this to you, But as it is a matter of high Consequence to us, we again repeat it. About the 10th of September, all our people may then be told, that our Division will go under the protection of the Kings Boats. At which time, you will receive further Instructions from us.

August 4

We have resolved that Mr Matthew Clarkson (the bearer hereof) who is our General Superintendent of this Division, shall go down the River with as many Batteaus, as can be compleated by the 25th of this Month, Which we hope will not be less than Ten. We desire that you will pay the utmost respect to this Gentlemans Instructions, as We repose an absolute Confidence in him. We direct that Capn Smith and yourself lay before Mr Clarkson the Instructions you have receiv'd from us relative to the Batteaus &c.

We are your Fds & hb. Sts

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia, July 31, 1766 Letter to Jon Irwin.

CLARKSON'S[1] DIARY, AUGUST 6, 1766–APRIL 16, 1767

[Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, 4:265][2]

Wednesday, Aug. 6th, 1766.—Set off from Philadelphia between six and seven o'clock. Mr. Robert Levers accompanied me to the ferry, where I took leave of him, and proceeded with my servant.

[1] Matthew Clarkson was the son of Matthew and Cornelia (De Peyster) Clarkson, both of New York, and was born in New York, April 15, 1733. In 1766 he became connected with the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, and was sent by them as superintendent of one of their fleets of bateaux engaged in the Illinois trade. He later rose to prominence in Philadelphia. In 1776 he was a director of the Library Company; in 1785 was elected member of Congress but he apparently did not serve; in 1790 was an alderman of the city of Philadelphia; in 1792–1794 was mayor of the city; and in 1794 was a director of the bank of the United States. He died October 5, 1800.

[2] We have been unable to locate the original of this journal.

On the road, about half-past one, before I came to the sign of the—, met a wagon, loaded with skins, belonging to Joseph Simons. At the sign of the Spread Eagle found a wagon, loaded with pork, going for the Kings' use to Fort Pitt; and a little after, met three wagons loaded with skins from Pittsburg, for Dr. Bond. Overtook Samuel Young about ten o'clock; at twelve, got to George Ashton's, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, and dined there. Met a wagon loaded with skins from Virginia, for Samuel Purviance. Overtook our four Germantown wagons about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, and Capt. Moore's people about a mile further. Lodged at the Ship, thirty-five miles from Philadelphia.

Thursday, Aug. 7th.—Mounted at half-past five. Breakfasted at Miller's, forty-seven miles from Philadelphia. Met three wagon-loads of skins from Fort Pitt, for Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. The wagoners inform me that the nails left by Donolly at Bedford, are forwarded on pack-horses by Mr. Morton. Overtook three wagons loaded with pork for Fort Pitt. Stopped at the Duke of Cumberland's, ten miles from last stay, and dined there. Here I met three wagons with skins, for William West, from Pittsburg. Got to Lancaster in the evening. Lodged at Joseph Bond's.

Friday, Aug. 8th.—Breakfasted at Joseph Bond's; got his bond for £75, the money due from him to me. Wrote to my wife and sent her the bond. Articles of agreement with Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, and articles with Duffield and Hillegas, inclosed by Mr. Samuel Miles. At eight o'clock left Lancaster, and at half-past eleven crossed the Susquehannah, at Wright's Ferry. Was forty minutes in crossing over. Dined at the Ferry, and at sundown arrived at Yorktown. Put up at Greber's. An extremely hot day.

Saturday, Aug. 9th.—Mounted at six o'clock. Travelled over a very hilly, mountainous road. Crossed Conewaga Creek, and, at ten o'clock, found myself no further than fifteen miles from York, at Stevenson's tavern, which is half-way between York and Carlisle. Here Mr. Spear overtook me. Rode in company with him to Carlisle, where we arrived about four o'clock. Put up at Pollock's.

Sunday, Aug. 10th.—Went to Mr. Steele's meeting. Heard him preach.

Monday, Aug. 11th.—Was at meeting again this morning. In the afternoon went to visit Col. Armstrong. Had a long conversation

with him about the Ohio scheme of Mr. Hazard,[1] which he did not seem entirely to approve of.

Tuesday, Aug. 12th.—I swapped my portmanteau-horse with Alexander Blaine for a stronger horse, and drew an order in his favor on Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, for seven dollars, the boot agreed on. At half-past 11 o'clock, set off in company with Benjamin Kendall and son. Dined at Shippensburg about 4 o'clock. Here I met with Mr. Robert Cummings, going to Philadelphia, by whom I wrote to B., W., and M., and informed them that Mr. Duncan had purchased thirty head of cattle for them, which would set off for Fort Pitt, to-morrow, or next day, at farthest. I wrote them likewise this morning from Carlisle, and to Mrs. Clarkson. Left the letters at Pollock's to be forwarded. I desired Mr. Cummings to take them with him if they were not gone before he got to Carlisle. Went as far as James Finley's, seven miles from Shippensburg, and lodged there.

Wednesday, Aug. 13th.—Set off at 5 o'clock. Breakfasted at Campbell's, ten miles from Finley's. Met eleven horse-loads of skins for the company at Conegojig Creek. At the Burnt Cabins, overtook thirty-two horse-loads of flour, going to Fort Pitt, for the king's use, from Mr. Thompson and Mr. Blane. Three miles further, met five horse-loads of skins, for the company, from Pitt. At 5 o'clock, arrived at Bird's, at Littleton. This day's journey has been extremely tedious and fatiguing. The road from where we set off in the morning, except the first ten miles, was nothing but hills, mountains, and stones, until you pass the Burnt Cabins, where it is tolerable, though hilly. At Littleton, are four soldiers posted, who have been there above nine months. This day, came thirty-four miles.

Thursday, Aug. 14th.—Set off at half-past 5 o'clock, at eight got to the foot of Sideling Hill, and got breakfast. Dined at the crossings of the Juniata. Got to Bedford in the morning and put up at George Woods. Enquired here after the provisions Mr. Wharton had engaged Captain Line to purchase for the company. Found he had bought fifteen barrels of pork here, which was sent off in three wagons, and nine barrels of pork he bought at Ligonier, which are to be forwarded when the wagons return from Fort Pitt.

[1] On the Hazard plan for a colony on the Ohio, see *ante*, 261; also, Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies*, 7 *et seq.*

Friday, Aug. 15th.—This day, halted at Bedford to rest myself and horses. Entered into an agreement with George Woods about five tracts of land, three of them in Cumberland valley, about seventeen miles from Bedford on the road to Fort Cumberland — one on the waters of Dunning's Creek, about three miles to the north-east of Bedford, and one other in Woodcock valley, about forty miles north of Bedford, and two miles west of Standing Stone — amounting together to 1800 acres, one half of which I am to have on paying him £90 three months after they are warranted and accepted at the Surveyor's office; provided Edward Duffield, of Philadelphia, agrees thereto in that time. Was obliged to borrow of George Wood, £3 10*s*., to assist the batteaux-men on to the fort, as they had spent all their money. Drew an order on B., W., and M., in favor of Wood, for it.

Saturday, Aug. 16th. — Set off at 9 o'clock on my journey. Bated at the foot of the Alleghany Mountains at Higgin's. On the hills, met a party of Indians encamped, gathering and drying huckleberries, under the command of Captain Green, a noted villain. Got to Atkins', at Stony Creek, and lodged there—a most scandalous dirty house, or rather, hog-sty. Was almost devoured with fleas.

Sunday, Aug. 17th. — Mounted by daybreak, and proceeded ten miles to Mr. Mahon's and bated. Dined at Legonier at Bonjour's, and got to William Proctor's at Twelve Mile Run, and lodged there. Proctor gave me a location of some land, as on the other end of this book, (see also a memorandum of some land I rode over, that begins at the Nine Mile Run from Legonier.)

Monday, Aug. 18th. — Proceeded on and halted at Byerly's, at Bushy Run. Stopped again at the crossings of Turtle Creek, at—, and dined there. About a mile after passing the first crossing of this creek, you pass through the finest land I ever saw, being a continuous bottom, prodigiously rich, covered with locust, black walnut, &c., and continues of that quality until after I passed the house where I dined. Got to Fort Pitt just after dark, was stowed away in a small crib, on blankets, in company with fleas and bugs, and, of course, spent a night not the most comfortable. As soon as I arrived, I waited on Capt. William Murray, commander of the garrison, and delivered his letters.

Tuesday, Aug. 19th.— Took a walk to the ship-yards. Found four boats finished and in the water, and three more on the stocks; business going on briskly. Met with Maj. Murray, who had been at the store to wait upon me with an invitation to dine with him to-day. Was extremely polite and obliging; took me into the fort. I requested he would give orders to the sutlers not to trust any of our people, which he very readily promised. Dined with him at the mess-room, in company with Capt. Belneavis, Lieuts. M'Coy, M'Intosh, Charles and George Grant, Hall, Dr. Murdock, and Mr. M'Cleggan the chaplain—the officers in garrison at this post. Maj. Murray offered me a room in the barracks, which I accepted of. Lodged this night in Mr. John Reid's room, the Commissary.

Wednesday, Aug. 20th.— This day wrote letters to the Company, (see copy thereof,) and to Mr. Duffield about the lands of G. Wood, and to Mrs. Clarkson. Dined, or, rather, endeavored to eat, at the store—dirty beyond endurance, without the least necessary utensil or convenience. Lodged in my new apartment.

Thursday, Aug. 21st. — Eat a bowl of milk and bread at the store. Sent my letters by Steele and Armstrong, two batteaux-men, who went down with Mr. Jennings. Sent the horses by them to George Wood's, at Bedford, with directions to sell them for account of the company. Mr. M'Intosh sent his compliments to me to dine with him to-day, which I did at the mess; and, as is the custom at Fort Pitt, supped there also.

Friday, Aug. 22d. — Breakfasted with Mr. M'Coy. Dined in my room on victuals from Mr. Piety, conductor of the train, who is to supply me as often as I have occasion. Employed this day principally in protracting a draught of the Ohio from Mr. Ramsay's Journal. Afternoon, rode with Maj. Murray, Mr. M'Coy, Mr. Charles Grant, and Dr. Murdock, to Mr. Croghan's place, about four miles from the fort, up the Alleghany, a most excellent piece of land or rich bottom, extending all along from the fort to this place, and is bounded by a ridge of hills, at the distance of one-quarter to three-quarters of a mile from the river. Above this place of Mr. Croghan's, at — miles distance, is an Indian settlement of the Mingoes. On our return, found Kayashata, a Seneca chief, who had been with Mr. Jennings to the Illinois, returned with a packet from the commander at Fort Chartres, for Maj. Murray, in which was one for Messrs.

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, which I took care of. Find, by the advices, that provisions are very scarce and dear. Indian flour £5 sterling per hundred, and ordinary buffalo meat three shillings Pennsylvania money per pound. The French on the opposite side of the river in plenty—prospect of fine crops—Indians somewhat unruly. The Ontdwawies[1] had taken a soldier prisoner at the distance of half a mile from the fort. Kayashata and his party had been after them and discovered their tracks, but could not come up with them. The letters 21st of June. Supped with the officers. Gust left this night.

Saturday, Aug. 23d. — Breakfasted at the store on bread and milk. Wrote to the company, informing them of the arrival of the packet from the Illinois. Wrote also to Mrs. Clarkson and Mr. Hillegas, apologizing for having opened a letter to him from Mr. Jennings. Enclosed his letter in mine. Dined at my room. Afternoon went down to the ship-yard, and found that S. Young had appropriated one of the boats to his own use, and had given the carpenter directions to finish her with a cabin and other accomodations to his own fancy, without having consulted or given me the least intimation of his design. I told the carpenter (Welsh) that I did not understand that any of the boats were to have cabins, but to be finished agreeably to the directions they had received from Mr. Wharton. Young very pertly told me that I had nothing to say to that boat, and told the carpenter not to mind, &c., but to go on as he had directed him, for that he was in no way under my direction. I thought it necessary, as my authority was thus publicly struck at, before a number of workmen, to order Welsh to go on as he had with the boats already built, for that I would have no cabins built to any. Young, however, thought proper to continue to contradict those orders, and Welsh went and brought to me his Articles of Agreement with the Company, and desired me to read them, which, after I had done, I desired to know what he would have me particularly remark in them. He said that his contract was expired, and desired a discharge. I enquired how it happened, that at this time he should insist upon a discharge, when he had said nothing of it before; to which he could return no satisfactory answer, and went to his work. I find Young is a relation of his, and seems to have influence over him. I consulted Captain Smith and Mr. Irwin on the occasion, who think

[1] The Ottawa.

that no alteration should be made to the plan on which the other boats are finished, without my consent. Had Young advised with me about making accomodations different from the rest, I should have made no objection to anything reasonable; but as he has publicly called in question the charge with which I am entrusted by the Company, I think it for their interest that it should appear whose directions are to be observed, lest anarchy ensue. Supped at my room on bread and milk. Mr. M'Coy and I went into the Monongahela to wash. The water rose about a foot by the rains.

Sunday, Aug. 24th.—Breakfasted in my room. Went and heard Mr. M'Cleggan preach to the soldiers in *Erse*—but little edified. He preaches alternately one Sunday in that language, and the next in English. Dined in my room, and supped with the mess. A little rain at night.

Monday, Aug. 25th.—Delivered the letters from the Illinois with those I wrote to the commanding officer, to forward by the Express, who sets off directly with the monthly returns. They are forwarded by soldiers to Shippensburg, where they are put in the post-office, and forwarded to Philadelphia. The returns are made up the 24th of every month. Kayashata came to see me, with Mitchell the interpreter. I enquired of him whether he would be willing to go down with me to Fort Chartres. He said he had no objection, but that he must first go and see his family at the White Mingo town, and he would go and warm the hearts of his nation, and know how things stood with them; for this purpose, he wanted a couple of bottles of rum, for which I referred him to the Major. He says that the Indians along the river are friendly, except the Ontdwawies, who endeavor to make uneasiness. He will inform me what passes among his people, as soon as he returns, which will be shortly. Breakfasted with Doctor Murdock in his room. This morning, fifteen horses with flour, from Captain Line, arrived. Weigh 29 cwt. Dined with the mess—employed great part of the day in drawing the Ohio. Afternoon, about six o'clock, a shower from the south-east. The river is about two feet higher, than when I came here. There appears to have fallen some quantity of rain towards the upper parts of the rivers, though little at this place. This day and yesterday very hot; find a considerable disappointment in breaking my thermometer, which happened some how or other on the road coming up, by throw-

ing my portmanteau down with too much violence, as I suppose. Supped with the mess.

Tuesday, Aug. 26th.— Breakfasted in my room. Employed drawing the Ohio. Dined in Mr. Reed's room. In the afternoon received letters from Mrs. Clarkson, and from the Company, by Kennedy,[1] and four other men, who are come up for the batteau service. The river still continued to rise. Desired Captain Smith to have the batteaux that are sunk cleared from the water, that we may begin to load to-morrow morning. A dispute happened this evening between two, Smith and James Tull, the carpenter, at which the latter was so much chagrined, that he seemed bent on quitting the work, and going off for Philadelphia. Supped with the officers. A considerable quantity of rain has fallen.

Wednesday, Aug. 27th.— Rose early this morning. Found it raining, a constant rain. Went after the batteaux—found them bailed out. Got the batteau-men together, to begin to load. Turned out a number of casks of liquor for the purpose—then, and not till then, was I informed that there were no rudder-irons fixed to the boats, nor any made. This obliged me to delay the loading. Went with Vaughan the carpenter to a smith, and bespoke some, which he is to finish immediately. A great neglect this. Am very apprehensive of losing the advantage of this freshet. A great part of the cargo not yet arrived—no ropes for painters here, and no prospect of being able to supply this defect. Set the cooper to trimming the cargo. Dined with the mess—was employed in getting things ready for loading.

Thursday, Aug. 28th.— Began early to load the boats, and completed them this day. Set bakers to work to have some biscuit for the people that are going down. Much troubled with a set of unruly fellows of batteaux-men.

Friday, Aug. 29th.— Wrote to Mr. Morgan, and prepared the bills of lading, &c., for the cargoes in the two boats. Appointed John Irwin to have the care of this fleet, and Pat Kennedy to steer the other boat. With great difficulty procured such necessaries as were wanting to send them off. Dined in my room. At half past four o'clock shipped off the boats, with a favorable current, and plenty of water. Supped with the mess.

[1] This is Patrick Kennedy, who plays an important part in the Illinois country. See general index.

Saturday, Aug. 30th.— Breakfasted at the store. Attended at the counting-house, where Captain Murray had a conversation with Kayashata,[1] the White Mingo, and sundry other Six Nation chiefs. They showed a couple of strings of wampum, which they said Mr. Croghan had delivered at Scioto, and [which] were sent to the Indians of the Six Nations that are settled about the Ohio, desiring them to be strong, and sit still till he returned. These strings they said they had accepted; and as they had engaged not to stir, desired Captain Murray to furnish them with some powder and lead, &c.

They likewise conversed about the white people who are settled on their lands at Red Stone Creek, of which they had formerly complained, and whom Captain Murray had sent to remove,[2] but was prevented by some of the Indians. He now told them that if they would send some of their people with such a detachment as he would order up to remove the intruders, that he would do it. This they at length agreed to, only four houses excepted, which the Indians desire may remain, to furnish their young men and warriors with corn as they pass and repass. Dined with the mess.

Sunday, Aug. 31st.— Was engaged this morning in writing to the Company and Mrs. Clarkson, by Daniel Rambo, the carpenter, by which I was prevented from attending the sermon. Dined with the mess.

Monday, Sept. 1st.— Rode with Major Murray, Mr. M'Coy, and Mr. Hall, to view Braddock's Field; could discover nothing of the ruins of that campaign, on account of the thickness of the weeds. Met with Mr. McIntosh there, who went up the Monongahela in a boat. Dined in the field — rather in the wood — on provisions sent up by the boat. Major Murray, Mr. McIntosh, and I, came down the river in the boat. I supped with the mess.

Tuesday, Sept. 2d.— Caused the boats to be loaded, ready to receive the goods by the wagons, which are hourly expected. Dined

[1] This is Kiasutha (alias Guyasuta). He was a chief of prominence in the Ohio region during this period. Although he is sometimes called a Seneca, he probably belonged "to the mixed band of detached Iroquois known as Mingo, who sided with the French." He accompanied Washington and Gist in their journey to the French forts on the Allegheny in 1753, from which time he was conspicuous in all conferences with the Indians. *American Indians*, 1:682; Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 210.

[2] This was done in accordance with instructions from the ministry, who desired to remove all settlers occupying land west of the Indian boundary established by the proclamation of 1763.

with the mess. Afternoon and evening writing letters to the Company and Mrs. Clarkson, per Mr. Davies. Supped with the mess.

Wednesday, Sept. 3d.— This morning the wagons arrived. Received their loads, finished my letters, and gave directions for completing the loading of the boats. Could not prevail on the wagoners to haul any logs; they were out of fodder, and their wagons not fit for the service, as they could not be lengthened. Dined at the store. Afternoon at the yard. Supped with the mess.

Thursday, Sept. 4th.— This morning, agreed with Kayashata to go down with me. He desired to have Chaquitteh with him as a companion, and to allow them forty bucks each for their service. Hired Hugh McSwain as an interpreter, at 12 dollars per month. He is also to act as a batteaux-man. Dined with the mess. This afternoon, launched a small batteau, to serve as a tender.

Friday, Sept. 5th.— Captain Murray and Mr. George Grant went down with me in the small batteau, to the lower end of Chartier's Island, to examine the water, if fit to pass. Found it so shoal that the batteau touched in several places, and that one of the larger ones could not be got over with half a load. On my return found the cooper's shop, in which Duncan was at work, is burnt down, with all the stuff and some barrels. This has reduced us to a dilemma, as we have no other way of procuring casks to pack the flour in. Not a barrel of provisions is there to go down with me; and when those which Captain Line is to send from Legonier will arrive, is uncertain. Dined with the mess. Afternoon, busied in having my boat finished off. This evening, Mr. Beatty and Mr. Duffield[1] arrived, on a message among the Indians to preach the gospel. Supped with them at the mess.

Saturday, Sept. 6th.— Dined with the mess.

Sunday, Sept. 7th.— Mr. Beatty preached this morning in the fort, and Mr. Duffield in the town. Dined with them at the mess. Afternoon, went to hear Mr. Beatty in the town.

Monday, Sept. 8th.— Dined with the mess.

Tuesday, Sept. 9th.— Went with Mr. M'Coy over the river to the Coal Hill, from which there is a most beautiful prospect of the fort, and the land adjacent, with part of the Alleghany river. On the top

[1] Charles C. Beatty and George Duffield were Presbyterian missionaries. The former has left a journal of their experiences. See Charles Beatty, *The Journal of a Two Months Tour; with a View of Promoting Religion among the Frontier Inhabitants of Pensylvania* (London, 1768).

of the hill is a level spot of excellent land, the ground covered with pea-vines, and plentifully timbered with abundance of hickory, &c. Dined at Mr. Piety's, with Messrs. Beatty and Duffield. This evening Mr. Duffield preached in the town a very judicious and alarming discourse. Supped at Piety's. Sixteen kegs spirits arrived on pack-horses.

Wednesday, Sept. 10th.— Finished protracting the draught of the Ohio. Dined with the mess. Afternoon, wrote to the company and Mrs. Clarkson, by Mr. Blane, who sets off early to-morrow. This afternoon, Messrs. Beatty and Duffield set off on the embassy among the Indians. Supped with the mess.

Thursday, Sept. 11th.— Breakfasted with Dr. Murdock, as usual. Not in good health to-day. Could do nothing but walk about. Dined in my room, and spent the evening and supped there.

Tuesday, Sept. 16th.— Embarked from Fort Pitt.

Nov. 26th.[1]—Monsieur Maisonville informed me that one ——, from Detroit, was at Jaconte, about thirty leagues from post Vincennes, where he had brought a parcel of goods which he sold at the prices—or told Maisonville he had orders to sell at—a blanket of 2½ points for 8 raccoons, or 2 beavers.

Dec. 11th, 1766.— The boats arrived at Fort Chartres, from the mouth of the Ohio.

Dec. 13th, 1766.— Boats went from Fort Chartres to Kaskaskia.

Dec. 16th, 1766.— I went to Kaskaskia.

Dec. 21st, 1766.— Returned from Kaskaskia.

Dec. 16th.— A number of Osages and Mingo Indians came to the fort. Had some talk with them.

Dec. 23d.— Another party of Osages came to the fort, about fifteen in number. Tawanaheh the chief.

Shakewah, an old man who interpreted into the Illinois language.

Saheshinga, another Indian.

Mons. Jeredot,[2] the elder, who has been a trader for many years among most of the Indian nations about the River Mississippi, informed me, December 22d, 1766, that the Osages live on a river of the same name, which falls into the Missouri from the southward, at the distance of about sixty leagues from its conflux with the Mississippi; that they have about — men capable of bearing arms. He

[1] Schoolcraft omitted the account of the trip down the Ohio.

[2] The name is Girardot; see index.

says that they have a feast which they generally celebrate about the month of March, when they bake a large [corn cake] of about three or feet four in diameter, and of two or three inches in thickness. This is cut into pieces from the centre to the circumference, and the principal chief or warrior arises and advances to the cake, where he declares his valor, and recounts his noble actions. If he is not contradicted, or no one has aught to allege against him, he takes a piece of the cake and distributes it among the young boys of the nation, repeating to them his noble exploits and exhorting them to imitate them. Another then approaches, and in the same manner recounts his achievements, and proceeds as before. Should any attempt to take of the cake to whose character there is the least exception, he is stigmatized and set aside as a poltroon.

Words in the Osage Language.

Nonebaugh	A pipe.	Shapeh	A beaver.
Noneheugh	Tobacco.	Tahtongah	A buck.
Noneusheugh	A pouch.	Wasaben	A bear.
Mohee	A knife.	Seau-cah	A turkey.
Haaskah	A shirt.	Shonng-eh	A dog.
Weeh	A skin match coat.	Meh-has-hah	A swan, or goose.
Mohispeh	A tomahawk.	Seucdseuche	A cock.
Kahtoho	A stroud.	Mange-eshe	Wine.
Shehagahatcha	A breech-cloth.	Tanhè-ranganhè	It is good.
Hendingeh	Leggings.	Wanaingreche	Wampum.
Hompech	Moccasins.	Hah, cou, rah	How do you do?
Mosescah	An arm band.	Iwiekeah, rangan- hètan hashon	I am glad to see you.
Nocurot-eh	A looking-glass.		
Wasseuge	Paint.	Wietah courah	Friend.
Wanepehomgreche	Beads.	Ragone shung	Good.
Ograngesheah	A hat.	Piechers	Bad.
Wahotah	A gun.	Wabuske	Bread.
Neebheujeb	Powder.	Patcheak	Yes.
Chaheh	Powder-horn.	Paretatha	No.
Mosemoh	Ball.	Weightachche	A string.
Mobeseuh	A flint.	Wauspinasonche	A belt.
Ocurachera	Water.	Masoche	A reed.

Neeh	Water.
Pe-ech-he	Fire.
Pegene	Rum.
Wanomon	To eat.
Werechree	The head.
Poheugh	The hair.
Ishtah	The eye.
Pah	The nose.
Eh-kah	The mouth.
Eh-reh-seh	The tongue.
Heeb	The teeth.
Nottah	The ear.
Nompeeb	The hand.
Seeh	The feet.
Meache	One.
Noombaugh	Two.
Raabonch	Three.
Tobaugh	Four.
Pahtogh	Five.
Shawpegb	Six.
Perombongh	Seven.
Perawboreh	Eight.
Shouchehd	Nine.
Crebonach	Ten.
Shanebebene	A keg.
Ehebgateho	A razor.
Paheureuseh	Scissors.

With the Indians at Fort Chartres,

Four raccoons	are equal to	one beaver.
Two foxes or two cats	"	"
One dressed buckskin	"	"
Two dressed doeskins	"	"
One otter	"	"
One large bear-skin	"	"
Two middle-sized bear-skins	"	"
One fisher, very good	"	"
Eight minks	"	"

Prices of peltry, to deal with the French at peltry prices.

Beaver	at 40	shillings	per pound.
Dressed leather	at 20	"	"
Otter, per skin	at 60	"	"
Red or short-haired buckskins	at 20	"	per skin.
Fox or cat	at 15	"	"
Large bear	at 40	"	"
Muskrats	at 2	"	"
Fishers	at 30	"	"
Minks	at 10	"	"
Wolves or panthers	at 20	"	"
Martens	at 20	"	"
Raccoons	at 15	"	"

Memoranda of sundry affairs to mention to the Company when I write to them. The mistake of Long's cargo, it being shrub instead of New England rum. Send proof of the loss of my boat. The bills of exchange we have drawn. About negroes. Best Madeira. Notes of hand. Maisonville. Rum. No traders employed. No assortment; cannot, therefore, deal of cargoes. Supplying the garrison with grain. Skins. La Grange. Provision receipts. Power of attorney. Mr. Jennings has credited me 1190 by Mons. Carpentier. See how much I charged Mons. Charleville for curry-comb and brush. An arpent of land is 180 French feet square. Capt. Long has a box of Mr. Morgan's, No. 117, which is marked 150 livres in figures, and in the body of the bill but 100, which Capt. Long took of Placade for 150 livres.

Jan. 15th, 1767.— Bought, at Mons. La Grange's auction, one snuff-box and spying-glasses, forty-four livres; two Indian calumet-staves and an otter-pouch, eighteen livres.

Jan. 17th.— George Gibson and Kayashata arrived at Kaskaskia with intelligence of Capt. Smith's arrival at Fort Massac on the 5th instant. Smith left Fort Pitt on the 15th of November.

Jan. 16th.— John Irwin set off for Fort Pitt. Returned on the 20th; could not proceed for the snow.

Jan. 21st.— La Grange's horse sold for £132.

Jan. 22d.— Agreed with Mons. Jannies to furnish us with bread for the family use; that is to say, he is to give 120 pounds of bread for 100 pounds of flour, and I am to pay him besides, five livres per hundred.

Jan. 14th.— People passed the Mississippi on the ice.

The boats from New Orleans, of the largest size, carry eighty hogsheads of claret, twenty-two to twenty-four men, who have about 400 livres each, per voyage. Three months are accounted a good passage. A hogshead of claret on freight pays 300 livres.

Feb. 17th.— John Irwin set off for Fort Pitt with Bourson Rickard, a Frenchman, who is to conduct him to the fort for 150 livres.

Feb. 18th.— Mons. Danié went down to the Indians' camp, to trade with them for the Company. A warm thawing day. The snow disappeared entirely. Danié returned on the 19th.

Feb. 18th.— This day began to remove the liquors to Mr. Pitman's house. Mr. Pitman informed me this day at his house, that old Mons. Lasondray told him this morning, that he had heard that the Indians designed to strike the English this spring.

Persons recommended by Mons. Gadbert, as some to employ in the Indian trade.

Richard, the Elder. Antoine la Fromboise au Post.[1] Nichole, at Caho, Cerré's brother-in-law. Clermont, at Caho.

He advises not to trust above 4000 livres value, well assorted.

Account of silver truck Captain Long left with me on the 28th February, 1767, the day he went from the Kaskaskias for the boats under Captain Smith's care.

One hundred and seventy-four small crosses; eighty-four nose crosses; thirty-three long-drop nose and ear-bobs; eighteen short do.; one hundred and twenty-six small brooches; thirty-eight larger brooches; forty rings; two narrow arm-bands; six narrow scalloped wristbands; three narrow plain do.; four half-moon gorgets; three large do.; six moon do.; nine hair plates; seventeen hair-bobs.

Mississippi broke up the 20th February.

March 24th.— Mr. Jennings settled with Mons. Charleville for a bond I give him for 200 Indian meal, on which I have received but 160 pounds.

April 11th.— Captain Prater went away.

April 16th.— Kayashata went away.

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Gage, August 10, 1766[2]

[Johnson MSS., 13:30 — E.]

Extract of a Letter from Messrs. Baynton, Wharton & Morgan to Major General Gage Commander in Chief in North America. Dated, Philadelphia, Aug. 10, 1766.

A few days ago we received a letter from our Partner Mr. Morgan, from Scioto, acquainting us that at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Croghan and the Chiefs of the Shawenese, he had consented to send a person with a small assortment of Goods, to their Town.

We were much surprised at the Information, as it was our firm determination, never to trust any part of our property, in the Indian Country; as well from the consideration, that it was contrary to the Governor's License, as the insecurity of the measure. We suppose

[1] The popular designation of Vincennes.

[2] The original of this transcript made by Mr. Carter was completely destroyed by fire at Albany.

Mr. Croghan made the request of Mr. Morgan, from a conviction of its public utility; Yet we are liable to a Suit, by order of Governor Penn, upon this account. We must therefore take the Liberty of mentioning to your Excellency, that you will be so good as not to permit us to be injured, for our Partner's doing an act, merely to oblige the Indian agent, and the Chiefs of the Shawenese. Indeed we are so dissatisfied at the Goods being sent there, lest it meet with your Excellency's disapprobation, that we will send an Express, ordering them all away, if most agreeable to you.

Mr. Morgan also writes us: That the Shawnese expect a Supply of Goods will be sent to their towns this fall. But permit us to assure your Excellency, that we will not forward one Farthing's worth, unless we have your permission, or a Post of Trade is established there.

Receipt of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, August 22, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 13:166]

Fort Chartres August 22, 1766.

Received of George Croghan Esqr. the Sum of One hundred & thirteen pounds in full for Stores supplied him at Fort Pitt & in his way from thence to this place.

Baynton, Wharton & Morgan.

B. Franklin to W. Franklin, August 25, 1766

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:416 — E.]

I can now only add that I will endeavour to accomplish all that you and our friends desire relating to the settlement westward.

[Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan] to W. Franklin August 28[?], 1766[2]

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 58:138 — A.L.]

Sir

We are honour'd with your Excellency's Favour, of the 20th Inst ℔ Mr Smith. From the Extracts you are pleas'd to afford us

[1] The original of this transcript by Mr. Carter was completely destroyed by the fire at Albany.

[2] The date of this letter is fixed by the succeeding letter to Johnson.

from Doct^r^ Franklins last Letter to you, we find, that He has by no means deserted two very principal Objects, that we have long had in View Viz^t^ the Settlement at the Illinois, and a restitution for the Indian Losses — With infinite pleasure we discover, that Gentleman has these Matters much at Heart; & we are perswaded, an Exertion of his great Ability's, join'd with his usual Application, will in Time mature them into a happy Execution — Indeed we cannot suffer our Selves to doubt, but what He will carry these important Points quickly through, to his Satisfaction, provided the present Ministry should be settled — As to what Levye acquainted your Father with, respecting our purchasing Rights from the Indian Traders, Your Excellency has already been amply acquainted how that Affair was circumstanc'd — So that it need not be enlarged on here — We can be no Sufferers, if no Grant is made, as we are only to allow so much ℔ Cent conditionally — We wish that we had not wrote to Doct^r^ Franklin about his not conferring with Moses Franks — It is certainly best, not to shackle Him with any positive instructions, but leave Him entirely at his Liberty, to act for us in such Manner, as He may Judge may conduce most to our Interest — The latter part of the last Paragraph, you have quoted, is extremely Judicious, and ought seriously to be adverted to by us — We shall write to Sir William Johnson in the strongest Terms, regarding this Matter, & request Him, to lay the Corner Stone immediately, for our properly applying for a Restitution of the Indian depredations—We are of Opinion that if an absolute Cession of a Tract of their Country is granted, to the Sufferers, that a Confirmation thereof woul'd soon follow on proper Management.

But untill this is effected, nothing to purpose can be done for us— We are much indebted to Your Excellency, for transmitting S W[1] a Copy of the Extracts — He will write from N York to your Father, fully on both these Subjects — Doct^r^ Morgan has inform'd us, to our no small surprize, that Doct^r^ L. M^c^ Cleane,[2] was appointed Secretary to Lord Shelbourne—We always look'd on him, as a fortune Hunter, but we never imagin'd, He would obtain so great a Prize as He now has done — From his rooted Aversion to the Giant O B C. we concluded He was not very friendly to their Betternesses in general — In

[1] Samuel Wharton.

[2] See *post*, v. 3, index.

Order to be fully inform'd of his political Creed, we applyed to M^r^ Galloway, as we knew He was particularly acquainted with His Sentiments — He informs us that the Doct^r^ belongs to the Household of Faith, [but e]xclusive of his inveterate hatred to some of the principals of the proprietary party, He is much attach'd to the Liberty's of the People here — From which we may infer, that what Influence He may have[1]

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON
August 28, 1766
[Johnson MSS., 13:65 — A.L.S.][2]

PHILAD^A^ August 28 1766

SIR

As We hope 'Ere this, your Honour is returned in good Health from your important Journey to Ontario — We do Ourselves the Pleasure of acknowledging the Receipt of your very kind Favor, of the 14th of last month; & heartily thanking you for your friendly Promise "That as soon as you returned, you would not fail of enclosing Our Accounts to the General & recommending Them for Payment."

It is particularly Obliging to us, at this Time, as we never knew the want of Cash so much (occasioned by Our great Aventure to the Illinois, from whence we have not yet received any Remittances) & We have long since discharg^d^ all M^r^ Croghan's Drafts, for the pay of the Indian Department, to the Westward.

Pardon Sir Our Freedom, in thus, unreservedly, expressing Our great want, of the Amount of M^r^ Croghan's *Bill*.

Our last Letter from Doctor Franklin, was by the June Packt. He writes us thus.

"I approve much of the Preposal of a strong Colony at the Illinois. It is well listned to here; But all affairs, except what immediately relate to Great Britain are laid aside, until the Season of Publick Business comes on & until the Ministry, are a little better settled."

He was to make an Excursion to Germany, On the 14th of June,

[1] The remainder of the letter is missing.

[2] The letter and the signature are in the handwriting of Samuel Wharton.

in Company with Dr Pringle, Physician to the Queen & On his Return, preposed, vigorously, pushing the Illinois Matter.

Your Honor was so good as to inform us, On the 8th of January last — "That when you was empower'd to treat publickly with the Indians, concerning the Boundry—you flattered yourself you should be enabled to procure an advantageous Grant as a Reimbursment for the traders Losses" — May we therefore presume to ask—Whether you have yet received Orders, to purchase that Boundry & if you have not[1]— That you will be pleased to inform us, when you do.

We are afraid we are troublesome, upon this Subject; — But we trust, as it is significantly interesting, to us—It will plead an Excuse, for Us.

No Doubt your Honor has had Letters from Mr Croghan & That He acquainted you — He had requested Our Partner Mr Morgan, to send a small Cargo of Goods, to the lower Shawanese Town.

We were much distress'd, When we first received this Information, least Governor Penn might construe it, as a Violation of his Permission of Trade; — We therefore, instantly wrote to his Excellency the General,[2] respecting it, For fear some ill natured people, might give a false & unfriendly Colouring to it.

Mr Morgan writes us, That Mr Croghan was quite worried by the Indians, to gratify Them with this Trade.— But it is Superfluous for us, To dwell upon a Subject, which no Doubt your Honor is fully acquainted with. Mr McKee wrote to us & requested, That we would permit Him to draw upon us, for the half Yearly Pay of Himself—The Interpreter &c at Fort Pitt & That we would negociate his Draft, upon your Honor, for the same; which we chearfully agreed to, As we imagined, it would be serving the Department. We now inclose your Honor his Draft in Our Favor, for £299/4/0 New York Currency & are satisfied you will order us preperly reimbursed.

Mr John Laycock a Silver Smith, brought us some time ago, an Account of some *Silver Work* Which He made by Order of Mr Croghan to be sent to your Honor;—Which account He desires us to inclose. —He is an honest, good workman. The Box, goes by the Stage to your agent at New York.

[1] This refers to the Indian boundary line, which was not run until 1768, when Sir William Johnson purchased land from Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix and opened up for settlement the region of the upper Ohio.

[2] Printed *ante*, 363.

We have had no news from Mr Croghan since He left Sciota. & Every One here, is impatient for the Result of the negociations at Ontario — as They must have been very critical, at a Time, when Our Frontier People, so shamefully violated the Peace;—But every sensible man, consoles Himself with the Reflexion, That the same consummate Knowledge, unparrelel'd Industry & Address, which have hitherto averted the impending Storm,—will as wisely & successfully do it Now.

We have the Honor to be Sir With the sincerest Respect & Regard Yr much Obliged & most Obedient Servts

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bart &c &c

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia 28th Augst 1766. Messrs Baynton Wharton &c Accts & a Draft on me Ansd 16th Septr

CONTRACT FOR HAULING GOODS, September 2, 1766

[P.D.P.R.— A.D.S.]

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT made and concluded upon by and between Baynton, Wharton & Morgan of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania Merchants of the One Part & Stephen Duncan of Carlisle & Daniel Duncan of Shippensburgh in the said Province Yeomen of the Other Part.

Whereas the said Stephen Duncan & Daniel Duncan have contracted and agreed to and with the said Baynton, Wharton & Morgan in Manner and form following that is to say the said Stephen Duncan for his Heirs Executors and Administrators doth hereby Promise and Engage to provide on or before the fifteenth Day of October next fifty Pack Horses and Waggons and the said Daniel Duncan for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators doth hereby Promise & Engage to provide on or before the fifteenth Day of October next One hundred & fifty Pack Horses & Waggons suitable to take in and carry all such goods Wares & Merchandizes, which the said Baynton, Wharton & Morgan shall order and direct from the City of Philadelphia to Carlisle & from thence to proceed on Pack Horses and carry such Goods Wares & Merchandizes to Fort Pitt and deliver all and every the said Goods Wares & Merchandizes to

the Agent or Agents of them the said Baynton, Wharton & Morgan at Fort Pitt aforesaid without any Fraud or Delay, And also that they the said Stephen Duncan & Daniel Duncan shall attend at Philadelphia with the Waggons well equipped to take in and receive all such Goods & Wares by the fifteenth Day of October next ensuing the date hereof—And the said Baynton, Wharton & Morgan do hereby Promise to pay or cause to be Paid unto the said Stephen Duncan & Daniel Duncan their Executors and Administrators the just and full Sum of Thirty five Shillings lawful Money of Pennsylvania for every gross hundred Weight of all such Goods, Wares & Merchandizes which they shall deliver at Fort Pitt for the Use of them the said Baynton, Wharton & Morgan at the End of six Months next after the delivery of all such Goods Wares & Merchandizes so to be received at Philadelphia for that Purpose as aforesaid—And moreover do Promise to Pay to the said Stephen Duncan and Daniel Duncan the ferriage of every Waggon which they shall have Ferried over the River Susquehanna proceeding with the said Goods from Philadelphia to Carlisle—And if it may be in the Power of the said Stephen Duncan and Daniel Duncan to procure One hundred Pack Horses more for the Service aforesaid that they shall be employed by the said Baynton, Wharton & Morgan at the same Rate and upon the same Terms as those contracted for, aforesaid—For the true and faithful Performance of all and every the Covenants and Agreements aforesaid the said Parties do bind themselves each unto the other of them in the Penal Sum of One thousand Pounds lawful Money of Pennsylvania to be recovered of the Party refusing by the Party complying in any of his Majestys Courts of Record by Bill, Plaint or Information—In Witness whereof the said Parties have interchangeably set their Hands & Seals hereunto the twenty second Day of September in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred & sixty six—

Stephen Duncan
for Daniel Duncan
Stephen Duncan.

Sealed & Delivered in the presence of Us

Jos[H] Rigby
Cornelious Barnes

LORDS OF TRADE TO SHELBURNE,[1] September 3, 1766
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.66, f. 363—D.S.]

WHITEHALL Sept[r] 3. 1766

MY LORD,

Inclosed We send your Lordship a Representation to His Majesty upon the Extract of a Letter from General Gage, containing propositions for the Establishment of Government in the Illinois Country, referred to this Board by a Letter from one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, dated the 23[d] of May last.[2]

We are, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient & most humble Servants,

HILLSBOROUGH
ED: ELIOT
J. DYSON.
W[M] FITZHERBERT

EARL OF SHELBURNE, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

[*Endorsed:*] Whitehall. 3[d] Sept[r] 1766, Lords of Trade. R 4[th] (Establishm[t] of Governm[t] in the Illinois Country)

[1] William Petty, Lord Shelburne (later Marquess of Lansdowne) was born in Dublin, May 20, 1737. His early education was neglected by his parents, but he did spend a short time at Oxford University. He left the university in 1757 to serve in the army in the Seven Years' War, where he distinguished himself. At the close of the war, he associated himself in politics with Henry Fox and Lord Bute, and was chosen by the latter in 1763 to determine the policy to be followed in western America, recently acquired by the treaty of peace. As president of the board of trade he formulated a policy of colonial expansion; but the outbreak of the Indian war and his own resignation from the ministry caused certain changes to be made at the time when the policy was announced in the proclamation of October 7, 1763 (see Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36:20).

When Lord Shelburne became secretary of state of the southern department, he was in favor of the rapid expansion of the colonies westward. Upon recommendation of Benjamin Franklin and others, he planned the establishment of three new colonies: at Detroit, at the Illinois, and at the mouth of the Ohio. His recommendation was actually accepted by the ministry in September, 1767; but later changes in that body brought conservatives to power; and the radical plan was overruled. Lord Shelburne was not connected with the ministry again until the time of the treaty of peace that closed the Revolutionary War, and it was largely through his influence that the United States obtained the Old Northwest. During the last years of his life, Lord Shelburne did not take an active part in the government. He died at Lansdowne House, May 7, 1805. *Dictionary of National Biography;* Fitzmaurice, *Life of Lord Shelburne.*

[2] Printed, *ante*, 245. Gage's proposal is given in his letter of March 28, 1766, which is printed, *ante*, 198.

LORDS OF TRADE TO GEORGE III, September 3, 1766
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.66, f. 367 — D.S.]

(seal) TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

In obedience to Your Majesty's Commands signified to this Board by a Letter from one of Your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated the 23d of May last, We have taken into Our Consideration the Extract of a Letter from Major General Gage, and several Papers therein referred to, containing a Proposition for establishing a Military Government, and granting Lands on Military Tenure in the Illinois Country in North America; whereupon, We humbly submit to Your Majesty's Consideration, whether it may not be inexpedient for Us at this time to report an Opinion to Your Majesty upon a proposition for establishing Government, and making Settlements in a particular Part of that extensive interior Country, which, by Your Majesty's Proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, (now in force) is precluded from Civil Jurisdiction and Settlement; more especially when, from the Nature of the Advices lately received and communicated to Your Majesty's Secretary of State, there seems to be a necessity of speedily making such general regulations for the direction of Affairs within the whole of that interior Country, upon one uniform Plan, as may remedy the disorders which have prevailed therein, preserve the friendship and good Will of the Indians, and put the Trade with them under such regulations, that the Nation may reap all the Advantage which the Trade is capable of Affording.

Which is most humbly submitted,

HILLSBOROUGH
ED: ELIOT
WM FITZHERBERT
J. DYSON

WHITEHALL Septr 3d 1766.

[*Endorsed:*] Representation from the Lords of Trade to His Majesty relative to an Establishment of Government in the Illinois Country. 3d Septr 1766. In Their Lordships Letter, of the same Date.

Deed of a House by Smallman to Cole, September 8, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 13:104 (1) — A.C.]

Know all Men by these Presents, that I the Subscriber have this day, Sold, yielded, quitted, ceded, transported and made Over from henceforth and forever, with warrant to free from any trouble or hindrance generally whatsoever, unto Edw^d^ Cole Esquire Commissary for Indian Affairs at the Ilinois, and to his Successors in the said Office, on Account and for the use of the Government, A House, situated in the Main Street, near the Church in Chartres Village, in the Ilinois, late in the Occupation of Mons^r^ La Cled, with the Out-houses, Land, and all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, as they now stand, for and in consideration of the Sum of Six hundred Dollars. Which I have this day Received from him, and do allow that he, & his successors do possess the same, for the Service aforesaid, and have delivered to him all original papers relative thereto, And I bind myself, my Heirs, Executors, Administrators, & Assigns, unto the said Edw^d^ Cole Esq^r^ & his Successors as aforesaid firmly by these Presents, Sealed with my Seal this Eighth day of September, in the Sixth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King defender of the faith &c. and in the Year of Christ: 1766.

Tho^s^ Smallman

Signed Sealed and delivered in the presence of { Jn^o^ Reed Col / L^t^ C^l^ 34 Regim^t^ / Thos Ford.

a True Copy Jn^o^ Reed Col[2]
L^t^ C^l^ 34 Regim^t^

[*Endorsed:*] Deed Tho^s^ Smallman to Edw^d^ Cole N^o^ 15

[1] Published by Mr. Alvord in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3: no. 3, p. 29.

[2] John Reed appears as a major, commissioned in 1745, in the earliest printed army list. He was transferred to the Fourth Foot in 1754, and became lieutenant colonel of the Thirty-fourth in January, 1756. He came to America in 1761 and was in the West Indian expedition under Albemarle. In 1762 he was promoted to colonel, and relieved Major Robert Farmar in command of the Illinois country late in the summer of 1766, having come up the Mississippi River from Mobile. At the present time it is impossible to determine the exact date of the transfer of authority. The first document appearing with Reed's signature as comman-

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, September 10, 1766[1]
[Johnson MSS., 13:80 — L.S.]

FORT CHARTRES Sep[r] 10th 1766.

SIR,

After a long & fatiguing Passage from Sioto, from which place I wrote your Honour last, we arrived here the 20th of August where I found the Several Nations of Indians residing in this Country was Collected together at the Kaskaskias a large Indian Village near [*blank in MS.*] a French Town, after delivering my dispatches to Colonel Reed & consulting with him about the Conference to be held with the Indians I set out for the Kaskaskias & had a meeting with the several Nations where the Deputys of the Six Nations, Shawanese, Dellaweres, & Hurons, delivered the Speeches sent by them from their Nations, to those Nations, in a very Spirited Manner.

and in the afternoon the Several Nations Returnd those Deputys answers to their Speeches; after which I fixed a day for them to assemble at Fort Chartres in Order to hold the Conference.

The Conference begun at Fort Chartres the 25th of Aug[t] where was Assembled the Chiefs & principle Warriors of Eight Nations, divided into Twentytwo tribes or bands, which made it very deficult to do business with them; however after two days meeting with them we finnished the business to the Satisfaction of the Several Nations, who all seemed Convinced that the French had imposed upon them in every thing they had told them, a General Peace & Reconciliation was then declared in Public between his Majesty's Subjects the Northern Nations, & all those Western Nations, except three Tribes which the French had influence enough to keep back from attending the Conference. But those the Chiefs which attended the Conference brought them to me at Fort Chartres the 5th of this Month, when I settled every thing with them, & Received them into the Covenant Chain of friendship; The spirited Conduct & Steadi-

dant is dated July 4, 1766. (See *ante*, 84.) Major Farmar appears to have expected the arrival of his successor in July or August. (See Farmar to Barrington, March 19, 1766, *ante*, 191.) Reed was relieved of his command at Fort de Chartres in February, 1768. (See Gage to Hillsborough, June 18, 1768, *post*, v. 3.) In 1769 Reed's regiment was recalled to serve in Ireland. He either died or returned soon afterwards, for his place was filled by another on May 5, 1769.

[1] Printed in Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:49–51.

ness of the Deputys of the Nations that attended me from Fort Pitt was of great service to bring about this General union, as those Nations in this Country stand in great Awe of the Northern Nations.

At present Indian Affairs ware a different Face in this Country, & the Indians seem quite reconciled to the English, & the French in their turn begin to fear the Consequences, since the Conference. The Indians has brought in all the Horses they had formerly stolen from the Garrison, & I flatter my self, with a little good Usage, they will soon become a very quiet & Peaceable People, as they are Naturally well disposed, had not the French influenced them to mischief.

The unavoidable Necessaty I was under of making a Present to the Indians that met me at Sioto has obliged Col[l] Reed & my self to purchase a Quantity of Presents here, & to accrue some other expences for maintaining the Indians, as they could not be supported by the Garrison without distressing the Troops, which will greatly increase the expence of my Journey, more then I coud Wish, or indeed could have expected, But here has been above One Thousand Indian Men, besides Women & Children, & there was an absolute necessaty of Convincing them at this time, that the English were as able to Support them as the French, which I think they are, & I can assure your Honour that the greatest frugallity has been observed. Col[l] Reed has given me all the assistance in his power, but has been very ill as is all the Garrison, there is not above three Officers fit for Duty & about 50 Men.

I have been so ill this fortnight past that I have not been able to write, or would have sent your Honour a Coppy of my Transactions with those Nations. As I am so Reduced with sickness, I shall be obliged to go round by New Orleans, as I'm not able to ride aCross the Country to Fort Pitt.

I am with great respect your Honours most obedient & most Humble Servant GEO: CROGHAN

To THE HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Baronet.

[*Endorsed:*] Fort Chartres 10[th] 7[br] 1766 Letter from George Croghan Esq[rl]

[1] The endorsement is in the handwriting of Johnson.

GAGE TO REED[1]

[V.S.L., Clark Papers — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK Sept

[*MS. torn*] the Copy of a Return [*MS. torn*] of North America of [*MS. torn*]oyed at Fort Chartres from 3^{d} June 1766 to [*MS. torn*] Cost there of at the rate said Provisions were purchased.

[*MS. torn*] I am to urge it to you very strongly to make the strictest Enquiry into the Cause of such large Condemnations at one single Post, in the Course of less than twelve Months; and that you take every Precaution that can be taken to prevent the like happening for the future. How to pass such Accounts or what Reasons to give for them when they are transmitted home, I am really at a loss to know.[2] I am, with great Regard,

Sir, Your Most obedient humble Servant

THO^{S} GAGE.

COL^{O} REED or off^{r} Commd^{g} 34th Reg^{t} Fort Chartres.

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, September 12, 1766

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:417 — E.]

I have just received Sir William's open letter to Secretary Conway, recommending your plan for a colony in the Illinois, which I am glad of. I have closed and sent it to him. He is not now in that department; but it will of course go to Lord Shelburne, whose good opinion of it I have reason to hope for; and I think Mr. Conway was rather against distant posts and settlements in America. We have, however, suffered a loss in Lord Dartmouth, who, I know, was inclined to a grant there in favor of the soldiery, and Lord Hillsborough is said to be terribly afraid of dispeopling Ireland. General Lyman has been long here soliciting such a grant,[3] and will readily join the interest he has made with ours, and I should wish for a body of Connecticut settlers, rather than all from our frontiers. I purpose waiting on

[1] Printed by Charles H. Ambler in *Branch Historical Papers*, 4: no. 2, p. 104.

[2] The expenses in the Illinois both for the military and Indian departments were very large and, when added to the equally large expenses at Mackinac under Major Rogers, had a great influence upon the opinion of the ministry in London.

[3] See *ante*, 260.

Lord Shelburne on Tuesday, and hope to be able to send you his sentiments by Falconer, who is to sail about the 20th.

A good deal, I imagine, will depend on the account, when it arrives, of Mr. Croghan's negotiation in that country. This is an affair I shall seriously set about; but there are such continual changes here, that it is very discouraging to all applications to be made to the ministry. I thought the last set well established, but they are broken and gone. The present set are hardly thought to stand very firm,[1] and God only knows whom we are to have next.

The plan is, I think, well drawn, and I imagine Sir William's approbation will go a great way in recommending it, as he is much relied on in all affairs that may have any relation to the Indians. Lord Adam Gordon is not in town, but I shall take the first opportunity of conferring with him. I thank the Company for their willingness to take me in, and one or two others that I may nominate. I have not yet concluded whom to propose it to; but I suppose our friend Sargent should be one. I wish you had allowed me to name more, as there will be in the proposed country, by my reckoning, near sixty-three millions of acres, and therefore enough to content a great number of reasonable people, and by numbers we might increase the weight of the interest here. But perhaps we shall do without.

B. Franklin to Johnson, September 12, 1766

[Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth ed.), 4:461]

London, Sept. 12, 1766.

Sir

I am honoured with yours of the 10th of July, just come to hand, with that for Mr Secretary Conway under a flying Seal,[2] which I have clos'd and forwarded. He is now in another Department, but it will go of course to Lord Shelbourne, who I think is rather more favourably dispos'd towards such Undertakings.

I have long been of Opinion that a well-conducted western Colony, if it could be settled with the Approbation of the Indians, would be of great National Advantage with respect to the Trade, and particularly

[1] He refers to the Chatham ministry which came to power in July, 1766. Lord Shelburne (see *ante*, 370, n.) was appointed secretary of state for the southern department and proved a very good friend of the colonial scheme.

[2] Printed *ante*, 334.

useful to the old Colonies as a Security to their Frontiers. I am glad to find that you, whose Knowledge of Indian affairs and the Temper of those People far exceeds mine, entertain the same Sentiments, and think such an Establishment in the Illinois Country practicable. I shall not fail to use my best Endeavours here in promoting it, and obtaining for that purpose the necessary Grants; and I am happy that this Occasion introduces me to the Correspondence of a Gentleman whose Character I have long esteemed, and to whom America is so much obliged.

It grieves me to hear that our Frontier People are yet greater Barbarians than the Indians, and continue to murder them in time of Peace. I hope your Negociations will prevent a new War, which those Murders give great Reason to apprehend; and that the several Governments will find some Method of preventing such horrid Outrages for the future.

With Sincere and great Regard I have the Honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient & most humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN

JOHNSON TO BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN, September 16, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 13:87 — Draft]

JOHNSON-HALL Sept^{r} 16th 1766

GENTLEMEN

His Excell^{cy} Gen^{l} Gage has communicated to me your Letter[1] of the 10th ult^{o} together with that of M^{r} Croghan on the same Subject, and informed me with his having referred you for an Answer to me, as he does not approve of sending Goods to any Villages or places where they are not under proper Inspection.

I know there may arise particular Circumstances wherein this prohibition might possibly be taken off, but as it is not only contrary to the General plan, but also to the General Security of the public, it is Extremely improper to break thro' the Regulations in any instance, as it affords Cause to others to Expect and demand the Like indulgence which would be defeating the intentions of Government and give rise to Greater complaints from the Indians & fresh disturbances; for altho' some Indians may now and then Complain of

[1] Printed *ante*, 363.

the Want of Traders in their Country we should soon have them all complaining for the gratificat[n] of a few; — M[r] Croghan I suppose thought it necessary at his Setting out, but I cannot think it should be permitted Any Longer, & therefore the Sooner The person you sent returns the better.

I have also received your last Letters & have transmitted Your acco[ts] to the General as I promised, & shall also send the other drafts received *with* my next acco[ts] as Soon as it becomes due — I have Just rec[d] a Letter from the Lords of Trade informing me amongst other things that they hope shortly to Settle the Affairs of the Departm[t] but have rec[d] no orders concerning the boundary, When I do I shall not forget my promise.[1]

I have had the pleasure of Settling matters with *Pondiac* and the Western Chiefs much to my satisfaction and beyond my expectations as they were greatly discontented on hearing the complaints of those Nations whose people had been killed by our frontier Inhabitants, and unless such doings are effectually prevented for the future I despair of any Success from my endeavors for securing the Tranquillity of the Colonies.

Mess[rs] Baynton &ca

[*Endorsed:*] Sept[r] 16th 1766. To Mess[rs] Baynton, and Wharton &c

Memorial of Traders in Behalf of Free Trade with the Indians [September 20, 1766][2]

[Johnson MSS., 12:1 — C.]

To the Honourable the Committee of Merchants For American Affairs.

Gentlemen

After three years attending to have our Trade with the Indians put upon a Footing, that shoud be for the Advantage of all his Majestys subjects; and for the Increase of that branch of Commerce, which if properly conducted must be so very Advantageous, and is the

[1] Evidently referring to a promise to obtain a land grant from the Indians as compensation for the losses suffered by the traders in 1763. Johnson did this at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768.

[2] This memorial is from Canada. It is mentioned by Claus in a letter (Johnson MSS., 40:46). The date, September 20, 1766, is given in Lansdowne MSS., 50:235.

support of this Province; We find nothing has been done for the Benefit of Trade, but on the contrary, Regulations have been made to confine all the Trade to certain Posts and Forts which Posts & Forts now established, never were in the Time of the French, look'd upon as Posts for Trade; but only as stores and Magaziens to the Traders, as they went to, & Return'd from their Wintering's or Trading Places. Those Regulations We are very well assur'd, if pursued, will every year lessen our Trade, and in the End render us a most unhappy People.

We are much affraid that Misrepresentations have been made, as well to the Sole Agent and Superintendant of Indian affairs, as to the Honble Board of Trade; who we are well assur'd wou'd if they once knew in what manner the Trade should be conducted; and how to make the most for the Advantage of the Mother Country, be ready to assist us; and make such regulations as wou'd be for our Mutual Benefit.

'Tis therefore Gentlemen we lay before you our sentiments on that Trade; and have endeavour'd to point out to you, such Methods, as we think would be sure to give satisfaction to all the Indians; and be productive of every Benefit and advantage the Trade can require. After your Examination if it shou'd as we doubt not it will, meet with your approbation; We request you to take it under your Protection, and forward it as you think will be most for the Benefit of Trade in General & the Relief of this Government in Particular.

We think that the Trade with the Indians, shou'd be free & open to all his Majesty's Subjects without Exception: and that no one shou'd avail himself of any Advantage more than another, this always has been the Policy of Great Britain and a Liberty that every Subject of the Crown has hitherto claim'd.

We think and are well assur'd unless there is Permission for all Persons to Winter with the Indians on their hunting Grounds, that the Trade must every Year diminish.[1] For many Nations of Indians, and those too who have always made the greatest consumption of our British Manufactories; and have brought the Largest Quantity of

[1] The regulation requiring that the trade be confined to posts was favored by the traders of Pennsylvania and New York, particularly by those of the latter colony (see *post*, 381). The traders of Canada, on the other hand, favored the custom of the French who followed the Indians to their winter quarters and there conducted the trade. The situation in the Old Southwest was somewhat different, as, there, each Indian commissary resided in the principal Indian village of the tribe to which he was assigned.

Furrs, and other Peltries to our Market: are at so great a distance from any Fort, that it is impossible they shou'd supply themselves, and Return again to their Hunting Grounds in the same year, Consequently if it was their Determination to be supply'd from the English, yet every Second Year of their Hunting must be Lost; which would prevent the Consumption of our British Manufactures: Stop the Current of our Trade: Hinder us from making Proper Remitances to our Correspondents; and in the End entirely breake the Chain of our Commerce (and if the Traders are oblig'd to Winter in the Fort at Michelmakinac it wou'd take such a Quantity of Provisions to Support them that the expences would be greater than any profits arising from the Trade as every Trader with One Cannoe would be obliged to take one other Loaden with Provisions otherwise he Could not carry Goods sufficient to clear Expences & make Proper Returns whereas if he has Liberty to go out and Winter with the Indians he has no Occassion for any More then what will Carry him to his intended Destination where the Indians with the Assistance of his own Men will sufficiently Supply him through the winter:) But this is not all; for to our Mortification, we every day see French Traders from the Mississippy, who have Permissions to trade with the Indians whereever they have Inclination and the Peltries that wou'd, if we had equal Liberty to trade, come through this Government are now sent to the Mississippy & go to France, from whence they have French Manufactures in Return we are well assured great Quantitys pass'd that way Last year, which we apprehend is the Reason why Peltries in England are so much Lower'd in their Value, And as Long as we are restricted in our Trade, the French, from the Mississippy by having freer access than we have, will always have it in their Power to carrey the Trade from us to the great detrement of our Manufactures, in Great Britain, and the utter Ruin of this our Province of Quebec.

We will Shew you Likewise that we think it bad Policy to restrict us in our Trade with the Indians on another Account.

It is well known that the support of an Indian and his whole Family is his Fusee, now if any Indian Family who perhaps winters at the distance of Five or Six hundred Miles from one of these Establish'd Forts shou'd by any Misfortune either Breake his Fusee, or the Least Screw of his Lock be out of order or want Ammunition; where could that Indian Family be supported from? or how get their

sustenance? they must either perish with hungar, or at Least Loose their Hunting for that year, which will be so much Peltries diminish'd from the Publick quantity, and unless that Family is relev'd, by some Persons in the Fort giving them Credit, the Ensuing year, they will not be able to return to their Hunting Ground: and so be Lost for ever.

Those Persons who have never had Commerce with the Indians, may think that any Indian coming from so great a distance, though he should not have it in his Power to return to his own Hunting Ground yet may always get his Living by hunting on his way; but those who have been acquainted with them, know the Indians are so tenacious of their Property; and jealous of other Nations; that they will not suffer them in passing through their Lands to Hunt for their support; Therefore those Nations at the greatest distance will never be able to Come to the Posts establish'd.

"It has been thought that a free trade with the Indians wou'd be detremental, and that Confining the Trade to the Posts establish'd wou'd prevent many disturbances that may arise;"

But on the Contrary we are well assur'd that a Free Trade with the Indians, and Persons sent to Winter amongst them, as has been their Custom will not only Prevent any disturbances, but will Likewise increase the Consumption of our Manufactures, and save an immense expence to the Crown; For it Cannot be suppos'd, that Indians, if it was possible they Cou'd come from so great a distance, can bring with them sufficient quantity of Provisions to support them on so Long a Voyage; Therefore the Crown must relieve them & furnish what is Necessary otherwise they will be murmuring & discontented.

Without the Indians have Credit given them; 'tis impossible to carry on a Trade to advantage; and when we are on the Spott to Winter with them, we have always an oppertunity of knowing their dispositions: pressing them to exert their diligence and are ready in the spring to Receive what is due.

"The Province of New-York desire the trade, may be confin'd to the Forts, for say they, the People in Canada having a better Navigation than we have; if they are permitted can send among the Indians & Carry most of the Peltries through the Province of Quebec." Such Reasoning surely ought not to affect the Trade; for supposing that to be Really the Case; where is the difference to Great Britain, whether the Peltries go through the Hudsons River, or through the

River S[t] Lawrence as Long as it centers in England: and the Manufactures of Great Britain are taken in Return.

But we have already shewn, and here mention it again, if the Trade is Confin'd to the Forts, the greater Part will be Lost to Eng-Land; by going to France through the Mississippy.

"Another Objection is, that Traders having Liberty to Winter among the Indians may Occassion a Warr; owing to the British Government being resolved to Protect its subjects, from any Insults and outrages of the Indians; and if Traders go among them there may every Year be some of the Traders either Robb'd or Murder'd."

This Objection at first sight seems to have some Foundation but upon nearer Examination, it will not be Sufficient to restrict us in our Trade: for Whenever any Robbrys are Committed; by a Proper Application to the First Agent for Indian affairs, he will undoubtedly order that Nation to make Restitution to the Person Robb'd: or refuse any more Traders to Winter with that Nation so offending; to prevent Thifts is impossible; For we every day see among our own People, just in the Heart of a Civilized Country many more R[o]bberies committed than can be brought to Justice: And the Indians tho their minds are uncultivated; and have nothing but the Law of nature to govern them, act upon Principles of honesty with each other; Whenever they have been guilty of any Violation of the Law of Honesty it has been in general, from the Persuasions of some Person or other, who calls himself a Christian and has done it through a View of Interest; But you may further Examine, & find that when you consider the extent of Country; the Number of different Nations you pass through; and the Quantity of People you have to deal with; there are not so many Robbries Committed in Proportion as are amongst Civilized People.

Thus have we Endeavoured to Convince you that the Trade being so Restricted will not only be detremental to this Collony in Particular; but the whole Trade in General; both in England as well as America; and that by having it open & unconfin'd it will be greatly augmented.

Therefore we Recommend it to you Gentlemen, and doubt not under your Protection it will be graciously Received and Procure Redress for

Gentlemen[1]

[1] This memorial is in English and French in parallel columns. Since the French version is incomplete, it is omitted in this transcript.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO IRWIN, September 21, 1766

[Draper MSS., 1Q6 — A.L.S.]

PHILAD^A Sept^r 21^st 1766

M^R JOHN IRWIN

SIR

We receiv'd your Letter pr Rambo of 31^st of last Month. The Amount of the Goods in the back Store we have receiv'd, which is very satisfactory. We observe the List for the Shawanese Town is very trifling. It was hardly worth *Kennadys while*,[1] one would think, to come such a great distance for those Goods. We hoped to have receiv'd an answer to ours to you of the 1^st Inst^t, especially as our Batteau Men faithfully promised to be with you on the 10^th *We have sent forward very large parcells of Rivets, Burrs, &ca for the Boats, both on our own & the Kings Acc^ts If on their Arrival you find that there is not enough of ours to build 50 Batteaus for Us, then in such Case, keep as many of the Kings in your Hands, as will be sufficient for our purpose. Once more we in the warmest Manner recommend to you, the Utmost exactitude in the delivery of all his Majesty's Goods to the Commissary at Pittsburgh, as possible, As otherwise we should not only get into great Confusion, but very probably incurr the Generals highest resentment.* We are pleased with your information concerning Master Duncan. We Shall know how to manage with that Gentleman, when we come to Settle with Him. He has Us'd us scurvily. *We have, you know, ordered 30 Head more of Cattle up to you from Him,* which we suppose He will exert his cunning in, in the purchasing of them &c. *We are making use of the greatest Industry in forwarding up a large Number of Waggons, besides 600 pack Horses in order to lade all our Boats for our last Division, which we have determined, shall positively leave Pittsburgh by the 20^th of November at furthest.* We are afraid it will be rather late to dispatch the Batteaus then *but as heavy Rains usually fall at that Season, we make no doubt, but what they will be at the Confluence of the River by the 1^st of December. We must have at least Thirty of them, compleatly finish'd by that Time. We shall send you more Oakum & Pitch if you Judge it necessary. If you do, let us know what will be wanted. Our good Fr^d Moreton must be prevailed on, at all events, to haul Us as many Logs as will be fully sufficient for our purpose. We suppose 15 Batteaus will be ready for*

Observe attentively This.

Observe this & also, your 23^d Instr tion.

Observe This.

[1] The italics represent underlining in the original.

Smith by the middle of next Month, which with the 50 you mention'd will make the whole Number 65. Twenty of which we propose to be ready by the 1st of March, for our Mr Wharton to go down with, One of which we desire may be made with a small booby House in order for Him to be entirely secur'd from the Weather, and in every respect let it be made as convenient as possible. In the doing of which we shall not mind if we loose half of what she might otherways Stowe. As you will have so large a Number of Ship Carpenters & Sawyers, We doubt not, you may readily have the 21 Batteaus we have desir'd by the Middle of November. Use all your address in animating the Men to Work, late & early, & spare no proper Quantity of Rum for this End, & assure them all of our future regard if they will exert themselves to the Utmost for Us. They may all continue to Work for Us until Christmas. At which time, they are to be discharged, save as many of them as you think can build the remainder of the Boats. But if you should find it absolutely necessary to continue all of them in our pay until the 1st of March, then in such Case, you must comply therewith. Howevr it would be by no means Prudent to inform them of this Instruction, lest they should make an ill use of it. We promised Benja Cathrall that He should not be forc'd to go to Fort Chartres. This Young Man has wrote his Father that Major Murray designs to send him to that place. Pay our respectfull Compliments to that worthy Gentleman, and Acquaint him, we made an absolute Engagement with this Young Man that He should go no farther than Pittsburgh — Exclusive of this Consideration, the Major, from his known Humanity would not insist on it, when he is acquainted that it would probably bring down the grey Hairs of the Lads Father to the grave. He being entirely wrapped Up in Him, & has an utter aversion to his going down the River. We have already told you that we want 65 Batteaus to descend the Ohio this Fall. Five Men to each, makes 315[1]— A Great Many Mouths to feed! but must, you know, be done at all Events. Therefore contrive to get as many Barrels of Beef & Pork from Mr Read, as possible. In your Calculation you must reckon on a Months Passage; Tho' we hope it will be perform'd in less Time.

Pray advert carefully to this & call on the Major

Compare this wth yr Instruc -tions.

[1] The idea that the Ohio River and the land on either side was not well known until much later than this is completely disproved by this information as well as by information contained in many succeeding letters. It must be remembered besides these 315 employees of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, there were other firms and individual traders interested in Ohio trade, so that counting traders and troops, the number of men journeying on the Ohio in the year 1766 must have been many hundred.

After they get down 200 Miles they will be able to kill as many Buffaloes & Deer, as will feed them at least 3 days out of 7. Those Men that went with Jennings, say, They are confident, they may kill quite sufficient for their purpose. M^r Clarkson surely mist it greatly, by sending no less than 4 Barrels of Pork & 5 D^o of Flour by each Boat. We cannot for our lives comprehend the meaning of this, Unless he was afraid that Provisions would be exceeding scarce & dear at the Illinois on their Arrival there. A Barrel of Pork weighs about 250^lb which at a pound a Day each Man, is of consequence, enough for 50 Days, even provided they did not kill a Single Buffalo or Deer. Therefore, by no means, send above a Barrel of Pork & a Barrel of Flour by each Batteau. M^r Jennings assure Us that there was like to be vast Crops in the Neighborhood of Fort Chartres, & we doubt not, from his Information, that Flour will be bought there at less than a Dollar pr C^w So that we should be compleat Madmen to send an Ounce more than that there is a real Occasion for. This matter is so obvious, that, there needs no reasoning on it. Cap^t Smith has long been Acquainted with the allowance on board the Kings Ships, & He will tell you, that one pound of Beef or Pork a Day, is given there, & that Numbers of the Men do not Eat above that Quantity, but sell it for Rum or other necessarys. We make it a point with you, that whenever you can collect 1000 Weight of Peltry's, to send them forward to Us, with the quickest dispatch. For the moment they come here we can convert them into Cash. An Article you may well think we are in great Need of. We have repos'd a very high Trust in our Agent M^r Matthew Clarkson,[1] & we have good reasons to deem ourselves happy in the choice of Him, as such. But it behoves us, notwithstanding, to get the Best Information, we can of Him, respecting his Conduct of our Affairs. We are aware, that this is a delicate subject & that it must be your Friendship to us alone, that would induce you to be free in your Remarks concerning Him. But we conjure by the Ties of your regard to Us, that you do frankly give us your opinion of his Conduct, as far as you are acquainted with it, & which we assure you, shall not in the least injure you as we shall confine it entirely to ourselves. The Letters this Gent^n has wrote us, have been extremely satisfactory to Us, and as far as He has yet gone in our Business (save the sending such great Quantities of Provisions by each Batteau) has

Observe This.

[1] Clarkson's journal is printed *ante*, 349. Clarkson accompanied the spring consignment of goods to Kaskaskia.

given Us, the strongest Opinion of his Ability's to serve Us. And we flatter Ourselves, that your observation respecting Him will strengthen our Esteem for Him. Cap[t] Smith writes testily to Us, about his Delicacy, or his delicate Pride as He phrases it. *But we don't regard his relation, as we know he is not a little peevish.* And as to M[r] Clarkson's particular Foibles, we have nothing to say to them, so that don't affect our Business. We have sent him as our representative & therefore it is quite right for Him to assume some Dignity in the Execution of our Affairs. As to Smith, He is very well for the station we have appointed Him in. But He mistakes it greatly, you will join in opinion with Us, if He compares his Talents with the other. This you will naturally keep to yourself. *It has occurr'd to Us, that a prodigious saving may be made to Us in the navigating the Batteaus, & such as we are firmly persuaded may readily be reduc'd to practice. It is this, that instead of carrying 4 Men to row & one to Stear, we may send but three Men to each Boat. For two Oars employ'd will, We apprehend be quite sufficient for the purpose, at the approaching Season of the year, when we have always abundance of Rain. We doubt not, at the Time of Smith's Division & the last that is to go this Fall, that the River will be high & that the Batteaus may easily go with very moderate Rowing at least 5 Miles an Hour, which would in 20 Days bring them down to the Mississippi. From whence an Express must be sent up to Fort Chartres to M[r] Morgan & M[r] Clarkson informing them that they are there. Immediately on hearing of which, those Gentlemen will dispatch a proper Number of our Batteau Men, there to relieve those that come down. This has been already done, & is a method we shall always pursue. It may be prudent to Man 4 or 5 of the Boats with 5 Hands each, least any of our Men be taken sick. If they are, their places can be instantly supply'd by the supernumerary Men, in the aforesaid 4 or 5 Boats.* It will be proper to *put the hardiest, stoutest Men into the Boats that are to have but 3 Men in them. We know of no Objection to this plan, & if it can be put in Execution will save us an immense Sum in Wages & provisions — not less than £5000. We have wrote this Paragraph to Captain Smith & we desire that you may, on receipt of this compare your sentiments seriously together on it & let us know the result of them pr the first opportunity. We apprehend there is not the least probability of a portage at the Falls, for Jennings writes us, that he pass'd them unperceived. And doubtless that will be the*

[*MS. torn*] for Gov'mt

Compare these observations with the 11th Instr[n]

Case, with Smiths & the other Division. But supposing that the Water would not admit of going over the Falls without unlading the Boats no inconveniency can possibly arise thereon, save the loss of two or 3 Days Time extraordinary, which is a trifling consideration to the great savings otherways. There cannot be the least fear of the Boats grounding in going down. If they should, nothing bad can arise from it, as all our Fleet will be together, & can of Course soon push her off. Had we to undertake this Scheme of Trade again, we are certain we could, save upwards of Ten Thousand Pounds in it, from the Experience we have already had in it. Indeed the Enormous Expences attending it, at Times makes us almost Sick.[1] We happily know your attachment to Us & your Fidelity we repose the strongest Confidence in. As such we are assur'd that nothing will be left unessayed by you that you think will promote our Interest. And in due Time, you shall be convinc'd you have not bestow'd your Labour for Men, who are not willing to properly estimate your Worth. We pray your *strictest Attention to this most important Matter, & in your reasoning on it, remember, that the mode we propose can possibly make but a few Days difference to Us in getting down which we don't at all regard. We have wrote to Cap^t^ Simes to forward you 20,000 Weight more of Flour — press him often to quickly fullfill our desire.*

We are with great regard

Your Friends & Hble Serv^ts^
BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

Observe This

P. S. *You will remember that all the Goods we send up, that are not mark'd for Pittsburgh Store, are to be sent to Fort Chartres.*

[*Endorsed:*] [September] 31, 1766 Letter which we sent for John Irwin's [*MS. torn*] is now Delivered, as [*MS. torn*]

[1] The trade with the Illinois country did not prove as profitable as Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan expected and they became, during the next year, very hard pressed for funds, and were obliged to call together their creditors. On investigation the firm appeared to be solvent but was obliged to conduct its business henceforth under the guidance of a committee of its creditors. It is possible that a careful study of the firm's account books that are in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, would reveal exactly the conditions of profit and loss in the Illinois trade. The account books are huge in size and the system of accounting, complicated, so that we have not undertaken this work.

INDIAN EXPENDITURES, September 25, 1766
[Johnson MSS., 13:94 — A.D.S.]

Dr The Crown,
To Edward Cole Esqr
Commissary for Indian Affairs at the Illinois, for Sundries for the Indian Department. Vizt

			Livres	Sols
1766				
July	1st	To Cash paid Edwd Mumford for £100 3 New York Curry at 5 Livs pr dollar, for Sundries as pr Voucher	Nº1 1251	16
	15th	To ditto pd F: Hamback, at the Miamies for Sundries, £11 16 8 New York Cury as pr Voucher	2 147	17
	23d	To ditto pd Josh Pallier of Wiatonon, pr ditto	3 230	..
	31st	To ditto pd Nicholas of Post Vincent, for provissions &c as pr Voucher	4 469	..
Augst	25th	To ditto pd Ligonier Pilot & Voyager, pr Voucher	5 300	..
	28th	To ditto pd McMeen, & Williams, for Attendance at the Congress held by Col: Croghan	6 50	..
		To ditto pd Charles McNamarra, an Interpretor 18 days @ 5 Livs pr day	7 90	..
		To ditto pd J: Baptist Vadrie, for the Hire of a Horse from Post Vincent	8 60	..
	29th	To ditto pd R: Winston for a Horse furnish'd to an Indian Express, by order of Col. Croghan	9 150	..
	30th	To ditto pd on St Marie, for Horse hire Sixty Livs & 100 Ls pd Crupion Interpretor	10 160	..
		Carried Over	Livs 2908	13

[*page 2*]			Liv^{s}	Sol^{s}
	Brought Over		2908	13
Augst30th	To Cash p^{d} Vadrie & Frambrist as p^{r} Acc^{t} and Voucher, for their diet &c, during the Congress held by Col: Croghan	N°11	193	10
31st	To d° paid J. B. Vodrie for his Service at Post Vincent, two days as Interpretor, & at this place, during the Congress held by Col. Croghan	12	250	
"	To d° paid Anthony La Framboist for Serving as Interpretor at Post Vincent, & at this place during the Congress held by Col. Croghan	13	250	
Sept^{r} 1st	To Cash paid Maisonville for horse hire from Post Vincent to this place. p^{r} Voucher	14	60	
10th	To Cash p^{d} Tho^{s} Smallman, for a House & Lott purchased of him for the Use of the Crown as p^{r} Copy of the deed inclosed	15	3000	
18th	To d° paid A: Dundas for 175£ Pork, furnished to the Indians during the Congress held by Geo. Croghan Esq^{r}	16	175	
20th	To d° p^{d} Fr. Miller for 130£ pork, furnish^{d} for d°	17	130	
24th	To d° paid: D. Watson, for Milk deliver'd Sick Indians in August last by my Order	18	15	
"	To d° p^{d} L^{t} Baugh, late Commandant at Kuskuskes, who supplied Sundry Ind^{ns} with Liquor &c	19	257	
"	To d° p^{d} Doct^{r} Annesly p^{r} order of Geo Croghan Esq^{r} for his Attendance on, & Medicines administred to the Indians Since the 12th: Jan^{y} is 256 days at 5/ pensylvania Curr^{y} of 18^{d} p^{r} Livre	20	853	7
	Carried Forward		Liv^{s} 8092	10

[*page 3*]

		Liv^{s}	Sols
	Brought forward	8092	10
Sept^{r} 25th	To Cash p^{d} Gerardot for serving me as an Interpretor, since the first of Sept^{r} is 25 days @ 5 Livres N^{o} 21	125	
	To ditto p^{d} Baynton & Co: for Sundry Goods had of them, & given to sundry Chiefs, & parties of Indians who have visited this place before & since the late Congress, but were not present during the Treaty	22 9511	
	To my Salary from the 17th day of April to this day, is 5 Months & 8 days: @ £200 Sterl^{g} p^{r} Ann[um] is £87.14.4. @ 5 Liv^{s} p^{r} doll^{r} makes	1880	
		Liv^{s} 19608	10

The whole Amount of the above, being Nineteen thousand Six hundred & Eight Livres, ten Sols, at five Livres p^{r} dollar, is in New York Curr^{y} One thousand, five hundred Sixty eight Pounds, thirteen Shillings & Sevenpence. I have drawn on the Hon^{ble} Sir W^{m} Johnson for, in favour of Baynton Wharton & Morgan, or Order, dated Fort Chartres Sept^{r} 25th: 1766.

Edw^{D} Cole

[*Endorsed:*] September 25th 1766 Fort Chartres The Crown in Acc^{t} with Edw^{d} Cole.

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan's Account for Goods Delivered to Indians, September 25, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 13:108 (1) — D.S.]

The Crown
To Baynton Wharton & Morgan D^r^

for the following Goods deliver'd by Order of Edward Cole Esq^r^ Commissary for Indian Affairs at the Illinois &c. Viz^t^

1766			Livres			
August 14th	1 P^r^ Stroud		200			
	12 Shirts	15/	180			
	12 P^r^ Leggings	8/	96			
	12 Breech Clouts	8/	96			
	30 ½^11^ Kettles	5/	152	10		
	2^11^ Virmillion	20/	40			
	12^11^ Powder	5/	60			
	30^11^ Ball	1/	30			
	10 Gallons Rum	15/	150			
	2¼ Brass Wire	5/	11	5		
	100 Flints	10/	10			
					1025	15
18th	2 P^s^ Stroud	200/	400			
	1 P^s^ English Match Coating	200/	200			
	40 P^r^ of Legings	8/	320			
	28 Breech Clouts	8/	224			
	28 Shirts	15/	420			
	42^11^ Kettles	5/	210			
	4^11^ Virmillion	20/	80			
	15 Gallons of Rum	15/	225			
	30^11^ Powder	5/	150			
	60^11^ Ball	1/	60			
	200 Flints	10/	20			
	1½ of Brass Wire	5/	7	10		
	2 Tom Hawks	10/	20			
					2336	10

Sep^{t} 12th	12 Match Coats	15/	180		
	12 Shirts	15/	180		
	12 Breech Clouts	8/	96		
	12 P^{r} of Leggings	8/	96		
	12^{ll} Powder	5/	60		
	30^{ll} Ball	1/	30		
	50 Flints		5		
	10 Gallons Rum	15/	150		
	2^{ll} Virmillion	20/	40		
	13 ½ Kettles	5/	67	10	
					904 10
	Continued			Livres—	4266 15

[*page 2*]					Livres	Sols
1766	Bro^{t} Over				4266	15
Sep^{t} 16th	30^{ll} Powder	5/	150			
	80^{ll} Ball	1/	80			
	200 Flints	10/	20			
	20 Gallons of Rum	15/	300			
	4 Fuzees	60/	240			
	1 P^{s} French Match Coating		300			
	20 Shirts	15/	300			
	20 P^{r} of Leggings	8/	160			
	20 Breech Clouts	8/	160			
	4^{ll} Paint	20/	80			
	7 Strouds	20/	140			
	14 ¼^{ll} Kettles	5/	71	5		
	1 ¾^{ll} brass Wire	5/	8	15		
	5 best Tom Hawks	12/10	62	10		
					2072	10
19th	80^{ll} Powder	5/	400			
	200 Ball	1/	200			
	6 Fuzees	60/	360			
	400 Flints	10/	40			
	6^{ll} Paint	20/	120			
	12 ½^{ll} Wire	5/	62	10		
					1182	10

	10 M Wambum	50/	500			
	1[11] Thread to make Belts with	10/	10			
					510	
	12 Shirts	15/	180			
	6 Strouds	20/	120			
	6 Match Coats French	20/	120			
	12 Pair of Legings	8/	96			
	6 Breech Clouts	8/	48			
	20 ½[11] brass Kettles	5/	102	10		
					666	10
24[th]	4 Shirts	20/	80			
	4 Scarlet Strouds	25/	100			
	4 Scarlet Legings	10/	40			
	2 Breech Clouts	8/	16			
	2 Gorgets	30/	60			
	8[11] Powder	5/	40			
	20[11] Ball	1/	20			
	50 Flints 5/ 2[11] Paint 20/		45	0		
	2 ¼[11] brass Wire	5/	11	5		
	2 brass Kettles W[t] 18½[11]	5/	92	10		
					504	15
	Continued	Livres			9203	0

[*page 3*]

					Livres	Sols
	Bro[t] Over				9203	0
1766						
September 25[th]						
	4 Gallons of Rum	15/	60	0		
	8[11] Powder	5/	40			
	20[11] Ball	1/	20			
	40 Flints	4/	4			
	4 Match Coats	15/	60			
	4 Shirts	15/	60			
	4 P[r] Legings	8/	32			
	4 Breech Clouts	8/	32			
					308	
			Livres		9511	

FORT CHARTRES Sep[t] 25th 1766 Receivd of Edward Cole Esq[r] Commissary for Indian Affairs at the Illinois the above Sum of Nine thousand five hundred & Eleven Livres at five Livres ℔ Dollar— having signd two Rec[ts] of this Tenor & Date.

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

I do hereby certify that the foregoing Goods amounting to Nine thousand five hundred and Eleven Livres were given to Parties of sundry Tribes of Indians who have visited this place before & since the Treaty lately held here by Geo[e] Croghan Esq[r] & were not present at the said Treaty. FORT CHARTRES Illinois September 25[th] 1766.

JN[O] REED COL[1]
L[t]C[l] 34 Reg[t]

[*Endorsed:*] Baynton Wharton & Morgan N[o] 22

GIRARDOT'S ACCOUNT FOR SERVICES, September 25, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 13:108 (2) — D.S.]

FORT CHARTRES Sep[t] 25th 1766

The Crown
To Gerardot Dr

for serving as an Indian Interpreter from the first Instant to this Day is 25 Days at five Livres ℔ Day 125 Livres

Rec[d] of Edward Cole Esq[r] Commissary for Indian Affairs the above Sum of One hundred & twenty five Livres at five Livres ℔ Dollar

GIRARDOT[2]

Witness
GEO: MORGAN

[*Endorsed:*] September 25[th] 1766 Gerardot Interpreter N[o] 21.

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, September 27, 1766

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:418 — E.]

I have mentioned the Illinois affair to Lord Shelburne. His Lordship had read your plan for establishing a colony there, recom-

[1] This document, with the exception of the certification by Reed, is in the handwriting of the person who signs the firm name, George Morgan. The certificate above is in another hand, not that of Colonel Reed, but the signature, including "L[t]C[l] 34 Reg[t]," is in the hand of Colonel Reed.

[2] On Girardot, consult index of Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, 5).

mended by Sir William Johnson, and said it appeared to him a reasonable scheme, but he found it did not quadrate with the sentiments of people here; that their objections to it were, the distance, which would make it of little use to this country, as the expense on the carriage of goods would oblige the people to manufacture for themselves; that it would for the same reason be difficult both to defend it and to govern it; that it might lay the foundation of a power in the heart of America, which in time might be troublesome to the other colonies, and prejudicial to our government over them; and that people were wanted both here and in the already settled colonies, so that none could be spared for a new colony. These arguments, he said, did not appear of much weight, and I endeavoured by others to invalidate them entirely. But his Lordship did not declare whether he would or would not promote the undertaking; and we are to talk further upon it.

I communicated to him two letters of Mr. Croghan's, with his journal, and one or two of yours on that subject, which he said he would read and consider; and I left with him one of Evans's maps of the middle colonies, in the small-scale part of which I had marked with a wash of red ink the whole country included in your boundaries. His Lordship remarked that this would coincide with General Lyman's project, and that they might be united.

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, September 30, 1766

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:419 — E.]

I have just had a visit from General Lyman, and a good deal of conservation on the Illinois scheme. He tells me that Mr. Morgan,[1] who is under-secretary of the Southern department, is much pleased with it; and we are to go together to talk to him concerning it.

[1] Maurice Morgan, "a man of rare modesty and uncommon powers," was one of the many remarkable men who made up the circle of Lord Shelburne, and he especially was influential with his patron in political matters. All through the period of Shelburne's administration Morgan was one of the most trusted counsellors, particularly in American affairs, for which Morgan drew up several important papers. When the colonial affairs seemed to be reaching a crisis and the Quebec question was especially pressing, Shelburne sent Morgan to America. His account of the Quebec situation is extremely valuable (Lansdowne MSS.). From Canada he went to the southern colonies, but before his advice could be acted upon, his patron had resigned. Morgan wrote several pamphlets on current affairs, but is best remembered for his "Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff" (London, 1777). *Dictionary of National Biography*, 13:939.

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Johnson
September 30, 1766
[Johnson MSS., 13: 118 — L.S.]

PHILAD[A] September 30th 1766

SIR

We have been this Day honoured with your Favour of the 15th Instant, and shall you may be assured, pay the strictest Obedience to your just Sentiments, respecting the Trade at the Shawanese Town.

This Province is unhappily agitated with party Disputes; of consequence, the Conduct of particular Persons, is too frequently view'd thro' an unfavorable medium;—Which now happens to be Our Case, with Respect to the small Quantity of Goods,—which our Partner Mr Morgan, sent to the Shawanese Town.—We esteem it our indespensible Duty to explain our Conduct in this matter, Particularly, to your Honor; as it is immediately relative to your Department—We therefore pray your Patience, whilst we briefly mention it.

We assure you Sir — That our express Agreement with Mr Morgan, before He left Philadelphia, was, that all Our Goods should be transported to Fort Chartres; & none of Them sold in any Part of the Indian Country; & That those which were forwarded from Scioto to the Lower Shawanese Town, were without our Knowledge or Consent & That we were entire Strangers to the measure untill our Partner Mr Morgan, wrote us from Scioto — He was induced to it, At the earnest Solicitation of Mr Croghan.

Mr Alexander Lowry & some of the Traders at Fort Pitt, supported, we are told, by two or Three Merchants (one of whom, is scarcely concern'd in the Trade) of this City — have Petitioned Our Govenor against us,[1] and have procured a Promise from Him, That if They will prove, we have sent any Goods to the Shawanese Town, —He will order our Bond, to be instantly put into Suit.

If any Merit is due to Merchants, for exploring a newly acquired Country for Trade & thereby supporting the important negotiations of your Honor's agent — We humbly conceive, we are entituled to the Countenance, & Ought not to incur the Resentment, of the executive Officers of this Government — may we therefore flatter Ourselves, That your Honor will be so good, as to afford us your Protection and not suffer us to *be sued*, for doing an act, expressly required of us, by your Deputy.

[1] See following document.

We are fully persuaded, of the real Necessity to establish Regulations for the Indian Trade & we sincerely disdain the Thought, of violating Them.

If we have done wrong in sending Goods to the Shawanese Town — we did not do it, with an illegal Design,— But simply to gratify Mr Croghan, in what He judged for the Good of the Service, He was engaged in.

We are highly obliged to your Honor for your kind Information That you had transmitted Our Accounts to his Excellency the General & we trust, you will be so good, as to excuse Our mentioning Our great want of the Money — for we assure you, Trade never languished more, for want of it.

We thankfully acknowledge your Honors Kindness in communicating the agreeable Intelligence, you have received from their Lordships, the Lords Commissioners for Trade, & for another striking Instance of the Friendship, you favour us with, in respect to our Indian Losses.

We are heartily rejoiced, That your Honors negociations with *Pondiac* & the Western Chiefs, terminated so much to your satisfaction. An Event, that must yield solid Pleasure to every One & Particularly to those, who are generous adventurers to the Indian Country; — As They have now just Grounds to hope, a permanent Peace is establish'd with Them.

We are with the sincerest Respect Sir Your Honour's much obliged and most Obedient Servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN[1]

To THE H SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bart

[*Endorsed:*] Philada Septr 30th 1766 From Messrs Baynton Wharton &ca Ansd October 24th

SPEAR AND OTHERS TO JOHNSON, October 4, 1766

[Johnson MSS., 25:66 — L.S.]

SIR

We agreeable to his Majestys Proclaimation having Severly obtained Licence of his Honour the Governor of Pennsylvania to carry on a Trade with all friendly Indians at this place each of us

[1] The signature is in the handwriting of Samuel Wharton.

giving Bonds with Security for five hundred Pounds Pennsylvania Currency for our strict Adherance to whatever orders and regulations his Majesty may at any time think fit by himself or his Commassaries appointed for that purpose to give for the benefit of the Trade and in hopes that each of us wou'd have had an equal chance in a free Trade fair Trade here, We have at a very great expence Built proper Houses for the purpose of Trading in this place—But notwithstanding this we are under the Necessity of acquainting you Sir. that Mess^{rs} Baynton Wharton & Morgan (Contrary to all Regulations and Orders as well as Justice) have in June last fixed a Store of Indians Goods at the Shawaneese Town on the River Sioto where they Continue by their Agent to carry on a Trade with these Indians greatly to our prejudice. We are Sensible that many groundless excuses will be made for this their unwarrantable and unjust Preceeding and we here they are determined to Support it in this manner if they can but we think it was premeditated and Calculated purposely to Monopolize the greatest share of this free Trade in these Gentlemens Hands who contrived and Supported it. We Sir have hitherto imagined that every of his Majestys Subjects have an equal right to a free Trade whilest the necessary regulations are observed and cannot in Silence see our priveliges and even our property thus Violently carried away and unless our grievances are Speedily redress'd we must either unwillingly follow their Example or wait our ruin here.

To you Sir we beg leave to apply for this redress and as you have been pleased to appoint Alexander M^{c}Kee Esq^{r} Commissary of Trade in this Department we are Confidant from our knowledge of him that whatever Directions you are pleased to give for this purpose will be punctually and Justly Executed as the Difficulties we labor Under immediately demand We are with all Respect

Sir Your most Obedient & most Humble Servant

Jo^{S} Spear
Alex^{DR} Lowrey
Jn^{O} Gibson
Simon & Milligan
John Boggs
Dan^{L} Elliot

Pittsburgh October 4th 1766.

[*Endorsed:*] From Traders at Fort Pitt

GAGE TO BARRINGTON, October 11, 1766

[Landsdowne MSS., 51:23 — C.]

NEW YORK 11th October 1766.

MY LORD,

. . . . . .

For a long time past I have been examining and curtailing Expences as much as could be in every part under my Command, and the estimates now transmitted, I believe to be as exact as they can be made at an average to ascertain the annual Contingent Military Expences of North America wanting only to compleat the whole, the Estimates already mentioned, from West Florida & Albany.

. . . . . .

In the Quartermaster General's Department, the article of building boats at Fort Pitt is heavy, but that business was examined & enquired into before it was undertaken, and the Crown pays the same prices as every Trader upon the Ohio. But the most weighty article is the transportation of Provisions & Stores from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres. This is put down to shew the expence that will be incurred, if the necessity of the Service will oblige me to forward provisions sufficient for the feeding of a Regiment for twelve Months, with their Cloathing &cª and that no assistance can be got from the Country in the article of Provision. This year a large quantity of Provision has been procured there, if their Harvest has been good, a further Supply will be got next year by which considerable transportations will be saved and opportunities have offered this year which has enabled me to make further Savings. The Recruits which arrived for the 34th Regiment have been employed in the transportation in lieu of Batteau-Men, and tho' to be allowed some gratuity for the wear of their necessaries it will be far short of the wages of the others, upon the whole this article must be uncertain, but the Supplying of a Regiment at the Illinois is so very expensive, that I must use every means in my power that can reduce it.

. . . . . .

It was remarked with the Estimates sent last Year, that the Superintendants of the Northern & Southern Indians drew upon the Commander in Chief for their Salarys as well as for the Salaries of all the Officers in their respective Departments, and their other Contingent expences; but that I could not send their Estimates, as they

were transmitted to the Board of Trade, I have however desired S^r Will^m Johnson & M^r Stewart to send me a List of all their Deputies, Commissaries, Interpreters, Smiths, &c^a with their annual pay. As soon as I shall be able to procure these Lists, they will be forwarded to Your Lordship.

Your Lordship will pardon any Errors, from the hurry I write in to be in time for the mail, w^ch being near closing, will not permit me to make farther observations at present, if any occur hereafter I shall have the honor to mention them by another opportunity.

I have the honor to be &c Your Lordships &c

THO^S GAGE.

RT. H^BLE LORD VIS^T BARRINGTON[1] &c &c &c

. . . . . .

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, October 11, 1766

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:419 — E.]

I was again with Lord Shelburne a few days since, and said a good deal to him on the affair of the Illinois settlement. He was pleased to say he really approved of it; but intimated that every new proposed expense for America would meet with great difficulty here, the treasury being alarmed and astonished at the growing charges there, and the heavy accounts and drafts continually brought in from thence. That Major Farmer, for instance, had lately drawn for no less than thirty thousand pounds extraordinary charges, on his going to take possession of the Illinois; and that the superintendents, particularly the southern one, began also to draw very largely. He spoke, however, very handsomely of Sir William on many accounts.

[1] There follows an "Abstract of the Several Estimates transmitted to His Majestys Secretary at War."

CHAPTER VIII

A CHAPTER OF OPINIONS, OCTOBER 28, 1766–NOVEMBER 27, 1766

LYMAN WRITES OF THE NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER — THE EVIDENCE — CAPTAIN BOND'S JOURNAL OF 1699 — JACKSON'S OPINION OF THE PLAN FOR INDIAN AFFAIRS — HIS CRITICISM OF BARRINGTON'S PLAN — HE GIVES HIS APPROVAL OF THE ILLINOIS COLONY — THOMAS WHARTON WRITES BENJAMIN FRANKLIN — WINSTON'S LOSSES — A COURT-MARTIAL AT FORT DE CHARTRES.

LYMAN TO SHELBURNE, October 28, 1766

[Lansdowne MSS., 50:149—C.]

A Letter from General Lyman to the Earl of Shelburne relating to the navigation of the Mississippi

Oct. 28, 1766

MY LORD

As the Navigation of the Mississippi must be of consequence to any Settlement that may be made on the Ohio, or any other Inland part of that large River, & knowing the Prejudices the French have artfully propagated amongst the English against its Navigation; I have made it my Business to find out what Reports they have made of it to the French Court. And I find that Father Charlevoix, forty years after the French had been in Possession of that Country, by a Settlement formed on the Bay of Mexico and another on the Illinois River says that there is nothing to hinder Shipping coming up to the Natches; and for that Reason as well as on many other Accounts, recommends that place for the Metropolis of a large settled Country. Vide Charlevoix Letters[1] in English Vol 2 page 253 Mons[r] Iberville, who settled a Colony on the Gulph in 1679 [*sic*] was of the same Opinion and marked out that Same Place for the Metropolis. And M. du Pratts who lived at the Natches about 16 years adopts the same opinion vide his History[2]

[1] *Journal of a Voyage to North America* (London, 1761. 2 v.).

[2] Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane.* An English translation, *The History of Louisiana, or the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina; Containing a Description of the Countries that Lie on Both Sides of the River Mississippi*, appeared in London in 1763.

Vol 1 p. 43. Now my Lord is it possible for Charlevoix to have formed this Opinion without enquiring of the Inhabitants who lived on that River and on the Bay who had annually used that Navigation for forty Years in their Communication between their Settlements on the Bay of Mexico and on the Illinois River and other Places for the Indian Trade and their Voyages to Canada.

M. du Pratts was often up and down the River while he was in that Country, and never contradicts this opinion.

The Natches is 260 Miles up the River, and through the strongest of any part of the Stream below the Ohio, Charlevoix also informs us p 275–6 that a Vessel will sail up to New Orleans in 24 Hours, which is 33 Leagues from the Sea; and in p. 292 he informs us of a better place for a City because the Land was higher at 20 Leagues from the Sea; and that with a moderate South or South East Wind Ships might get up in fifteen hours, which, my Lord, is to Sail at the Rate of four Knots, which would carry a Vessel to the Ohio in about nine days, and I think this Representation of the Navigation of this part of the River is confirmed by Cap[t] Bond,[1] who sailed up above New Orleans in the Carolina Galley in 1699. I have his original Journal by me where he says on the 31st of Aug[t] the Wind was weak and unsteady; they could not sail up in the Middle of the River the Stream was so strong, and they run up by the side of the River, and surely My Lord, where there is half a Mile and some places a Mile, and some a Mile and a half between the Stream and the Shore, as is the case with this River, there is full Room to sail up without lying on the Stream, and Cap[t] Bond with only what he called a Breeze of Wind sailed 40 Miles in eleven Hours, which is near the same Rate of Sailing Charlevoix speaks of. He sailed through the English Reach when the Wind was N. N. W. which Reach bears E. S. E. and another Reach bearing E. N. E. and another N. by E. Now his Course must have been chiefly within three Points of the Wind, and therefore he must have turned it up against the Stream which shows the Stream is not Rapid. The Original Journal is at your Lordship's command.

[1] Captain Bond was sent by Dr. Daniel Coxe, proprietor of the proposed colony of Carolana, to explore and take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi. Bond's vessel was met in the river by the French officer, Sieur de Bienville, brother of Iberville, the founder of the French province of Louisiana, and persuaded to turn back. Bond's journal has not been found but extracts from it are quoted by Lyman in the following document.

In the American Magazine[1] under the Word Mississippi speaking of the French Settlements in that Country says that upon sounding the Entrance into the Mississippi it was found to have 16 Feet Water on the Barr, after which the Neptune a ship just arrived from France was immediately sent, and she easily sailed up the River as far as New Orleans. I am also informed that one Captain Bull of Rhode Island has used that River as far as New Orleans for above 7 Years, and says that when the Freshes are up, the Stream is strong and difficult to get up, but when the Freshes are down the Navigation is good, and it is allowed by all that the Navigation of that River (like all others in America) is very difficult when the Freshes are high, and from the best Accounts I can find, I believe the Navigation of the Mississippi is as good or the best Navigation of any one that empties into the Atlantick Ocean to the Northward of it.

Coxe's Carolona[2] p. 5, 6, gives a general Description of the Bed of the River, and in Page 3 says, The Inland Navigation is convenient and excellent; and I cant find that this account of the Navigation of that River is contradicted by any man who has been acquainted with it through the course of a Year.

And as to the Navigation of the River from the Natches to the Ohio, no one Man as I can find ever found fault with it, for the River widens from two to Six Miles, which Slacken the Stream so that Mo^{r} du Pratts tells us in his History Vol 1st p. 229, that in Travelling up that River by land to the Chickasaws, he crossed it several Times on Rafts made with Bundles of Canes laid across each other, which could never have been done unless the Water was very still, Charlevoix speaking of this part of the River says in p. 275–6 there is a number of well wooded Isles forming beautiful Canals through which the largest Ships may pass with safety. And Father Hennipin, who went down the Mississippi from the Illinois Country to the Bay of Mexico

[1] The *American Magazine* was printed in Philadelphia by W. Bradford, and lived through thirteen numbers, from October, 1757, to October, 1758. There was an earlier *American Magazine* published in 1741 by Andrew Bradford. Only three numbers were issued. See Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, 5:248, and Tyler, *American Literature*, 2:306.

[2] *A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards Called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane; as also of the Great and Famous River Meschacebe or Mississippi, the Five Vast Navigable Lakes of Fresh Water, and the Parts Adjacent; Together with an Account of the Commodities of the Growth and Production of the Said Province*, by Daniel Coxe (London, 1722).

in a small Canoe with only two Men with Paddles to manage it, and back again, as high up as the Falls of St Anthony says of the whole River as far up as those Falls, that its Navigation is good, and indeed my Lord, though I am very fond of carrying on a Settlement in that fine Country, yet I am willing to risque the whole on this one Point, viz^{t} that the Navigation of that River even as high up as S^{t} Anthony's Fall which cant be less than 1600 Miles, is good and will answer for the British Merchant to supply a well settled Country from the Falls to the Gulph of Mexico with British Goods & Manufactures, and to take of them in return the Effects of their Labour, and, I am willing my Lord, that this Point should be rendered certain before the Settlement begins. But my Lord, I am fully of opinion that in order to convince some Gentlemen that I have conversed with on this Subject, that the Navigation of that River is practicable, or that there is any one Circumstance to invite a Settlement there, it is first necessary to convince them of the Proposition, that the Increase of the Americans will strengthen their Dependence on Great Britain & thereby irradicate the Jealousy of Mind they have unhappily imbibed against us, and if that was but effectually done I believe we should hear no more objections against the proposed Settlement, but I thank God we have nothing to fear of the evil Effects of a Jealousy of Mind from the present Administration, and pray God there never may be another Administration of that Temper, for every Act guided by Jealousy has its natural Language which every Man Assumes a right to read & understand, & I know not anything which tends more effectually to alienate the Minds of His Majesty's Subjects, than to treat them with Jealousy; or more to the direct ruin of Great Britain, and therefore my Lord If you will give me Liberty to write you one Letter on that Proposition Viz^{t} that the increase of the Americans will strengthen the Dependance on Great Britain, I will give your Lordship no further Trouble by the length of this, than to ask your Lordship's leave to subscribe myself which I can do with great Sincerity My Lord &c

P. LYMAN

October 28 1766

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from General Lyman to the Earl of Shelburne dated October 28th 1766

LYMAN TO SHELBURNE, October 31, 1766

[Lansdowne MSS., 48: 263—C.]

A Letter from P. Lyman to the Earl of Shelburne 31 Oct. 1766 containing an account of the Navigation of the Mississippi.

MY LORD,

As the Navigation of the Missisipi River must be of Consequence to any Settlement that may be made hereafter on the Ohio or any other Branch of that River I have Endeavour'd to Collect together all those Passages & Observations I could find in those Authors that Treat of that Country which tend to set that Matter in a true light, and by Bringing them into One View to save your Lordship a Great deal of Time & Trouble that it would take to come across them by a Course of Reading the Original Books Because they are so Scatterd up & Down in Different Authors. In which I have endeavoured to do Impartial Justice to the Original by Transcribing their Own Words In every thing of any considerable Consequence and with References to the Authors[1] from whence the Extracts are taken That Your Lordship may at his leisure see whether I do them Justice or not. And it appears that the Navigation from St. Louis Bay up throug Lake Pontchartrain avoids all the Difficulty I hear Complain'd of in the Navigation of the Missisipi as far up as the Ohio and is about 40 Miles Shorter: I shall therefore consider that Rout. which in a Straight line is 470 Miles. that is Into the Lake at the Mouth of the Ohio, & how far it is by Water appears to me very uncertain as the Reputed dis^{t} seem to be fix^{d} by Guess & no Measures have yet been come into to Reduce it to a Certainty: And I am of Opinion that the Distance is not so great as it is Commonly reputed. but that not being certain my Lord. I Shall in this Letter make use of the Distances of Mitchels Map[2] which will make this Rout up 880 Miles from St Louis Bay & I find the Description of this Rout as far Up, as to the Missisipi River in Coxes Carolana p. 7–8 In the Words following.

"There is no Considerable River Empties itself Into the Meschacebe (or Missisipi) from the mouths untill you [come] About 12 miles above the Bayogala & Mougolaches, two Two Nations who dwell together

[1] For the titles of volumes to which references are made, see preceding letter.

[2] *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America*, etc., by John Mitchell, London, printed for Jefferys and Faden, February 13, 1755.

on the West Side there of 200 Miles from the Sea then on the East side there falls Out from the Meschacebe a branch which after a course Of 160 miles emties itself into the N. East end of the Great bay of Spirito Sancto it is not above 40 or 50 Yards Broad, & two or thre fathom Deep at its begining But soon Enlarges in Breadth & Depth by the Accession Of Divers Rivers & Rivulets and is a most lovely River, making Pleasant Lakes, & Passing During It's whole course through a Country exactly like That we have formerly Described, it is Navigable by the Largest Boats Sloops & Small Ships of English building & by large Ones if built after the Dutch manner with flat Bottoms.

On the North Side of One of the Abovementioned Lakes Call[d] by the French Lake Ponchertrain, they have Erected a small Foart & Store house whether after Unlading Their large Vessels at Isle aux Vausseaux or Ships Island They bring the Goods in Sloops or Shallops, and from thence Disperse them by their Traders amongst their own Settlements and the Several Nations of Indians Inhabiting on & about the Meschacebe & the Rivers which enter it both from the East & West."

And now my Lord this brings us by the above account 200 Miles from the Mouth of the Missisipi, and to sail Through the Middle of Lake Ponchartrain which is about 30 miles long & 20 broad carries us 16 miles from New Orleans which is Six miles from the West Side of the Lake so that their Cannon cannot reach us; & all the Difficult Part of the Navigation of the Missisipi Intirely avoided by it, for I have not been able yet, to find a Single complaint of the Navigation of the Missisipi above where this River Parts with it till You get to the Ohio, & Should it be found Necessary to Deepen the above River Just where it parts from the Missisipi it might very easily be done by Strengthening the Stream by a Dam made with Pickets & thereby Increasing Its Swiftness & with a heavy drag or any other Instrument To Loosen the earth at the Bottom the Stream would Soon Wear it Deep enough & by a Method Nearly Similar it might be Widened to a Convenient Width but I Cannot think that can be very Necessary for I suppose Sloops of a Hundred Tonns will be full Sufficient For that River & if any of two or three Hundred Tonns It would not want much done to Deepen it Sufficiently But Perhaps my Lord some doubts may arise in Your Mind with Respect to the Navigation of the

Missisipi Because the French did not make use of Sloops or Shallops to carry on their trade higher up. but My Lord that arises from the Nature of the Trade For they are Oblig[d] for the conveniency of that Trade to Run up Small Creeks & Rivers where a Sloop could not go & the Small craft is more easily Secured and many Times they are so long on those Trading Voiges that the Cost of a Sloop would eat out the Profits of the Voyage & that must Doubtless Yet be carried on by Small craft when they go to the Indian Nations to Trade, & therefore it was Occasioned by an Ill Opinion they Entertained of the Navigation of the River, for this appears very Evident from their own accounts. For M. d. Iberville was appointed Gov[r] Gen[l] of Louisiana in 1699 who the same Year began a Settlement at Mobile was the first Frenchman that entered the Mouth of the Missisipi: & having penetrated as far up as the Natches, found the Country so Delightfull and Advantagiously Situated that he Concluded the Metropolis Of the New Colony could be no where better and accordingly Traced out the Plan of it, and Intended to call it by The Name of Rosalia. Vid. Cherlevoix letter in English Vol. II P. 253 Now had the Navigation been bad it must have been a bad Place for a Metropolis at 260 Miles from the Sea.

And Father Charlevoix who was there in 1721 gives His Opinion of it (in the same page) as follows—

"Tis Certain it was Necessary to begin by a Settlement Nearer the Sea, but if ever Louisiana becomes a Flourishing Colony, as it may very well happen, it is My Opinion there cannot be a Better Situation for a Capital than this, it is not liable to be Overflow[d] By the River has a very pure air, & a Great Extent Of Country, the Soil is well water'd, and Proper for Producing every, nor is it at too great a Distance from the Sea & there is nothing to Prevent Shipping from Going up to it.

Mon[sr] du Pratts who had near 16 Years Experience and Lived at the Natches, Informs of Several Voiages he made Up and Down the River agrees with the above Account Vid: his His[t] Vol: I P. 43 I should think my Lord that these three Gentlemens Repoarts wer sufficient to Establish this Point. that the Navigation of that River Is Really good, since it is Contradicted by no one I can find except in time of the freshes which in the Spring are Said to continue generally about three Months Occasioned by the Meeting of large bodies of

Snow at the Head of the River & Its uper & Nothern Branches and Sometimes before the General freshes come on it is Common in that & all those American Rivers that Head far North, that you will have a Considerable Freshet Occasioned by the warmth of the Season not Sufficient to reach the heads of the Rivers but by meeting the Snow nearer the Sea makes a Considerable Strong Freshet, which Often happens in Feb: & Sometimes tho Seldom a Freshet is caus'd by heavy Rains, so that Perhaps we may well allow the Navigation to be Difficult four Months in the Year.

But, my Lord, if we Observe the General form and state of that River as we have it in Coxe's Carolana P. 5 & 6 and the concuring testimonies of every man who has ever lived in That Country long enough to be Acquainted with the General State of the River through the Different Seasons of the Year: we shall find it a very good Navigation for about Eight Months in a Year & much better than any One of the American Rivers that Empty into the Atlantick Ocean North of the Bay of Mexico. For Cox says: there is not above 14 feet water on the Bar at low Water in Neep Tides, Excepting when the freshes come down in the Spring, or upon great Rains, but when you are Over the Bar which is not in many Places above a Ships length broad you enter immediately Into deep water at least five fathom which Increases to 10 Fathom before you Come to the main river after That it deepens gradually to above 30 and you have no Where less than 20 fathoms for a 100 miles & a Little Less for a 100 Leagues and afterwards from 10 to 17 for 100 Leagues more, then from 6 to 10. 200 Leagues further thence To the great Cataract (or falls which is about 1600 miles from the Sea) from 3 to 6 Fathom Its Breadth is generally During its great Depth Scarce a Mile, but as it Lessens in Depth it Increases in Breath and is in most Places of its Course two miles broad and where it makes Islands (as it does very frequently from the Middle of its Course 2 or 3 Leagues, the Banks in most Places are no more than 5 or 6 feet above the River and Ships may almost in all Places ly by the Side of the Shore there being generally from 3 to 6 fath^{m} And Deepens gradually as you approach the Middle of the River which hath mostly a Pretty strong current, But there are diverse Promontories under which you may Anchor where is good Shelter from Winds: & Curious Eddy Tides, Whereby my Lord we see, that from the Places where the River Akankia leaves the

Missisipi in the Passage above proposed to about 40 miles above the Natches; The River is near 20 Fathom deep & more than a mile Wide with a bold Shore or Deep water to the very Banks & tho in the middle of the Middle of the River the Currant is mostly Pretty strong, yet there must be about half a mile on each side the Current, or Stream for the first Hundred miles after you enter the Missisipi by the way of the River Akankia or lake Ponchartrain and the rest of the way to the Ohio, a mile On each side the Stream and Considerable Part of the way a mile and half and I have not been able by the most Critical search to find any one Observation from any author or by Verbal Enquiry that it is Difficult for a Vessel to sail up between the Current and the Shore for About Eight Months in a Year, it is certain my Lord that The Navigation up a River may be very good when the Stream in the Middle may be Pritty strong, for no man in his wits Would ly in the Stream of a River in Order to Sail up. When There is Sufficient room between that and the Shore any sooner Than he would Spred his Canvas to Sail in the Winds eye And if we compare the abovementioned Observations of M^{r} Cox (viz) that the Stream in the middle of the River was mostly pretty strong with another Place in the Same Author. we shall find that he was of the Opinion that the Stream in the Middle was but a very Little Impediment to the Navigation up the River, for in P. 3^{d} he says the Excellent and Convenient situation of this Country for Inland Navigation & trade & for trade with the Spainards in New Mexico; the whole Gulph of Mexico and the South Sea which I shall hereafter Demonstrate will be greatly for the Advantage & not in the least to the Prejudice of Our home Plantation Trade as will appear more evident by the Description of the great River Meschaube & those Rivers That Empty into it.

Now my Lord tho he seems over Credulous with Respect to the South seas which he must have from the repoarts of Other People, yet I think that will not Justifie the Impeaching of him with falshood with respect to facts in the Compass of his knowledge for a man may be Over credulous & not false: so that it is plainly his Opinion that the description of that River and its branches shews the inland Navigation to be Good & Consequently its trade: for the Conveniency Of the Trade depends on the Navigation. Now it must be a Very hard and Ill-natured Construction to Suppose this man after

he had spent many thousands of Pounds for information to be false only Because the French had Politically (Immagining it to contribute to their own Safety) Propogated amongs the English an Opinion that this River as well as that of St. Lawrence were almost Unnavigable unless they tell the same Story at the Court of France, in the Books & Accounts they have Published there But Father Charlevoix Informs them that when he was at The Illinois River 1170 miles from the sea, that he Expected the River was Rapid & he should be soon down and that it would be warm & so he did not Provide Cloathing against the Cold but he says he found himself Disappointed in both; and in the 2nd Vol. of his Letters as they are Translated P. 242 he says the further we Decended the more Windings we found in the River. the wind followed all its Meanders which Indeed is always the Case With Inland Rivers where the banks are high Or the Woods thick on the Sides of the river and p. 244 He says nothing could have been more Agreeable than this Navigation had the Season been milder the Country is Delightfull and in the Forests there are a Number of Ever Green Trees, the few Meadows there Preserve their Verdure And a Considerable Number of well Wooded Ilands, some Of whom are Pretty large, form very Beautifull Canalls Through which the Largest Ships may safely Pass and And when he Arrivd at New Orleans in the same Voiage "Page 275–6 says. this is the first City which one of the Greatest Rivers in the world has seen Erected on its banks If the 800 fine houses & five Parishes which our Mercury Bestowed on it two Years ago, are at Present reduced to 100 Barracks Placed in no very good Order, to a large ware house Built with Timber to two or three houses which would be no Ornament to a Village in France to One half a sorry Ware house formerly set apart for Divine Service, and Was scarce Appropriated for that Purpose, when it was Removed to a Tent: what Pleasure on the Other hand, Must it give to see this future Capital of an Immense & Beautifull country Increasing insensibly, & to be able Not with a Sigh like Virgils Hero when Speaking of his Native Country consumed by flames, et campus ubi Troja fuit; but full of the best grounded hopes to Say that this wild & Desart Place at Present almost Intirely Covered over with canes & Trees shall one Day & Perhaps that Day is not very far off become the Capital of a Large & Rich Colony.

"Your Grace will Perhaps Ask me upon what these Hopes are

founded. they are founded on the Cituation Of this City on the banks of a Navigable River, at the Distance of 33 Leagues from which a Vessel May Come up in 24 hours, on the fertility of the Soil on the Mildness & wholesomeness of the Climate in 30 Degrees North Lattᵈ on the Industry of the Inhabitants on its Neighbourhood to Mexico, the Havanna, the finest Islands in America, & lastly to the English Colonys. can there be any thing more requisite to make a City flourishing. Rome & Paris had not such considerable beginings, were not built Under such a Happy Auspice. and their founders met not with these Advantages on the Sien & the Tiber. which we have found on the Missisipi, in comparison to which, those two Rivers are no more than Brooks."

And tho after he had examined the ground by Diging a Ditch & found it full of Water he altered his Opinion of that Spot for a Capital, yet neither he nor any Other Author I can find differed from this Sentiment. (viz) that the general Situation, Soil Climate & Inland Navigation is convenient and Excellent to form a flourishing Country and consequently a Wealthy Metropolis when fixᵈ in a Proper Place. and in p. 292 he Observes that a Little below their new Habitation the Land is much higher than any where else " & says, it seems to me, would have been the best Situation for a City, it is not above 20 Leagues from the Sea, & with a Moderate South or S. E. wind Ships might get up to it in fifteen hours."

Now my Lord when Fʳ Charlevoix is speaking of the River St. Lawrence he says that Vessels may sail up as high as Montreal, & he does not think it much more rapid than some Rivers in Europe but above Montreal it is very bad by Reason of the Rapids which I certainly know to be true by going up & down it myself & he says this River at Kaskasquias a Settlement betwen the mouth of the Ohio & illinois is more Rapid than the Rhone (which I suppose to be one reason for the Frenches, altering their ancient rout from New Orleans to Quebeck from the River Illinois to that of the Ohio & Waback which they say shorter & much easier) he also says that the River Akankas is very bad Navigation by Reason of its Rapids & Shoals but neither Father Cherlevoix Chavilier Tonti nor any Other Author that I can find makes the Least kind of Observation to the Navigation from the Bay of St. Louis to the Ohio. M. du Pratts tells us that he took ten Indians at the Natches & set out in the Month of Sepʳ to

march up the Bay by Land to discover the Country. & he went up as high as the Chicasaws which is about 700 miles from the sea and he tells us in his history[1] Vol: 1 P. 229 that they cross[d] the Mississpi several times on Rafts made of Several bundles of Canes laid Across each Other which Could not be done in a Swift Stream. at another time Duprats went up as high as the Ohio & back by Water & gives an Account in his history of several Voiages he made during the 16 Years he was there But never makes one Objection to the Navigation In the Rout I've Proposed, besides bothe Cherlevoix & he must have had full Opportunity to have Conversed with those who had lived both on the Bay of Mexico and at the Illinois 40 Years Before they ever see that Country & often used that Navigation and by the most critical search I can make in French authors of the Representations they have made to the Court of France from their Experience of the Navigation of that Rout from St. Louis Bay to the Ohio from the Year 1769 [*sic*] when M Iberville Gov[r] Gen[l] of Louisiana a Cannadian fixed a Settlement of Cannadians at Mobile & M. Salle built a Fort on the Illinois which Occasioned an Intercourse between them by the Navigation of the Missisipi to the year 1757 when M. du Pratts wrote. who is the last that wrote on that subject. find this Truth Sometimes Expressly Mentioned & Never Once Contradicted. (Viz) that the whole Navigation of that rout is really very Agreeable & Convenient as before Mentioned. and in the use the French have made of That Navigation since their Setling in that Country they have had several Expeditions to Carry on up that River. (Viz) in 1729 the sieur de Chopart commandant of the Natches Ordered the Sachem of the village of the White Apple an Extent of Settlement about a League. To remove himselfe & the rest of the Inhabitants to some Other Place as he wanted that Village himself, and Haughtily refused any Accomodation, as to the time of Removeing tho it was Objected that their Corn was not Ripe & so very difficult for them to Remove at that Season but Nothing availed to Passifie the haughty Command of that Officer, which Occasioned them to rise & Massacre all the French at the Natches & at the Yasous; this Occasioned Several Expeditions: one by the way of the Mobile which Proved Abortive, or which Gov[r] Bainvile [*sic*] wrote to France for Succours:

[1] Charlevoix, *Histoire et description generale de la Nouvelle France*, etc. (Paris, 1744. 3 v.).

and in the mean time sent of a Large Detachment for the River St. Francis to build a Fort there cal'd St. francis and in du Pratts History Vol 1: P. 172 we have this Acc[t] "The Squadron which brought the Succours from France Being arrived they set out by going up the Missisipi for the Fort that had been Just built. this Army consisted of marines of the troops of the Colony of Several inhabitants, many Negroes & some Indians Our Allies: & being assembled at this Place took Water again & still Proceeded up the Missisipi to a Little River call[d] Morgot near the Clifts call[d] Prude-homme & the whole Army Landed & Incamped." & in p. 173 when the succours from Canada & the Illinois arriv[d] he says. This Formidable army consisting of so many Different nations, the Greatest ever Seen or Perhaps ever will be seen in those parts, remained in this Camp without undertaking any thing. from the Month of August 1739 to March following. Now the River Morgat is 600 Miles above New Orleans, they carried up Artillery, Ordinance Stores, and Provisions, necessary to a regular Seige, and for the support of the Army, and I find before this they made four Campaigns all on Account of their Abuse of the Indians of the *Natches* in some of which they had 15, or 1600 Indians, and except one of them, all Preparations necessary for Regular Seiges, and Yet no one Complaint of the Navigation; Mons[r] Le Salle was up and down that River in 1680, and the Chavilier Tonti also informs us that he was up and down three several Times and all represented to the Court of France without any Objections to the Navigation; The approbation those Discoveries met with at the Court of France we have in M. *La Salles* Voyage published by the Chavilier Tonti[1] p. 140 in the following Words That the whole Court of France, being charmed with the great Discoveries made by Mons[r] La Salle the King made no Scruple at all to grant him the Supplies he desired, not to mention the Titles of Honor that procured him greater Authority in his new Plantation; Besides my Lord this Navigation is the common Rout from New Orleans to Quebeck, which was anciently by the way of the Ilonois, now by the Ohio & Wabash and has been annually used by their Indian Traders ever since 1679 that had there been One Rapid we must have heard of it Mons[r] La Salle often informs

[1] *Dernières découvertes dans l'Amerique Septentrionale de M. de la Salle, mises au jour par M. le Chevalier Tonti, gouverneur du Fort St. Louis, aux Islinois* (Paris, 1697). Tonti denied that he was the author of this volume, but it was undoubtedly based on contemporary papers.

Us of the swift and Rapid Streams he found in the Mexican Rivers, when he Traveled from St. Barnards Bay, and that he undertook to cross One with a Raft of Canes as above mentioned but the Stream broke it to pieces; And why he should be supposed to have any Inclination to conceal the Truth with Respect to the *Missicipi* any more than the other Rivers I cant see, indeed it would be very hard to suppose he had so little regard for Truth and even Loyalty as to make a false Representation to his Sovereign, very impolitick in Regard to himself, for he must have known that those that came after him would make themselves of Importance by exposing his Errors in order to Build on his Ruins, a thing so common among mankind but the uniformity of Truth must be the only thing My Lord could have led all to agree in this point.

But perhaps my Lord those whose Minds may be something tinged with that Prejudice the French have Politically propogated among the English of the badness of that Navigation may think Father Charlevoix is too Sanguine when he says a Vessel may Sail up to New Orleans in 24 hours with a Moderate S. or S. E. wind to the other place he mentioned in 15 which is at the Rate of 4 Nott p^{r} Hour, This appears to me very Reasonable and I think is moderate sailing; for we may often sail at a better Rate than that, even Up Rivers which by reason of their narrowness and flatts extending out from their Banks almost to the very Stream have not the advantage of keeping out of the Current, as in wide Rivers; In Hudsons River where they navigate with Sloops built for that Purpose (which will Sail up that River generally in half the Time it will take those that are constructed for the Sea only) where thô many Times at those Seasons of the Year when the Northerly Winds Blow they are oblidged (for three Weeks or a Month) to wait for a favourable one the River being so Narrow, and the flatts in many Places extending out so far, that they cant well turn up against the Wind, yet at those Seasons when the Southerly Winds prevail they find the Navigation very easy, and I have been credibly informed that with a good Southerly Wind they will sail from the City of New York to Albany (called 150 Miles by Land and 180 by Water) with in 24 Hours which is at the rate of 7½ knott, Instances of the same Nature (My Lord) I could mention on Connecticut River where I live, Now surely the same strength of Wind will sett forward a Vessel full as fast in the Missi-

sipi, where they have so much more advantage to sail up by the Shores, at a great distance from the *Current*, and an other advantage which is common to all large inland Rivers whos Banks are High or the Woods thick on the Sides, that any Wind within four Or five Points of the direction of the River will follow in all its Meanders and turnings and be more compressed and collect more Strength which Father Charlevoix mentions to have happened in his Voyage down the *Missisipi* I know my Lord that both in Hudsons and Connecticut River, the Wind may Blow in such a direction that it will be favourable in one Turn and a Head in another which in narrow Rivers or those that have large Flatts that hinder their Tacking, often Occasions their lying by some Days for a Wind but that is and must be common to all crooked Rivers.

With respect to the Navigation of the lower Parts of the Missisipi as far up as New Orleans thô it must be allowed to be the most difficult yet in my opinion is nothing so bad as common report would make it to be, for allowing the Stream to [be] swiftest there by Reason of the narrowness of the River and the bendings of the River the worst in that Part, yet I find my Lord in the American Magazine Vol. 2^{d} under the word Misisipi speaking of the French Settlement in that Country he says That upon sounding the entrance into the Misisipi it was found to have 16 Feet Water upon the Barr, over which the Neptune a Ship just arrived from France was immediately sent, and she easily sailed up the River as far as New Orleans, and Mons^{r} Du Pratz also says he saw a Ship of 500 Tuns sail over the Barr.

And my Lord I beg leave to consider particularly the Journal of Capt. Bond of the Carolina Gally (whose Original I have now by me) which perhaps will convince Us of two things one that the Navigation of that Part of the River is not so bad as by common Report it would seem, the other that we may sail up the most dificult Part of it (Viz) thro the English Reach with a northerly Wind, This Ship came before the River on the 29th Day of August 1699 and after examining by sounding the Water on the Barr to find the Entrance and fixing two Bouys had to warp to the windward, and then sailed over the Barr as far as the Point on the Larboard side which I take to be the outermost point of Land that forms the mouth of the River which he calls four Miles the wind being E. and E. S. E. and the Course W. N. W. and at 7 o Clock dropt Anchor, and lay by till three next morning

which is 8 hours the next Day being the 30th of August having a small breese at South and that variable as appears by his Margin, by Noon he got about 7 Miles and says we find it to be a very fine River, the 31st or last Day of August the Wind Southerly and (verbatim from his Journal) fine easy Gales "with fine Weather all this 24 Hours we have made the best of Our Way up the River, but there runing so strong a Tide which always setts down and sometimes but little Wind, we were forced sometimes to Anchor, and as the Breeses came wee took all Oppertunities to Run up the sides of the River for the Stream run so strong we could not go up in the middle We find the River to be very deep, sometimes in the middle we have thirty Fathom Water and within Ships length of the sides 7, 6 & 5 fathom Water, the River is very full of drift Wood, and very many Trees, drove up by the Roots with the Freshes." The next day being 1st of September he says "fine easy Gales with fair weather, wind southerly Yesterday being Calm we sheered over on the other side the River and made fast to the Trees our Vessell floated so close to the Bank that we stept thereon," and we find by an entry in his margin how long he lay there where he says "at 8 o Clock at Night we hauled the Shore by our Hauler and kedge Anchor at 9 we had a Breese of Wind Southerly but could not Weigh; we were 4 Hours before we could either weigh or Break the Hauler, and at one this morning broke and lost the Kedge Anchor supposed to be foul of a Tree this Day at Noon we had got about 40 Miles up the River" — Now My Lord it is very probable there was at that Time a Considerable Freshet in the River, by the drift Wood and Trees torn up by the Roots, because they are not frequent at any other And yet with what he calls a fine Easy Gale he sailed 40 Miles in Eleven Hours, and being the first Time of Entering that River would doubtless sail with more Caution than would be necessary to those that were better acquainted with its Navigation, and even this is sailing almost at the rate of 4 Knott pr Hour which Cherlevoix says may be done, with but a moderate wind, But to return to the Journal this afternoon they [chose] a Place to carreen their Vessel, by which they lost half a Day, and took two Days to finish the Vessel, and half a Day to get in their guns and things from the shore, Then having but little Wind and contrary they spent One Day in warping by the Shore, viz. an afternoon and the next forenoon, and then sailed

throgh three Reaches one ran East South East (which by the bearing must be the English Reach) another East North East, and the other North by East, but before Night saw a Canoe coming towards them and stoped, and went no farther, a French Officer[1] coming on Board then ordered them to be gone or he would make them Prisoners — Now my Lord they Judged they had sailed up the River an Hundred Miles, to the Latitude of 30 Degrees which makes about an Hundred Miles and by the Course they steared through the the Three Reaches the last afternoon they must be above New Orleance.

Now My Lord if we allow half a Days Sail for the first Day whereas they only got to the Mouth of the River; they were but Just four Days, and in that Time lay by eight Hours by Night, so that the chief they pretended to sail was only in the Day Time and then never under more than a moderate easy Gale and unsteady So that sometimes they were even forced to Anchor and wait untill a Breese came on so as to improve it, One whole Day having but very little Wind and that Contrary they only warped along the Shore, and the last half Day, or rather Part of half a Day for they stoped before Night they sailed through the three Reaches the Wind being North North West in the second Reach the Wind was upon the Beam and the third Reach lay within three Points of the Wind, by which it appears they got up by turning against the Wind for no Vessel can sail so near not withstanding which they got up an Hundred Miles in the worst Part of this River the French have taken so much Pains to Convince us was even unnavigable, and hardly answered the design it was made for. My Lord at this Rate of sailing a Vessel would go from St. Louis Bay through Lake Ponchartrain and the River Akankia to the Ohio in thirty five Days wanting five Miles even if it should be Eight Hundred and Eighty Miles the common reputed Distance instead of several Months which the French have endeavoured to make Us Believe would be necessary, and I should think those that would attempt it could seldom meet with a more unfavourable Wind than Cap[t] Bond did for he certainly turned up against the Wind the last reach he sailed thrô and even in the narrowest and swiftest Stream and most difficult Part of the River; But from the River Akankia where for the first Hundred Miles the River is more than a Mile in width the Current Slower, and where

[1] This was Bienville.

you may Run above that distance on each Tack, on that Account great way may be made a head; from thence to the Ohio the River is about two Miles in width and in many Places above three where it forms into Islands with Beautifull Canalls through which the largest Ships may safely pass as Father Charlevoix informs, The Advantage of a long Run on each Tack is proportionly increased and the Stream still weaker which is a general Rule where there is no Rapids as there is none till you get a considerable Way above the Ohio and tho when you are up the River into the Inland part of the Country a Northerly wind will more steadily Blow Directly down the River & a Southerly up Yet I take it that in tacking against a wind it is Just as good to Blow directly opposite to the way you wish to go as to come more across whilst you can make way only by tacking, for when the wind is directly a head you make equal way by the Larboard & Starboard Tack, but when the Wind is on the Larboard Bow you make less way On the Larboard & so much more on the Starboard that the Sum of the two tacks will be equal, but I know my Lord that the way will be to make the best Advantage of the Seasons Sotherly winds, for the Navigation up the River & of the Notherly down but I dont doubt but when we have by Experience formed Sloops in the best manner for the Navigation of that River we shall be able in the best and most Steady Southerly winds to sail from St. Louis Bay to the Lake at the mouth of the Ohio in ten days & from the River Akankias Against a wind in a month, the first my Lord is not at the Rate of four knot and the last is not at the rate of One. the reason I leave out. the rout from St. Louis Bay to the Missisipi in Sailing against the wind is because of the difficulty of making much way by Tacking in a Narrow River where by shifting the sails often you Loose all the way you can make by so Short a Run and I am informed my Lord that a Gentleman at New York fitted out a Vessel & sent it up the Missisipi as far as the Ohio on a Trading Voiage[1] indeed she made two Voyages Before the last war & gave the same Account Of the river as above. I was informed of this by a Gentleman who had Read the Journals of both Voyages which he Promis[d] to send me as soon as they came to hand. I will Immediately wait on your Lordship with them.

and I find that a Large Armed Schooner has been Up as far as the Illinois River, but what time She set out or arrived there I

[1] We know nothing of this voyage.

cant learn, but Only I find by du Pratts that She come down with a Large fleet of boats and Cannoes in 1742 the Design of her Sailing is said to be to give awe To the Indians. and to raise their Sentiments of the French Power. If so she doubtless would ly by near to where there was any Considerable Nation of Indians till they had Oportunity to see it, or else they failed of their Design But I cant learn what Observations they made of the Navigation of the River I am also inform[d] that during the last war one Cap[t] Forbes was taken at sea and Carryed up to New Orleans, and he says that the River was so Deep that they could not sound Bottom By the longest line they coul[d] get and so they could not drop Anchor but made fast to the Trees and were a Long while getting up & while he was there Some people came down from above in large boats to Sell Some Provisions. that the Stream was so swift: that they left their large boats & returned in Cannoes & when Cap[t] Forbes came away they chose to come down the River with the Stern of the River foremost & against the Wind for fear of Runing a Shore; but I cant learn what season of the Year it was. but the Solution is very easy tho his discription is very lively even for the Highest freshes yet to Suppose it to be at such a Season in the Main reconciles that and the Other Account With truth, for all Allow the Navigation to be very bad at those Seasons. and Perhaps my Lord the French Artifice in taking him up there at such a Season was Only to confirm us in the Opinion which they had taken Pains to Propogate amongst Us that there was no Getting up that river. the Navigation was so bad—and we have more reason to Suspect It as it was in a time of war when they had some reason to Suspect we had a Design to Attack them.

But I suppose one Reason for carefully considering the Navigation of this river, is to be satisfied that the Setlers of that country can be Supply[d] with British Manufactories at such a rate as that they may not be in Danger of giving in to a Manufary of their Own in lieu thereof & thereby rend abortive one Principle Advantage a Mother Country expects in Setling new Colony, but my Lord my concern for that Vanishes When I consider that a Ship sometimes must ly at the Downs Six Weeks or 2 Months Waiting for a Wind to go to sea. & yet no part of the World to which those Vessels trade have ever complained that the Difficulty of geting out of the Downs has Deprived them of a Supply of British Manufactory I know that People are Setled near 300 miles up Connecticut River where a Sloop

can only go up 40 Miles: there is many falls Rapids & carrying Places. above which makes a bad Navigation for Boats & small craft & I have known them at some Places transpoart their goods by land a Hundred & forty or fifty Miles. & yet Never heard of any want of a Supply of English goods, nor no more complaint of their Price. than amongs the People at Boston or New York, the Settlements on the Mohawk River One Hundred miles above Albany nor the Setlers at Detroit 700 miles above Moreal nor the Indians In that Extensive world have for many years past Wanted for any thing they chose to consume & were able to pay for. nor do the Inhabitants in those Extream Parts Manufacture so much of any thing in Lieu of British manufactorys as the People in the Old Provinces.

the Consideration of these things my Lord puts me out of doubt or fear the Merchant will not afford a Settlement On the Ohio a full Supply of European Goods at what they shall think a reasonable rate, especially when I Consider the Advantages they will be under to pay for for them. for the Country there is perticularly Adapted to Produce Many Articles that serve Excellently well for Staple Commodities for an European trade—such as Hemp flax Silk Tobacco Iron Pot & Pearl Asp Madder &c the Climate healthy the Winter short & easy which gives so much more time to cultivate those Articles & it is more than Probable that it will Answer Well for Wine as the Country now abounds with the Greatest Plenty of Wild Grapes.

But I know my Lord that when any New Plan is Proposed of any considerable consequence mankind are of such a make that many Objections will be made aginst. which happens from Different motives, which I suppose Occasioned I conceive a Say of his late Majesty King William when something of this Nature was proposed to him, which I beg leave to transcribe as it is in the Preface to Coxes Carolana together with the Approbation that Plan met with from the King and Council at that time. (Viz)

But as the Perfect Discovery of that great River its seven mouths & all the Coast of Carolana on the Bay of Mexico for at least 14 Degrees of Longitude was then effected & most of the Persons, who were actually upon it, with their Journals Draughts & Charts returned safe to England. the Proprietors Presented a Memorial thereof to his then Majesty King William of Glorious Memory Wherewith he was so well Pleased & satisfied, that in a General Council call[d] for

that Purpose. he Ordered it to be read & taken into consideration himself & above twenty of the Council were then Present Unanimously agreeing that the Design Of Setling the S^d^ Province ought to be Spedily Encouraged and Promoted, his S^d^ Majesty being fully convinc^d^ that such an undertaking would Greatly tend to the benefit of the English Nation and the Security of the Colonys on the Continent of America, often often declared he would leap over twenty Stumbling blocks rather than not effect it and frequently Assurd the Proprietors that it should not only receive a Publick encouragement but that he would Perticularly Contribute towards it by sending at his own cost sive or Eigh hundred french Refugees & vaudois to Join with those English who could be procured to begin the Settlement there. Besides divers Noblemen & Merchants Proferd the same Perticularly the Lord Londsdale then Lord Privy Seal, being highly sensible of the great Advantage would Redound to the English Nation thereby—Offerd to Assist the Design with £2000 in ready Money or a Ship of two hundred with one hundred Persons whatever trades or Employments should be thought most convenient & to Provid them with Provisions Necessary Tools & Instruments for the Space of On Year not making the least Capitulation for himself or them beyound the Grant of a Compitent Tract of Land for their habitation & Necessary Subsistance. but the Sudden Death of that Lord and soon after of King William put a Period at that time to the Noble Undertaking.

thus my Lord you see the Approbation the Proposals met with both at the Courts of Great Britain & France. from an Opinion of that Country and the Advantages that would arise from Setling it to its mother Country & I can't but hope my Lord that the plan I had the Honour to Present to Your Lordship will meet with the Approbation of his Presint Majesty and his Administration, who I firmly believe are equally Zealous to Promote the real happiness of Great Britain & her Colonys as they. but I fear my Lord I have already Trespassed on your Patience & beg leave to subscribe myself My Lord Your Lordships most Oblig'd & most Obedient Hum^le^ Servant

P: LYMAN

LONDON the 31st of Oct^r^ 1766

TO THE RIGHT HONOR^BL^ THE EARL OF SHELBOURNE his Majestys principle Secret^y^ of State for the Southern Department.

B. Franklin to W. Franklin, November 8, 1766

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:420—E.]

Mr. Jackson is now come to town. The ministry have asked his opinion and advice on your plan of a colony in the Illinois, and he has just sent me to peruse his answer in writing,[1] in which he warmly recommends it, and enforces it by strong reasons; which gives me great pleasure, as it corroborates what I have been saying on the same topic, and from him appears less to be suspected of some American bias.

Jackson's[2] Opinion of Western Plans, November, 1766

[Lansdowne MSS., 57:84—C.][3]

Remarks on the Plan for the future Management of Indian Affairs— by M[r] Jackson.

This Plan[4] has I dare say been framed with the best Intentions, & by Persons much acquainted with Indian affairs, & the abuses committed in the Management of the Indian Trade, yet I think the Mischiefs that would probably follow the Execution of this Plan (I mean as far as it is likely to be executed, for I conceive it to be in a great measure impracticable) have not been sufficiently concidered [*sic*], & that the result of an attempt to put it in practice would be little more than the Embarrassment & oppression of the best People now concerned in the Indian Trade.

[1] See next document.

[2] Richard Jackson, known to his friends as "Omniscient Jackson" was one of the best-known men in political circles during the reign of George III. His great fund of information made him a useful adviser on many subjects; his particular knowledge of American affairs was used by several ministers. His first important political appointment was that as secretary to Grenville in 1763, but he soon left the Grenville faction and became more closely associated with Lord Shelburne, who used him extensively when he was secretary of state for the southern department. When Shelburne's ministry was formed in 1782 Jackson was made a lord of the treasury. He had many friends among the Americans, the most intimate being Benjamin Franklin with whom he wrote the well-known pamphlet, "The Interest of Great Britain Considered with Regard to her Colonies." Like Franklin he was interested in establishing colonies in the West. He died May 6, 1787. *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[3] A portion of this document appears in Lansdowne MSS., 50:77, under the title "Remarks on Barrington's Plan No. 2." It is attached to the copy of the latter plan (*ante*, 234) and Gage's remarks on the same are labelled No. 1.

[4] The plan for Indian affairs drawn up by the board of trade in 1764, printed *ante*, 1:273.

§ 4.[1] I should think it therefore highly dangerous to repeal all the Laws in force in the several Colonies for regulating Indian affairs. Some of these Laws are particularly fitted to the Condition of the Indians residing among the White People who yet are not the objects of the Plan, and though it must be confessed their Provincial Laws have been far from effectually preventing, Impositions on the remoter Indians, & Indian Wars, it is by no means evident yet, that the Plan in question would do better in either Respect. There are Mischiefs irreparable from the Situation and Circumstances of Countries, as well Political as Natural, perhaps these are as well provided for as the nature of the Case will admit; possibly the subsisting Provisions may admit of Improvements, but an entire Change of these for new ones yet untried, seem not warranted by the knowlege [*sic*] We have of their Imperfections.

§ 5 &ca. Without any Reflection, on the Characters of either of the Gentlemen who now fill these Posts, or who may be destined for that Purpose one of whom is certainly as fit for the Post, as any Man in His Majesty's Dominions;[2] I cannot but look on the powers given to the chief agents, to be too great to be trusted to any Man; It is true there are many Checks provided to guard against an abuse of this Power, but the advantageous Situation of such an agent, will in *Indian affairs* place him too much above the Checks upon him; besides should He be disposed to make no other use of his Power than to impede those Persons Business who do not gain him by Corruption, it is hardly possible future Agents should not be frequently corrupt in a part of His Majesty's Dominions where Corruption may be most dangerous and yet the most difficult to cure. The same observation occurs in a less Degree on the office of Commissary, & as for the Security intended by.

§ 22. A Man must know very little of the Administration of publick affairs in any part of Europe to rely upon the Oaths of officers in any degree.

§ 24. I have an objection of a singular kind to the Prohibition of Trade to be carried on without a Licence from a Governor. The fee is certainly easy, but ways will infallibly be found to introduce the Practice of making a Present, and to make it worth an Indian Traders

[1] The number of the paragraph is that of the original plan of 1764.

[2] This is Sir William Johnson. The other is John Stuart.

while not to hesitate about the giving it, if practices of this sort have prevailed too much in England, they cannot but be justly feared at so great a Distance from the Eye of Government.

§ 26. If a Power be not lodged in the Governor to refuse a Licence upon his own Judgement of the insufficiency of the Security, such Security notwithstanding the oath required will, as in all similar Cases, dwindle into mere form, on the other hand if a Governor has a power to reject the Security or even to hesitate on it, he will in consequence be able to confine the Trade to those who shall make it worth his while so to do; It signifies nothing to say that Complaints may be made at home. Experience has shewn that notwithstanding Complaints, this Grievance has in other Cases passed unpunished.

§ 33. A Trade carried on by Tariff, where the Buyers and Sellers are numerous and the Goods various, both in their Sorts and Qualities, is little better than a Solecizm; there are many reasons against such a restraint, even in the Cases where we see it practised, with some palpable Advantages, but in these Cases the Dealer on one side is single and has the Tariff in his own Power, as the Hudsons Bay Company and some Provincial Governments in America who have adopted a Mode of Truck on a Tariffs are or the Commodity admits of little variety in its Qualities and that easily distinguishable, as in the Case of Bread Gold, and Silver, &c, in the former Case, the Gain or Loss on a minute Article is of little Consequence, compared to the principal Views of the Parties, & the latter are supposed, at least, to admit of a nicety in valuation, other Commodities do not.

§ 34 &c. If this Plan be pursued it will be certainly necessary to confine the Trade within Limits; because the breach of its Regulations will be otherwise infallible, but the immense Extent of the Indian Country, & even of the British Frontier against that Country as described by the Proclamation, seems not to have been considered by those, who judge the Plan practicable, if it be difficult to prevent smuggling on the Coast of America, or even of Britain, it must be little better than impossible to prevent it, in the Wilderness of N. America, especially when it is encouraged by such a bounty as the Prohibition on the fair Trader to sell Rum, Swan Shot or riffled barrelled Guns. Those who know by what sort of Persons the Indian Trade is frequently, at least, carried on will hardly be brought to believe, that the Indians will want an opportunity of buying the first of these Com-

modities at some price or other & at some place or other, & the French will supply them up the Mississippi if we do not.

§ 39. It is impossible to prevent the giving Credit nor do I believe it has been usual to recover Debts from the Indians when not paid voluntarily.

§ 41. 42. 43. The first of these I take to be the Constitution of America already, the others are doubtless very proper.

§ 44. If the Duty here proposed be levied at the Posts, it will of itself, probably overthrow the Regulations for obvious Reasons. On the whole, I doubt little good is to be expected from any part of the Plan except the 41, 42, 43 §. At the same time that it will put it in the Power of the King's officers, very remote from his Royal Person, much to cramp & distress a valuable Trade, this is a Power that Experience has shewn to be mischievous in general in all Ages and among all Nations, though there have been and are yet Exceptions to the general Rule; much to the honor of those who can resist such Temptations as always offer, in such a Situation. I am however far from being insensible to the ill Usage the Indians in America have often met with or to the Dangers of our Country men there, from the misdirected vengeance so frequently taken by the injured, but I have long since learnt that though all Evils are not incurable some are so, or at least are curable only by greater Evils. I have long thought the Indians and Europeans will always necessarily incommode one another, until the former wear out which I believe they will certainly do within a compass of Years abundantly shorter than is generally expected, many numerous Nations are already extinct, and although it has been 150 Years since we settled among them, it must be considered, that during much the greater part of that Time, the Europeans were not more than 1/10 of what they are now; their Settlements extended over but little more than the same Proportion of that Country. Until this Event shall happen, I believe nothing will so effectually secure us against the Horrors and the Losses irreparable from an Indian War, but settling among them with their consent & approbation, educating their Children as far as they will permit us, & introducing among them as many of the arts & what I may call the *Infirmities* of civil Life as we can, the Conduct of Julius Agricola in Britain as related by Tacitus, furnishes an excellent Principle for this purpose.

The Plan of a Settlement on the Mississippi from Philadelphia,

approved by S^r W^m Johnson is certainly well framed, & that by Persons too well acquainted with the Country & with the Indians to be deceived by others, & too much interested in the Success of their Scheme, to attempt to deceive the King's Ministers in such a Case as the present, I have no doubt of its practicability or Utility, Improvements perhaps it may receive, but I dare not undertake to make any. I shall only observe on it that the notion propagated (I know not by whom) that the Indians will be always averse to a Settlement in their Country, is a meer Bugbear, calculated only to Support a piece of chimerical Policy. In truth they are only jealous of being deprived of their Right without Payment, & the highest attention ought certainly to be paid to this jealousy.

The Paper under the Name of a Noble Lord[1] for whom I have the highest Respect is full of that candour good Sense & Perspicuity that never fail to run through all that he says or writes, but his Lordship has in my opinion (I may be mistaken) fallen in the way of much misinformation.

The Measure his Lordship first mentions has been frequently much blamed, I cannot say that I ever heard it commended, by those I was inclined to rely on, but as a temporary Provision.[2] The general Principle that would justify this Measure as a permanent one is surely ill grounded. The Prohibition of British Settlements beyond the Bounds described in the Proclamation might do hurt, but can be no way beneficial, it might deprive us of a valuable Trade in British Manufactures for Growth raised by British Subjects in America & perhaps be the occasion of the French again acquiring the accendancy among the Indians that has been so pernicious to us, or what would be worse of some independant Settlement formed by Fugitives of all Nations, which at first unknown, afterwards disregarded, till at last under the Protection of the Indian Nations, with whose concurrence I suppose it first made, it might become a Thorn in our Sides we might never be able to draw out. Such Settlements have been made in America, although they have not been sufficiently inaccessible to serve this independancy of the Settlers, till they were strong enough to tempt an enemy to support them.

[1] Lord Barrington.

[2] The proclamation of 1763 (printed *ante*, 1:39). See Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763" in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36:20 *et seq.*

p. 2.[1] The North American Productions however heavy may certainly be carried down the Ohio, & Mississippi, with ease, Hemp & Iron are now brought to Ports in the Baltick, under equal Inconveniences. Silk should it be produced in the Country we speak of, will bear any carriage. British Manufactures are for the most part valuable in proportion to their weight, those that are less valuable must be paid for with all charges of Carriage upon them by the Consumer, & even should the Consumer on the Ohio find some of them dearer than he can Supply himself another way, The Trade surely ought not to be rejected because less extensive & beneficial than some others, besides, should we admit that we ought not to hope for the intire supply of this Country, but that their distance will compell them in a degree to Supply themselves with some things the other Colonies have from Britain, perhaps this may be many ways compensated; such Settlements may have the Effects I have hinted at before; & besides will furnish Provisions not only for our tradeing Posts on the Bay of Mexico, but for any Expedition which a future War with Spain may render adviseable to be fitted out at Pensacola; here too the Battallions intended to relieve the Garrisions in West Florida may be most advantageously Stationed in a Situation probably much healthier than East Florida, notwithstanding the Encomium bestowed on it; and in a Colony on the Mississippi, they would be in readiness for such an Expedition as I just now mentioned. For this purpose I should prefer some Spot to the Southward of the Mouth of the Ohio, which might be erected into a Province distinct from that proposed between Wisconsing & Ohio.

I am told there is Land nearer the Mouth of the Mississippi little used by the Indians either for Cultivation or Habitation, but should no other Colony be formed, but that planned in Pensylvania the passage thence to the Bay will almost always be easy, & I believe the passage up the River will be found abundantly easier & shorter than it has been represented, by People who have unluckily been obliged to ascend it at improper Seasons, possibly with improper Vessels, & with little Experience of its Navigation. Every one has heard of the Difficulties and Dangers of a Voyage to Hudsons Bay, & of that up the River S^{t} Lawrence, neither are I believe without both Difficulty & Danger, but the Experience of that Navigation has reduced both

[1] The reference is to page 2 of Barrington's plan.

to a very small part of what formerly attended those Voyages. I believe it would be better that the Indian Trade should be carried on at Places, within an English Colony than by wandring Traders among the Indians, for this Reason among others I wish a Colony on the Illinois River because I doubt whether the whole of the Indian Trade or even the greater Part can be brought home by old Colonies, the French before the last War convinced us to our cost, that their method was the best way of carrying it on, (the Experience of the Hudsons Bay Company is I believe alone sufficient to support this Observation) and that we are not now free from their Competition on the side of the Mississippi we are informed by the sensible marginal Observations on his Lordship's Paper.[1]

p. 3. I perfectly agree with his Lordship that many, almost all the Garrisons ought to be abandoned, though I do not agree with him in all his Reasons for the Measure. I am disposed to think that the only sufficient reason for keeping 15 Battallions in N. America arrises from the propriety of providing for the Officers of those Corps, that have served their Country with so much merit and success. Canada should certainly be strongly garrisoned and Florida sufficiently so; the security of the former may perhaps be increased by a proper use of our neighbouring populous Colonies & both will always be in a great measure defended by our Strength at Sea. I think it little material whether 500 Men can be brought together in a short Time unless it be for an Expedition against some part of the Spanish West Indies. The internal Quiet of our old Colonies may be more easily & with less danger preserved by a very obvious Policy. The late Disturbances are no Foundation for any argument on the occasion, the Governor of the best constituted State, may be over turned, by the loss of the Credit and Authority of its Magistrates. This may happen to an independant State, and has happened to every one in Europe, but it is more likely to happen in a Subordinate State where the impolitick Conduct of the Superior shall unhappily involve the best as well as the other Magistrates of a Colony in Odium and Contempt, by the obligation they conceive themselves under to support the Measures from above & to submit to their Superior. At that time the Colonies in America were unhappy rather than faulty, the Superior State wanted wisdom & the Colonies first felt the Effects

[1] General Gage's remarks, printed *ante*, 243.

of that want & could not cure it. It is therefore not to be feared that such Disturbances will happen again, it is a great Mistake to think that the Governors in America want Strength in general, perhaps there is more that over does, but this is so much a fault on the right side that it ought to be warily amended.

p. 10. I take it to be a mistake to suppose either that the Americans do not contribute to the Expence in America, or that the benefit of the Indian Trade results to them. The former is a trite Subject, as to the latter it is obvious to any one acquainted with the Indian Trade, that much the greater part of its benefit results to Great Britain, & that the Colonies through whom it passes, are very little interested therein.

p. 11. I doubt it is a great deal too much to take for granted that if we do not go to the Indians, they will be our Friends of course, no Colony has sent more Traders among the Indians then Pennsylvania & our most inveterate Enemies in the late Wars were those among whom our Traders never went, it is doubtless but too true that the Indians, have been abused by English Traders, but it is equally true, that the Indians have been frequently Stimulated to acts of hostility by the seduction of the French & by the hopes of easy Plunder.

p. 12. I believe no man acquainted with the Indians will warrant the Nation against an Indian War so long as We have neither Fort, Garrison or Settlement among them. The fewer there shall be found necessary of the former, the better, & a small Garrison will be almost always stronger against Indians than a large one, but Settlements are not only necessary for other Reasons but are the only effectual means of weakening the Indians, conciliating their affections & preventing their being abused by Traders, however easy it may be for an Indian to carry a pack of beaver Skins 500 or 1000 Miles to the Frontier of our old Colonies, experience shews they are much oftener deterred from carrying them than not, either from their Indolence, or fear of intervening Enemies, had it not been for some such Reason, the French while in Possession of Canada could not have rivalled us so successfully in this Trade, since it is well known that much the greater part of the goods necessarily provided by them for the Indian Trade, were bought of the English, or if not so bought, were inferior in the Estimation of the Indians, to our Goods. In the case of a Settlement upon the Mississippi, the Trade will not only be brought

sufficiently near the remote Indians, but will be carried on under the Eyes of those who will be interested to prevent Imposition.

I do not agree that if any of our Colonies should by misconduct get themselves into an Indian War, they should get out of it as well as they can, which will be probably as well as they would without Assistance, nor have I any apprehension they will ask for a Military Assistance against Indians, however necessary I really believe it would be against a regular force of Europeans, no[r] do I believe they would be in any way defective in Gratitude for the Assistance lent them; though they have been a little invidiously reproached with ingratitude, by those who have not taken the pains or met with the Information, necessary for the fairly discussing this Point. Ungrateful People doubtless there are many in the Colonies, as well as in the rest of the World; but I cannot but impute the seeming insinuation in this page, that whole Provinces have been unthankfull and in page 20, that New England and New York, not individuals have misbehaved themselves to the Malevolence of some, that have taken pains to mislead the Noble writer of the Paper, I have before me. How would it sound if any one should recount the late Insurrections in England as proofs of the misbehaviour of this part of the Kingdom, & how unjustly would any Man charge Scotland with Rebellion because a detestable and for some time successful one broke out in that part of the United Kingdom in 1745? I know well that his Lordship abhors injustice and has taken up the Phrase from the too frequent use of it by other Men on former Occasions; and I am equally sure that such Reproaches do not come from the very respectable Persons mentioned in the Paper. I could not however avoid taking notice of a mode of Speaking, which however meant, cannot but have the worst Effects on both Sides the Water & particularly on this among those who know not America, as Great Britain commonly is known.

p. 16. Fort Chartres ought not to be abandoned, untill there be a Settlement in the Illinois Country when such a one has taken place and has gained Strength, a Fort will be rather a prejudice than a Security to it.

I dare not presume to judge of the other Forts, but am persuaded the Opinions his Lordship relies on may be safely followed.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of Remarks on the Plan for the future Mang[t] of Indian Affairs, &c. by M[r] Jackson.

T. WHARTON TO B. FRANKLIN, November 11, 1766

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 2:52—A.L.S.]

PHILAD[A] Nov. 11, 1766.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

My last was on the 24th. Ult.—Since which I received thy kind, Favour of the 13th. Sep. for which I thank thee. And rejoice to find the Tour thou took into Germany, proved serviciable to thee; and restored the Health of One, whom many look upon, as the great Instrument in saving both our Mother-Country and this Continent from Ruin.

The kind sentiments, thou expresses relative to my little Babe, have closely affected its Parents.

Immediately on receiving thy Letter, I communicated thy Sentiments to our Friend, G. Ashbridge, which afforded him real Pleasure.

I return thee my thanks—for thy kind Intentions of writing to Springet Penn; I know, that, Edward Penington is his Agent, but he hath no power to sell.

It will give me particular Pleasure to receive from thee, the *Police* of Amsterdam; And it must afford every true Lover of Mankind real satisfaction to find, that so large & populous a City, is govern'd, with such order, that it does not become necessary to make a Capital Execution in 7 years! We are in great Hopes, that, the Work-House now erecting will greatly contribute to restore the Manners, and rectify the Lives of many dessolute Persons; as well as Implant in the Minds of the rising Youth, the Habit of Frugality & Industry. Our present Building is about 600 Feet in length by 44 in depth, and forms a hollow Square, with a Piaza all the way in Front —looking into the Yard.

It gives us great Pleasure, that, thou approves the *Illinois* Scheme; and altho' it was at that time thought it might be prudent to take in two Persons, such as thou should approve of, yet I conceive it will by no means be disagreeable to our Company should thou enlarge the Number, if a proportionable number of Acres be granted.

Our Governor, a few days past received a new Commission, which, I understand vests him with that power for three Years longer.

The Bearer hereof, *John Morton*, being on a visit to his aged Parents, has requested the pleasure of delivering this Letter to thee, in order that he may see a Person, whom he much respects. He is a Man of a fair Character, & one who has contributed to the Freedom of this City.

Our Friend, Ross is in the Country, shall not fail of informing him of thy kind Sentiments—as soon as I have the pleasure of seeing him.

Our Friend, Galloway sent thee by the Packet; (which sailed a few days past) the Resolves of our Assembly, and their Instructions—relative to the Change of Gournment; and as he has informed thee of the additional Clause shall not trouble thee with my Sentiments.

I find by a N' York-Paper of the 10th. Ins^{t}, that, its possitively asserted, that Gov^{r} Moore has received Instructions from London to assent to Bills, which may be offered by the Assembly for the Emission of Paper-Currency.

We are informed that, Sir, W^{m} Johnson has had a Treaty with Pondiac & a great number of Southern-Indians, at Oswego;—and that he has settled Matters to their Satisfaction.

I know of nothing particularly new among us at this time, Therefore conclude with informing thee, that my Father desires his sincere Respects may be paid thee, and be pleased to accept the same from

Thy real Friend.

THO WHARTON

To BENJAMIN FRANKLIN Esq^{r}

WINSTON'S LOSSES BY INDIANS, November 14, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 15:210]

Acct. of Losses sustained by Rich. Winston by the late Indian War commenced in the Year 1763.[2] Viz:

[*List of goods amounting to £2415, 13s., 8d. New York currency*]

FORT CHARTRES, ILLINOIS, Nov. 14, 1766.

Then appeared personally before me, John Reed, Colonell, Lt. Colonell of the 34th Regiment, Commanding at the Illinois, the within named Richard Winston and did on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, depose, declare and swear, that the within Acct. of Losses sustained by him at Wiotouan on the River Wabash, and on the way

[1] The original from which this extract was transcribed by Mr. Carter was destroyed by the fire at Albany.

[2] Winston was one of the traders who formed a company to recover their losses from the Indians by a grant of land. The company was called the Indiana Company. (See *ante*, 1:374 n.) On Winston consult Alvord, *Cahokia Records* and *Kaskaskia Records* (*I. H. C.*, 2 and 5), indexes.

from thence to New York, during the late Indian War, amounting to the Sum of Two Thousand Four hundred & fifteen pounds, thirteen shillings & eight pence, New York Currency, is just and true according to the best of his knowledge.

RICH. WINSTON.

Sworn before me the day & year above written.

JOHN REED, Col.
Lt. Col. 34th Regiment.

COLE TO VAN SCHAACK, November 15, 1766[1]

[C.P.L., Mason Collection—C.]

FORT CHARTRES. Novr. 15th 1766.

DEAR HARRY,

I have just wrote to our friend Wetherhead to send me some shrubs and wine & have let him know you will settle with him for it. I have had no line from you since I left Detroit nor no one else from that quarter. I hope that you have settled with P.R. to your satisfaction. I dont know that I shall want any monies from you soon, any more than what Mrs. Coles may have occasion for, but however I shall write you more fully on that head some other opportunity.

This country is far from answering my expectations in any other point than the soil. It is in summer unhealthy. I have enjoyed but a small share of health since I arrived, which I mentioned in former letters. My compliments to Mrs. Van Schaack, H. Cuyler and all friends. I am, Dear Harry,

Yours eternally
EDWD. COLE.

HENRY VAN SCHAACK, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS OF COURT-MARTIAL, November 27, 1766[2]

[V.S.L., Clark Papers—A.L.S.]

Proceedings of a general Court martial held at Fort Chartres on the 27th of November 1766 by order of John Reed Esqr Colonel, Lieu-

[1] The original of this has not been located, so we are obliged to print a copy made by E. G. Mason, whose library was purchased by the Champaign Public Library.

[2] Printed by Mr. Ambler in the *Branch Historical Papers*, 4: no. 2, p. 104.

tenant Colonel of, and commanding his Majestys Thirty Fourth Regiment of Foot—

Captain Alexander Dundas President

Captain Gordon Forbes	William Ancrum
Captain L^{t}. James Campbell	Ensign William Wood
Lieutenant John Ross	James Savage

34th Members Reg^{t}

Captain Edward Pownal	Ensign William Robinson
Lieutenant William Baugh	James Wainwright
Thomas Ford	Charles Dan

Lieutenant Philip Pittman Deputy Judge Advocate

Prisoners William Johnston, Sergt John Wells, Private.

The Court being duly sworn, proceeded to the Trial of Serjeant William Johnston, and John Wells soldier of the Thirty Fourth Regiment confin'd by order of Colonel Reed for desertion.

Evidence of Eliz. Hurrol.

Elizabeth the Wife of Edward Hurrol Soldier, being call'd to the Court and sworn, acquaints the Court that John Wells told her that Serjeant Johnston was going away, and that she sent to acquaint her husband of it, as Serjeant Johnston was indebted to her.

Edward Hurrol.

Edward Hurrol call'd and sworn, informs the court, That being one day on guard he received a message from his wife that Serjeant Johnston was going to desert; he went directly to the Serjeant and question'd him about it, who denied it: shortly after, he saw the said Serjeant go out of the Fort gates, and in a few moments after that, seeing Serjeant Miles coming into the Fort, he told him of the message he had received from his wife concerning Serjeant Johnston; on this he accompanied Serjeant Miles to the Barrack to search the place where Johnston was used to keep his necessarys, most of which were gone.

Serjeant John Miles.

Serjeant John Miles being call'd to the Court and sworn, informs them that on saturday the eighteenth of october, about two o clock in the afternoon he went down to the Village to his Washerwoman in order to get his linnen; on his return, when entering the Fort Gate; he was spoke to by Edward Hurrol who inform'd him that he had heard that Serjeant Johnston was going to desert; on this he went into his

Barrack, and on examining the place where Serjeant Johnston kept his necessarys, found that most of them were gone, from thence he went imediately and acquainted his officer Ensign Wainwright, with what had pass'd, and afterwards further informed him that the said serjeant Johnston was absent both at the beating the retreat and Tatoo: he heard [*MS. torn*] of him till he was brought a prisoner into the [*MS. torn*]

Serjeant Jeremiah Fatherby.

Serjeant Jeremiah Fatherby call'd to the Court and sworn, declares that on the eighteenth of October, at about eight o clock at night John Wells being absent, he went to examine the place where he used to keep his necessary's, which not being able to find, acquainted his officer Captain Dundas immediately with these circumstances; he heard nothing of the prisoner untill his confinement next morning in the guard house.

Edward Cole Esqr. Commissary for Indian affairs.

Edward Cole Esq^{r} Commissary for Indian affairs, being sworn gives evidence, that sometime ago Ensign Wainwright delivered to him the Compliments of Col^{l} Reed, who desired him if any Indians were in the way to send them after some soldiers who had deserted; he then desired Ensign Wainwright to ask the Col^{l} for an order in writing that should direct how far the Indians might proceed after them, and if they could not secure them alive, to authorize them to put them to death; in the mean time he sent for the Indians. M^{r} Wainwright soon retired with the Col^{ls} written order, in which were particular descriptions of the persons of the deserters, and amongst them he particularly remembers the name of Johnston, and the order authorized the Indians in case of resistance to kill them. that he sent three or four Indians immediately, and next day heard that they had taken two deserters whom they had found in a Barn, and had deliver'd them to a File of Soldiers, who had conducted the Prisoners to the Fort.

Serjeant Peter Ellis.

Serjeant Peter Ellis sworn, informs the court that being on guard on the 19th of Oct^{r} early in the morning Cap^{t} Lieu^{t} Campbell sent one of his servants to demand a File of men to secure some deserters, who were taken by the Indians in a Barn; that he immediately acquainted the officer of the guard with Captain Lieu^{t} Campbells message, who order'd a file of men with a Corporal to be sent to bring them in; the Corporal returned in about three quarters of an hour with the two prisoners in charge of the File of men.

Corporal Daniel Lever

Corporal Daniel Lever being call'd and sworn, acquaints the Court that on the 19th of October in the morning, the serjeant of the guard sent him out with a File of men and being guided by an Indian to a Barn, where he saw the prisoner John Wells, who said, here is a party of men come for us; to which Serjeant Johnston replied that he intended to return to the Fort as soon as the gates should be open; then the Serjeant delivered to him his sword, and he proceeded with the said Serjeant Johnston and [*MS. torn*] Wells to the Fort, and lodged them in the guard Room.

Question by the Court. Did you find with the deserters when you took [*MS. torn*] arms or necessarys. [*MS. torn*] but no arms except the serjeant sword. Prisoners call'd on their Defence.

Serjeant Johnston

On the 17th of October Serjeant Cropper, who was suspended a few days before, stood Centinel at the Fort Gate, when he asked me if I chose to take a walk with him on the morrow, being the 18th; I asked him whereto; he told me, not far, and I agreed. The next day he accordingly sent me a message about eleven o clock before noon, that he wanted to speak with me; not going, he sent me two or three other messages; at last I went, being at about one o clock in the afternoon, and found him drinking with some others in the barn, in which I was apprehended; I sat down and drank with them; he several times asked me if I would desert with him, during the time they were drinking; I constantly refused him; in the mean time John Prynne went to the Fort and brought my sword with him from the Barrack, which he had secretted in the lining of his coat; and delivered it to me, saying that he had brought down my things, as there was a report in the Fort that I was going to desert, and that I had better go off. I answered, that it was never my design, and that I would leave them immediately; on which, Serjeant Cropper desired I would stay a little longer, and still urged me to desert; but I continued to refuse; he darn'd me, and said I had spoild their design. They left Wells and me about sun sett in the barn, and I never saw them after. I was so much intoxicated, that I was not able to return that night to the Fort, but it was my design to attend my Duty next morning. I have served in this Regiment ten years and was never before brought to a Court Martial; and I hope from my former good character to merit in some degree clemency of the Court.

Lieutenant Baugh, being desired by the prisoner to acquaint

the court with his character, says that he has known the prisoner these six years, and that he has served as Corporal and private during three years and a half of that time, in the same Company with himself; and that he never knew him behave otherwise than as a good soldier.

John Wells

What I have to say is nearly to the same purpose as what Serjeant Johnston has before delivered; I have been enticed by my comrades and have too much listened to their discourses; but my heart relented and I at last determined to quitt them and return to my duty. I was too much in liquor the night we were in the barn, to put this resolution in execution but can assure you that it was my intention to do it as soon as [*MS. torn*] be open'd the next morning. I hope the Court will have pity on me in consideration of my having before served nine years in the Regiment with a good character.

Sentence of the Court.

It is the opinion of the Court that the Prisoners are guilty of the crime laid to their charge, and fall under the first article of the sixth Section of the Articles of War. They sentence accordingly Serjeant William Johnston to be reduced to serve in the ranks as private [*MS. torn*] receive one thousand lashes; they also sentence John Wells soldier to receive one thousand lashes.

A. Dundas
Presid^{t}

P^{H} Pittman
Dep^{y} Judge Advocate

HeadQuarters New York May 17th 1769

I approve the above sentence of the Gen^{l}. Court Martial upon the Prisoners William Johnston, Serj^{t} and John Wells private soldier both of the 34th Reg^{t} But leave it to the descretion of the officer Commanding to put the Punishment adjudged the said Prisoners in execution, and at such Times, and proportions as to him shall seem right and proper.

Tho^{s} Gage

CHAPTER IX

THE VALUE OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY, NOVEMBER 21, 1766–FEBRUARY 24, 1767

MORGAN'S JOURNEY DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI — FRENCH HUNTERS ON THE BRITISH SHORE — LORD SHELBURNE OUTLINES A WESTERN POLICY — HOW TO RAISE AN AMERICAN FUND — CROGHAN REPORTS — BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN OFFER TO SUPPLY FORT DE CHARTRES — A BRIBE — A CENSUS OF THE ILLINOIS — GAGE THINKS THE ILLINOIS OF LITTLE VALUE — CROGHAN REPORTS HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH ILLINOIS INDIANS — TRADE CONDITIONS — CROGHAN'S EXPENSES — DISTRIBUTION OF TROOPS.

VOYAGE DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI,[1] November 21, 1766–December 18, 1766

[George Morgan Letter Book]

Remarkable Occurrences—

Nov^r 21st 1766

Fryday Morning about 11 OClock embarkd at the Kaskaskia Village situate on the S.W Side of A River of the same Name which empties into the Missisippi about [*blank in MS.*] Miles from the Town in which are about seventy Houses mostly built of Wood & plaisterd on the Outside, notwithstanding there is a fine Stone Quarries very near, particularly One on the opposite Side the River ½ mile above the Town.

Kaskaskias is situate on a rising Ground which has never been known to overflow—which all the low Lands along the Missisippi &

[1] The Letter Book of George Morgan, from which many letters are printed in the later pages, was loaned several years ago by the owner, Mr. Sydney Morgan of Pittsburgh, to Mr. Alvord and a copy of it was made for the Illinois State Historical Library. The contents are now printed from this copy. From the above journal, a couple of pages have been omitted. They are pages 2 (half a page), 4, and 6 (half a page). On these Morgan had drawn an elaborate table for the notation of time, latitude, longitude, direction, rivers and creeks, miles traveled, etc. For the journey on the Ohio, he made only one entry, "June 18th Wednesday one oclock." This occupies a half of page 2. His table for the trip down the Mississippi was the more elaborate and he kept the record for one day, when it was decided to travel day and night, so that he was obliged to discontinue his observations. At the top of the first pages is written "Remarkable Occurrences" which we have not repeated. The word "Remarks" which occurs at stated intervals on the earlier pages is also omitted.

Kaskaskias is yearly subject to in the Months of May & June—From whence tis thought that the Unhealthyness of the Country proceeds—From the Month of June to the 1st of October last the Ague & Fever has been remarkably prevalent—Insomuch that of the Garrison & Inhabitants of Fort Chartres & Kaskaskia few have escaped being more or less afflicted therewith & altho 'tis not in itself Mortal yet the frequency of it must be the Occasion of other Disorders that are so—Insomuch that not a single Person Male or Female born at the Illinois of Parents of fifty Years of Age & very few of Forty—Neither has there been any French Native of the Country known to have lived to an old Age—But the Climate very well agrees with Cannadians & Europeans, except the first Year or two—This first Day we passd Cape Cinque Homme about three Leagues & stopd to Cook for the 22^{d} Having come 24 Miles from the Mouth of the Kaskaskia River.

The 22^{d} at One in the Morning, awoke my People to embark, when that Moment a Boat from Mr Clarkson appeard, which he had sent after me with Letters from Philad^{a}—He had mist the Kaskaskias River, having gone up on the wrong Side, to Missaire In the Interim I left the Kaskaskias by which Means we lost sight of each other—Having answerd Mr Clarksons Letter, I pushd on, but the Wind being strong against The Place we stopd at to Cook our Victuals for the 22^{d} that No Time may be lost during Daylight.

By Determining to go Day & Night was deprived of the Pleasure of continuing to take the Courses & Distances of that Queen of Rivers the Missisippi.

Saturday Nov^{r} 22^{d} 1766

& it growing very foggy in the Evening we came no further this Day than 45 Miles—In the Course whereof (about 16 Leagues below the Kaskaskias River) I pass'd the Kaskaskias Tribe of Indians who were encamp'd on the English Shore to hunt for the Winter Season—They have a Trader with them whom I supplyd for that purpose at their own Request—I also lent them two Batteaus for the safe Return whereof Col. Cole has promised to be answerable.

Sunday November 23^{d} 1766

The past Night & this Morning there was so great a Fog that we dare not proceed untill 7 OClock, when we embarkd & reach the Ohio before Eleven—Up which beautifull River we proceeded two miles to

Mr Clarksons Batteaus, where I rested till next Morning—A very heavy Thunders Storm having come up in the Afternoon with heavy Rain—From hence I wrote necessary Letters to Mess^{rs} Cole, Jennings, Clarkson & Maisonville.

Monday November 24th 1766

The great Fog the past Night & this Morning prevented our pushing off untill 7 OClock When it cleard up a little but came on again soon after we got into the Missisippi so heavy that we could not see the Boats Length, which obliged me to put to Shore again untill near 10 OClock when we again proceeded, but the Wind being strong at S,E we made no more than thirty Miles from the Ohio this Day—In the Course of which we pass'd three different French Hunting Parties who asscend the Missisippi from New Orleans to kill Buffaloe Bears &c which they salt up in large Perriogues & Batteaus & descen'd generally the begining of December therewith to supply the Inhabitants of Orleans—The Skins Tallow &c—they also prepare & take with them —Their Perriogues generally contain or carry from 3 to 5000 W^{t} but I have heard of much larger—I visited One of their Encampments & was kindly Treated with Bears Meat & Buffaloe excellently dress'd wth Oil.

Tuesday November 25th 1766

The Fog again prevented my setting out before Day Light & the Wind being strong a Head we made no further this Day than the little Field or Meadow on the Spanish Shore, 45 Miles below our last Encampment near Wolf Island, & 75 from the Ohio—During the Days rowing pass'd othar [*sic*] three French Hunting Parties, spoke to each of them but went ashoar to Neither.

Wednesday Nov^{r} 26th 1766

A great Fog this Morning also prevented my proceeding before 7 OClock & then the Wind arose so strong against us that by dark Night we got no further than Plumb Point, which is on the Eastern Shore 45 Miles below Wolf Island In the Coarse of which we passed four french hunting Parties—All but One of whom were encamp'd on the English Shoar—As were two of those I passed on Monday & One of the three I pass'd yesterday—One of those I pass'd this Day on the English Side I went on Shoar to for Meat but got none.

Thursday November 27th 1766

A heavy Wind with some Rain prevented my pushing off early this Morning as it came from the South East, & we could make no Way against it, but should be subject to be drove against sunken Logs, of which there are such immense Numbers on each Side of the River, as to render the Navigation thereof when low very difficult to unexperienced Persons.

About 8 OClock the Storm abated & I pushd off, but About 4 OClock it again came on with great Violence which obliged me to put in, as we could make no Way against it—This detain'd me untill after 12 Oclock but in the interim One of my People kill'd a Buffaloe which removed the Fear I had apprehended of falling short of Provisions from the unexpected Delays by Fogs & contrary Winds—About 3 OClock the Wind turnd to N.W. & blew fresh for untill after four, which enabled Us to reach the high red Banks on the English Shoar 39 Miles below Plumb Point.

Friday November 28th 1766.

I embarkd this Morning about Six OClock, but the Wind having turnd to the South I could reach no further than the Heighths of Margo on the Inglish [*sic*] Shore, ten Leagues from the last Nights Encampment—In the Course of which I pass'd 4 French Hunting Parties.

Saturday November 29th 1766

A great Fog prevented my Departure till 8 OClock this Morning & the Wind continuing South but not so strong as yesterday We came no further than the lower End of the Consuls Bar, 36 Miles from the Banks of Margo—This Day we pass'd three french hunting Parties on the English Shoar.

Sunday November 30th 1766

The Morning Fog as usual, again prevented my early Departure, at half past three We pass'd the River St Francis distant 30 Miles from our last Nights Encampment—This River is about 200 Yds wide at the Entrance—The first Course up it is S.W by W. then inclines more South The Missisippi down Wards. S by E which seems contrary to the Usuall meetings of Rivers—The Banks of this River at the Entrance are low & subject to being overflown—As also are all

those of the Missisippi I have hitherto pass'd from the Ohio down ward except those of the Iron Mines first, middle & Margot Heights, all on the English Side,— from S^{t} Francis River we this Night proceeded 12 Miles, in all 42 Miles from the last Nights Encampment at the Consuls Bar.

Monday December 1st 1766.

The Fog in the Morning & a Head Wind from 11 OClock in the Morning 'till 4 in the Afternoon prevented my going any further this Day than 24 Miles In the Course of which we pass'd the Hermitage 30 Miles from S^{t} Francis River, & encampd opposite Iron Island on the French Shore—The Lands on each Side very low & rich Soil As before.

Tuesday December 2^{d} 1766

This Day we came no more than 21 Miles owing to the Morning Fog & the Wind being a Head from 11 OClock till night—We encampd on a high Bank on the English Shore—This Day we pass'd a deserted old Indian Village on the french Shore 15 Miles below Inn [?] Island.

Wednesday December 3^{d} 1766

The Fog this Morning prevented our embarking untill near 8 OClock—At One OClock we passd the Arkansa River, on the right, which is said to take its Rise 750 Miles or more, to the N.W.—A few Miles from the Mouth of the River, (opposite w^{ch} is an Island 15 Miles long) is a small F Fort & about 10 F Familes [*sic*] in the neighbourhood of the Indian Village which has near 200 Families—This River is about 430 Miles from the Kaskaskia Village & 450 from Fort Chartres—In the Evening we encamp'd near to L'Isle au Bled 15 Miles below the Arkanzas & 48 from our last Nights Encampment.

Thursday December 4th 1766

The whole Day was so foggy that frequently when we were in the middle of the River we could not see the Land on either Side—But as we had no Wind against Us we came 36 Miles to the 2^{d} three Channels which are formd by two Islands opposite each other dividing the River into three Courses—This day we met two large Perriogues on their Way to the Arkanzas from New Orleans—They had been out Eight Weeks.

Friday December 5th 1766

From the Rain we had last Night & the late Change of the Moon, I flatter'd myself the Winds would turn to the North but the Fog still continues & was so thick the Whole Day as almost to deter me from proceeding on Acc^{t} of the Danger in running foul of the many Logs which stand up on End in the River.

We this Day came 36 Miles (& encampd on the French Shore) In the Course whereof we pass'd great & little Point Coupee The Distances of which with others not mentiond here may be seen at the beginning of this Book.[1]

Saturday December 6th 1766

The Fog still continues but not so great as Yesterday And as we embark'd early, we came this Day 36 Miles without passing any remarkable Place—We encampd on the English Shore.

Sunday December 7th 1766

In the Course of this Day we pass'd two French Hunting Parties, both on the English Shore—In the Evening we encampd on the left Hand Side having come this Day 45 Miles the Fog still continuing, wth what little Wind that is stirring, at S.East.

Monday December 8th 1766

This Morning we embarkd at 7 OClock—About 11 we pass'd the River Yazous (about 150 Yds W^{d}) distant 24 Miles from where we stopd last Night—At three we pass'd a Hill on the left 15 Miles from the Yazous—Here we overtook a French Perriogue going to New Orleans with Buffaloe Meat—At Night we encamp'd on the French Shore 24 Miles below the Yazous having come this Day 48 Miles—This is the first Day the Sun has has [*sic*] shone clear since I left the Illinois—but I forgot to take an Observation of the Lattitude but the best Maps set it at about 32 Degrees of the Yazous River, the 1st Course of w^{ch} from the Entrance up is E.N.E—The Missisippi running S by W—We could have made 6 or Eight Miles more this Day had we not seen a Bear in the River, which I was tempted to give Chase to & shoot—It proved to be a She One exceeding fat & fine Eating—She measured 41½ Inches round the middle & was 5 feet in length lacking One Inch from the Head to the Tail.

[1] Not given.

Tuesday December 9th 1766

We embarkd at 7 OClock this Morning & pass'd no Place remarkable untill we came to what is call'd the Grand Gulph distant 42 Miles from where we slept last Night—This is a remarkable short Turn in the River, w^ch being but about 800 Yards Wide may perhaps occasion a particularly rapid Currant & give Rise to this Name—A Creek of about 20 Yards Wide is in the Angle of the River on the English Side 1000 Yds below w^ch is a small Hill that does not overflow—From this Creek you see about 5 Miles up the River in a W. by S. Course & down the River 12 Miles in a S. by W. Course.

Wednesday December 10th 1766

As the Moon shone tolerably clear last Night I embark'd about 11 OClock but it grew cloudy soon after, which obliged me to put ashore but not before we run against several Logs—In the Morning about seven OClock I again push'd of, but the Fog came on so thick that we could not see our Way—When I determin'd to put ashore to tarry untill it should clear up, I found that we had been rowing against the Stream & had not come above 20 Miles from the Grand Gulph—The Fog about 11 OClock was succeeded by a high Wind at S.E & Rain which continued till Night & then the Fog again came on. At the Place we put ashore on the English Side was a large French Petteaugre loaded with Buffaloe w^th three Men on their Way to New Orleans.

Thursday December 11th 1766

I embark'd this Morning about 7 OClock & at four in the Afternoon arrivd at Fort [*blank in MS.*] commonly called the Natchez, as a Tribe of Indians of that Name formerly inhabited within a League of this Fort who were destroyd by the French in the Year 1730—This Day I came about 37 Miles The Fort is situate on a high Hill & distant from the River 590 Yards—The Perpendicular Heighth of the Hill from the Surface of the Water I judge to be about or near 300 Feet by three diff^t Asscents—Here is at present a Garrison of 44 Men with 4 Officers being a Detachment of the Scotch Fuziliers comd^d by Cap^t Rhea who took Possession of it the 29th Day of September last. This Fort was new built by the French in the Year 1759 & deserted by them immediately after the late Treaty of Peace, as it then, with all the Country on the East of the Missisippi, was ceeded to the Eng-

lish—It is built of hewn Cypress, is a neat small Fort, but in its present Situation, by no means defensive. The Fountain from whence they must depend on getting their Water in Case of an Attack is distant near 150 Yds from the Fort & is surrounded by several little Hills & Gullies—so that the communication between the Fort & Fountain might very easily be cut off—Nay the Fountain might be renderd Useless in a very short Time unless the Garrison shoud be strong enough to Keep a Guard or make sufficient Sallys to drive away the Beseigers from such Attempts.

At present they bring all their Water from the River—They have found another Spring about 300 Yds from the Fort toward the River w^ch^ they are now opening & intend to Use when the Road is so Bad during the Winter as to render the Way impassable with Burthens of Water They dont choose to Use the Fountain but in Case of Necessity, as tis said the Water is very bad—The River opposite the Fort is about 600 Yds Wide so that this Fort would be of no Use in stopping Boats going either up or down should there be Occasion.

Friday December 12th 1766

I tarry'd at the Natchez to dry my Peltrie & take the Latitude of the Fort w^ch^ I find to be as laid down in 31. 30 N.—Back of the Fort are very extensive high Meadows, but the Want of a Horse & a Guide preventing my reconnoitering them & visiting the Spots where the French & Indians formerly had their Villages.

At 4 OClock in the Evening I embark'd & proceeded 12 Miles down the River where we put ashore to Cook our Provisions for the next Day—At 11 OClock We again embarkd & at 8 OClock in the Morning found ourselves At the three Islands 45 Miles below Natchez.

Saturday December 13th 1766

We arrived about 7 OClock in the Evening at the River Rouge opposite w^ch^ we put ashore to cook for the Morrow This River appears to be about 250 Yds broad at the Mouth The first Course is N by W.

About 50 Leagues up this River is what they call the Rapids where an Indian Village of the Avoyel Tribe—50 Leagues still higher is the Natchitoches another Indian Village & a considerable French Settlement is but 7 Leagues So that now the Spaniards have New Orleans

& all the West Side of the Missisippi, given up to them by the French, this River will probably be the Passage for a considerable Part of their Treisure from Mexico.

Sunday December 14th 1766

I attempted to proceed by Moonlight last Night but a heavy Wind with Rain & Thunder & Lightening coming on soon obligd me to put a Shore—And the Wind & Rain continuing 'till ten OClock this Morning obligd me to wait till then before I could again push off—This Day I met four Indian Cannoes with several Indians in each & on each Side of the River were several Hunting Parties Encampments which I judge to be of the Tonnica Tribe as their Village consisting of about 30 Huts on the English Side was but a few Leagues lower down within a League of which I put ashore in the Evening to cook for the Morrow having come this Day—51 Miles—On the French Side the River during this Days Sailing I pass'd seven small new French Huts, where those People are continuing Their Settlements along the River Side—At the Place I put on Shore this Evening on the E. Shore were fifty odd Negroes from P^{t} Coupee Settlement, cutting & hewing of Cypress Timber, to float early in the Spring to New Orleans—NB. The River about 12 Leagues below the Red River took a very particular Turn from South to S.E. then East then N.E. then North & went quite Round to W by N then back in short Turns.

Monday December 15th 1766

I embarkd early this Morning & about 5 OClock stopd at the first French Settlement (or rather the beginning of the whole) at Point Coupee, where I breakfasted & tarryd till near seven OClock that I might have Day Light to view the Settlements as I passd—This Settlement begins 48½ Leagues below the Natchez & extends 21 Miles down the River by small Interruptions of WoodLand—Within which Distance & up a small Creek which empties into the Missisippi at the lower End of the Settlement are upwards of two hundred Families 85 of whose Habitations are along the River Side—Here is a small French Fort garrison'd with One Officer & twenty six Men—Several of the Inhabitants here have upwards of 40 Negroes, many of them 20 & few who have lived in the Country any Time less than 4 or 5—From the overflowing Fertility of their Lands & Temperature of

the Climate they raise great Quantitys of Cotton, Rice, Indigo & Tobacco all of excellent Quality from whence they must in a few Years become very rich.

The Perpendicular Height of the Bank of the River along w^ch^ the Settlement Extends is from 25 to 40 feet in different Places—The Oposite Side of the River is nearly as high, the Lands as good & consequently the same Articles may & will in Time be there cultivated —Mons. [*blank in MS.*] at whose House I breakfasted told me that the three Winters past, they had not the least Snow The Course of the River from the Upper End to the Settlement is between the N. & E. generally about NE by E. E.EN. E&E by N. As I had a pleasant Gale W. S.W in passing this Place I had great Satis[fac]tion in seeing my English Coulours fairly exposed to the View of the old Masters of this River who flockd from every House to gaze at them—In passing their Fort the Centry hail'd me for to come to Shore, but seeing my Colours thought not proper to insist on my paying them that Respect Although my Batteau Men who were principally French Men, were in great Tripidation at my Resolution to pass without visiting the Commanding officer, least we should be fir'd at from the Fort.

At about 7 OClock in the Evening I arrived at Fort Bute situate near the Iberville Ditch on the Bank of the Missisippi.

Tuesday Wednesday & Thursday Dec^r^ 16th 17th & 18th

I tarryd here to view the Iberville River so much talked of as a Passage of Consequence to the English Nation—It being the Boundary between the French & English in America.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO W. FRANKLIN

December 10, 1766

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 48:128—L.S.]

BURLINGTON Decem^r^ 10^th^ 1766.

SIR

The favour We have to ask of your Excellency is, That you will be so good as immediately to request your Father's Interest to serve Us, in the following Matter.

We contracted with One Captain Dobson, for the hire of his Vessel from the River Missisippi to New York, in Order to transport such

Peltrys, as We should send from the Illinois to her, by the 20th of October; But our partner Mr Morgan being delayed by Mr Croghan's Treaties at Fort Pitt & at Sciota, so long as that He did not arrive untill September at Fort Chartres, has occasioned our great Remittances in Skins & Furs, to be deferred untill next Spring.

We had no Doubt, But Mr Morgan would be able to forward Them timely, for Captain Dobson & Therefore, as we wanted Money to pay the Heavy Expences of Carriage &c On Our great Illinois Adventure—We were constrained to Draw Bills, upon Our Friends Richard Neave & Son of London for three thousand Pounds Sterling and promised, We would in Time, enable Them to discharge Them. The Disappointment We have met with, by Mr Morgans unavoidable Delay, on his Passage, & Captain Dobson being chartered to stay no longer, than the 20th of October—necessarily impel Us, earnestly to beseech your Father, to be so friendly, as to prevail on some Monied Gentleman, to aid our Friends Richard Neave & Son, With three thousand Pounds sterling, for six Months. That so, They may honorably discharge Our Bills On Them, for that Sum. But We by no Means desire that your Father should be any Ways answerable, as Messrs Neaves will give ample security. Many of Our Bills, for a considerable Part of the Sum, are remitted to Mr Serjeant's House, Wherefore We would fain hope, That your Father can readily prevail up On Them, to gratify Messrs Neave's and Us, with the Use of three thousand Pounds, for that Length of Time.

We will chearfully allow Them, or any other Persons at & after the Rate of six ℔ Cent Interest (which is Pennsylvania Interest) for the Time & a Commission, of three or Even four ℔ Centum, for their Negotiating it & They may absolutely rely upon Messrs Richard Neave & Sons, repaying the Principal Interest & Commissions in the limited Time.

If your Father, cannot induce those Gentlemen to advance the above sum, We shall be inexpressibly Obliged to Him, to procure it from some Other monied Persons.

Our Trade to the Illinois, as We have shewn to Your Excellency & which, We shall minutely explain to Your Father, is in the most happy and blooming situation—quite equal, to our most sanguine Expectations—all therefore that We want, is this temporary aid to Our Friends, Untill we extract Our Peltrys from thence, in the Spring.

We are prosecuting a safe Traffick, having made full Insurance in London, against all Risques, as Mess^rs^ Neaves know. We have frequently and happily experienced Your kind & very friendly Offices, —May we therefore Presume to solicit your Friendship, in Our behalf, With Our good Friend Your Father, Upon this particular Occasion, which will be realy conferring, a very essential Obligation On

Your Excellency's Most Obedient & Most humble servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

SHELBURNE TO JOHNSON, December 11, 1766[1]

[Lansdowne MSS., 57—Draft]

L^d^ Shelburne to Sir W^m^ Johnson, on the Regulation of Indian Affairs.

(N° 2.) WHITEHALL Decem^r^ 11. 1766

SIR.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the King, who approves of your Conduct in every respect, has been graciously pleased to appoint M^r^ Shuckburgh to the office you desired for him immediately upon your Recommendation.

It is at present under the deliberation of His Majesty's Ministers to regulate Indian affairs upon the most solid and lasting Footing, so as to answer the valuable purposes of Commerce and Peace. The importance of the Subject demands, that it should be extremely well weighed & digested before adopted, and 'till this can be effected it is hoped that the prudence of the Commander in Chief and the Superintendants will supply the want of fixed Regulations, and obviate every temporary Inconvenience.

The Plan[2] which you refer to for the better Management of Indian Affairs requires nice Examination, being of a very dubious Nature in many of its most essential Points.

[1] The three following letters from Lord Shelburne on Indian affairs show the principles upon which he built his western policy, which is set forth in full in documents printed later. The letter to Gage (*post*, 454) is particularly illuminating and proves that at this period Shelburne had the main issues well worked out in his own mind. At the period that he wrote these letters, he also wrote to all the colonial governors and other men who had the reputation of knowing about colonial affairs. The answers to these letters are all preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. and many are in the Public Record Office, and they form a most interesting collection of opinions on all American questions.

[2] The board of trade's plan of 1764, *ante*, 1:273.

Mr Stuart Superintendant for the Southern District having requested that instructions might be given to the different Governors to correspond with the Superintendants, I have had the King's Commands to acquaint him that it will answer sufficiently that the regular and fixed Correspondence of the Superintendants be with the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces. The System of Indian Affairs as managed by Superintendants must ultimately be under his Direction; the different Governors can scarcely be supposed to coincide in opinion, nor is it possible for so many to act in Concert.

It is therefore necessary that the Superintendants should take the orders of the Commander in Chief on all material Occasions who being settled in the Center of the Colonies will carry on the Correspondence of the Governors on all such interesting Points as shall be communicated to him; and as he will be very particularly instructed by Administration he must be looked upon as a proper Medium of material Intelligence either to or from England or the Colonies; at the same time the Superintends are to convey every sort of material Intelligence directly here, and to correspond as occasion may require with the Governors of the different Provinces in their District, and His Majesty being highly satisfied with Major General Gage as well as entirely so with the Integrity & Ability of your Conduct promises to himself very happy Effects from the Harmony which undoubtedly will subsist between him & you, and he has a firm reliance on your combined Efforts being so properly exerted as to do great Service to your Country, and great Honour to yourselves.

I am very glad to find that the Boundary[1] has been run in the Southern District behind the Province of South Carolina to the Satisfaction of the Cherokees and I hope the same will be completed behind North Carolina and Virginia.

Much greater Inconveniences have arisen from the Misbehaviour of Indian Traders in the Southern than in the Northern District; but when once the Irregularities of these Men can be restrained for the future, and some of the most culpable among them punished, it will not be so difficult a Task as is generally imagined to conciliate entirely the Minds of the Indians,—as soon as they find that their Boundaries are not encroached upon; that they are not cheated in

[1] The Indian boundary line, provided for in the board of trade's plan, but never authorized.

their Dealings, that Frauds when committed are punished, that strict Justice is done to them upon all Occasions, and that we really mean to cherish and protect them, they will naturally be led to look up to us as their Guardians and Defenders, and we shall become not only the Arbiters of their Differences but the only Refuge they will think of seeking in their Distress.

This is a System as much Superior in sound Policy as it is in Humanity to that of spiriting up one Tribe to cut the Throats of another, and therefore the Request of the Cherokees for our Mediation towards a Peace with the Northern Indians is not only reasonable, but affords a happy opportunity for the Commencement of this System which cannot be too soon adopted.

I cannot conclude this Letter without congratulating you upon the late Peace made with the Indians and the good Temper in which you sent them away from the last Congress with Pondiac. The Principles of your Conduct had a great Share in procuring these Advantages as I am persuaded they will have in insuring the Continuance of them.

I am &c.

SHELBURNE.

P. S. In your future Dispatches I would recommend to you to give every separate Subject a separate Letter.

[*Endorsed:*] Draft to Sir William Johnson December 11th 1766. (N° 2)

SHELBURNE TO STUART,[1] December 11, 1766

[Lansdowne MSS., 57—Draft]

L^d^ Shelburne to John Stuart, Esq^r^ on Indian Affairs.

WHITEHALL Decem^r^ 11. 1766.

SIR.

I have received your Letter from South Carolina dated 8th August 1766 which I have had the Honour to lay befor the King. In my Letter of the 13th Septem^r^ I acquainted you how much His Majesty was displeased at the many Frauds & Violences committed against the Indians under his Protection. You may judge then how much that Displeasure must be increased by every Packett bringing fresh accounts of other Irregularities of the same Nature.

[1] Superintendent for Indian affairs for the southern district.

I am very glad to find that the Boundary has been run behind the Province of South Carolina to the Contentment of the Cherokees, and I must recommend it to you in the strongest manner to keep a most watchfull Eye that no Encroachments may be made upon those Indians for the future. The sooner and the more equitably the Line is continued behind the other Provinces, particularly, North Carolina, and Virginia, the sooner we shall reap the Benefit of it, you will therefore proceed to this Work without loss of Time in Concert with the Governor of those Provinces who will no doubt cooperate with you in whatever Measures are requisite to to effect so usefull a Purpose.

When once the Irregularities of the Traders can be restrained for the future and some of the most culpable among them punished, it will I make no Doubt be an easier Matter than is commonly imagined to conciliate entirely the Minds of the Indians; proper Regulations for that End will shortly be adopted, but I hope upon a different Principle from that of setting them at Variance with each other; as soon as the Indians find that their Boundaries are not encroached upon, that they are not cheated in their Dealings, that Frauds when committed are punished, that strict Justice is done to them on all occasions, and that we really mean to cherish and protect them, they will naturally be led to look up to us as their Guardians and Defenders, and we shall become not only the Arbiters of their Differences but the only Refuge they will think of seeking in their Distress.

This is a System as much superior in sound Policy as it is in humanity to that of spiriting up one Tribe to cut the Throats of another, and therefore the Request of the Cherokees for a Mediation towards a Peace with the Northern Indians is not only reasonable but affords a happy opportunity for the Commencem[t] of a System which cannot too soon be entered into.

I am sorry to find that no Reparation has yet been made by the Province of Virginia for the Murther of the nine Cherokees killed by the back Settlers of that Province, if it should not be done before you receive this you must renew your Applications to the Governor who will have rec[d] directions on that Head, at the same time you must reprimand the Chiefs of the Cherokees, in a very serious Stile, for the treacherous Murder of M[r] Boyd, and let them know how little Right they can have either to our Notice or Protection if they take that Satisfaction of themselves which they must at all times wait for,

and which they will sure to receive from our Justice. Altho' Indians they cannot be at a Loss to know that the Murder of a Man sent to them in a public Capacity is a Crime of the Deepest Dye and that they would merit the severest Chastisement if we did not attribute their Misbehaviour to the Revenge and Indiscretion of a few rather than the Bulk of their Nation.

His Majesty approves of the pains you take to avoid a Rupture with the Creeks, and of the Reasons you give why Hostilities against these Indians must have a very bad Effect. Governor Grant writes to the very same purpose and add several very conclusive Arguments drawn from the Situation and present State of the Southern Infant Colonies I cannot therefore recommend it too strongly to you to take every Measure possible to conciliate the affections of the Indians in General, to restrain the Traders as much as possible from going among them untill the proper Regulations shall take place, to find out who the Delinquents are who fill the Minds of the Savages with Prejudices and Lyes to our disadvantage, and to take Care if they cannot be severely punished, that they shall be excluded from Licences, and all Privileges of Trade for the future. If the Discontent of the Mortar (or Otis Mico) arises only from the high Prices of the different Articles of Indian Commodities, a little Indulgence and fair Words will easily set him right; we have indeed no Complaints from East Florida where this Method seems to be pursued.

As to what you propose of Instructions to be given to the Government to correspond with the Superintendants His Majesty thinks it will answer sufficiently that your regular and fixed correspondence be with the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, the System of Indian Affairs are managed by the Superintendants must ultimately be under his Direction the different Governors can scarcely be supposed to coincide in opinion, nor is it possible for so many to act in Concert. You are therefore to take the Orders of the Commander in Chief on all interesting Occasions, who being settled in the Center of the Colonies will carry on the Correspondence with the Governors on all such Points as are out of the Course of Business, and as he will be very particularly instructed by Administration you are to look upon him as a proper Medium of material Intelligence either to or from England or the Colonies. At the same time you are to convey every sort of material Intelligence directly to me and to

correspond with the Governors of the different Provinces in your District as Occasion Offers or may require.

The Plan for the Management of Indian affairs part of which you too hastily adopted in West Florida is now, and has been for some time under Consideration.—The Expence incurred by it for Services very inadequate, is not one of the least Objections to it, and I am very sorry to be obliged on this Occasion to observe to you that the Expences of Your District run so much above all Expectation and Proportion that it is very necessary you should attend to this Point very minutely for the future, many of the Articles of this Plan are of such a dubious Nature in regard of the true Interest of this Country and its Commerce, & others not so clearly calculated as could be wished for the Purposes intended that it cannot by any means take place, at least in its full Extent. I have already mentioned that another will shortly come under Consideration which will it is hoped remedy the Evils complained of and answer all the valuable purposes of Commerce and Peace, the Importance of it however demands that it be extremely well digested and weighed; 'till this can be effected it is hoped that the Prudence of the Commander in Chief, & the Superintendants will supply the want of fixed Regulations, and obviate all temporary Inconveniences.

I am &c[a]

SHELBURNE.

[*Endorsed:*] Dra[t] to John Stuart. Esq[r] Agent for the Southern Dec[r] 11[th] 1766 N° 1.

SHELBURNE TO GAGE, December 11, 1766[1]

[Lansdowne MSS., 57—Draft]

L[d] Shelburne to Major General Gage relative to Indian Affairs, the quartering of Troops and on American Revenue.

(N° 2)

WHITEHALL Dec[r] 11[th] 1766.

MAJOR GENERAL GAGE.

SIR.

I have had the Honor to lay Your Letters of the 11[th] & 13[th] Sept[r] before the King, who approves of the Disposition of the Troops com-

[1] Printed in part and with incorrect date in Fitzmaurice, *Lord Shelburne*, 1:305.

municated in those Letters. His Majesty was pleas'd to find Quiet restored in Albany & Dutchess County, & hoped that the Punishment inflicted upon some of the Deliquents would have prevented any Complaints of this Nature for the future, but late Accounts from Boston give room to think that the whole of this Affair has not been transacted with the Temper & Prudence requisite on such an Occasion there being room to apprehend that the Sheriff of Albany may have rather exceeded the Bounds of Discretion if not his legal Powers.

It is to be hoped that the Rights of the Parties were very well ascertained before the Military Power was called in to the aid of the Civil, for few Exigencies can justify such a kind of decision.

Since my last I have had time to read more of Your Correspondence & it gives me a particular Pleasure to assure you, Sir, that I observe throughout your whole Conduct a diligent Regard to the Dignity of Government, the Discipline of the Army, & the felicity of His Majesty's American Subjects.

The Importance of North America & its Commerce, the discontented State of the Provinces, the particular Interest of each, the General Interest of the whole; the Subordination to the Mother Country; the Variety & Extent of the Service; & the Management of Indian Affairs, are points of such mighty Importance that they demand not only the utmost Attention at Home, but also the utmost Viligence & Prudence abroad; And as an extensive & Confidential Knowledge of the Intentions of Government cannot be so properly entrusted to any of His Majesty's Servants in America, as to the Commander in Chief of His Forces, who by the nature of his Commission & his Trust, holds by equal Ties to all the Provinces & watches equally over the safety of the whole.

I now write to acquaint you of three very material Points, which are thought to require the Deliberation of the King's Servants, in order to their being laid before him.

1st A proper System for the Management of the Indians & for the carrying on the Commerce with them on the most advantageous footing.

2d The most eligible manner of disposing of the Troops, as well for convenience as for Offence and Defence.

3d A Reduction of the Contingent Expences of the Establishment in North America, & the raising an American Fund to defray American Expences in part or in the whole.

As so much depends upon the happy Regulation of these different Articles, they require to be well weighed before a final Resolution can be taken upon them & as the King is desirous that they shall be regulated with all the Dispatch that is consistent with securing both the Permanence & Honor of His Government, & the Prosperity of His American Subjects, every Light & Information which can be added to those we are already possessed of, will be duly attended to.

You will therefore pay the utmost attention to these three Points, & from time to time transmit such Information & Reflections upon them as shall occur to You.

In regard of the first Article, that of the Indian Affairs, a Plan formed some time ago has been under Deliberation, as this Plan was transmitted to all the Gov^{rs} in North America for their Opinion it must have fallen within Your Observation, many articles in it however appearing not so well calculated for the end proposed as could be wished, & several others being rather detrimental to it, there is a necessity either of reforming it, or of substituting another in its place. But it is to me matter of doubt whether any Method of managing Indians can be found preferable to that of leaving the Trade of each Province to the particular Care of that Province, under some General Rules & Restrictions to which all the Provinces must be Subject in General.

The only Province in which the above mentioned Plan has been tried is West Florida,[1] & it has not been at all recommended thereby, for altho' the Expences have encreas'd very considerably the Disorders & Discontents among the Indians have encreased in an equal Proportion.

A plan drawn up by Lord Barrington[2] has been some time under Consideration for Quartering the Troops. This matter will be fully discussed here, but as it is possible that in the end His Majesty may leave it in great Measure to Your Prudence & Judgement You will lose no time to consider this Point fully. In the mean time it is His Majesty's Desire, that in any Changes of the present Disposition,

[1] The introduction of the plan into the northern district by Sir William Johnson had been too recent to show results, and it is quite possible that Shelburne did not know, at the time of writing this letter, that Johnson had actually taken upon himself to appoint commissaries.

[2] Printed *ante*, 234.

you have Occasion to make, regard be had to Make the Military as little burthensome to the Inhabitants as possible, by disposing them preferably among the Young Colonists, where in many respects they must be considered as advantageous than in His Ma[jes]ty's more settled Colonies, except where they are desired, or in Your Opinion wanted.

The third Article is that of the greatest Consequence & therefore merits the most particular & mature Consideration.

The forming an American Fund to support the Exigencies of Government in the same manner as is done in Ireland, is what is so highly reasonable that it must take place sooner or later. The most obvious manner of laying a foundation for such a fund seems to be by taking proper care of the Quit Rents, & by turning the Grants of Lands to real benefit & which might tend to increase rather than diminish the Powers of Government in so distant a Country.

You must be sensible that very great abuses have taken place in both respects & they cry aloud for Redress.

Proper Regulations for these Purposes might be a means of preventing Indian Disturbances in future which now in great measure arise from Individuals possessing themselves of their Lands without the knowledge of Government.

It is far however from His Majesty's Intentions that any rigour should be exercised in respect of Quit Rents long due, but nothing can be more reasonable than that the Proprietors of large Tracts of Land (which ought by the Terms of the respective Grants to have been cultivated long since) should either Pay their Quit Rents punctually for the time to come or relinquish their Grants in favor of those who will.

As to the manner of making out Grants of Land for the future, I could wish to have the best Information possible, that such a System might be adopted for that Purpose, particularly in the New & Conquered Provinces, as would at the same time serve to promote the good of the Colonies, & lighten the burthen which lies upon the Mother Country.

Altho' the Reduction of Expence in America is a very necessary Point yet I must do the Treasury the Justice to say, that they do not wish to retrench any Expence which can contribute to the Advantage

of the Country or the good of the Service; on the contrary the Intention is that no expence shall be spared which is really usefull but that none shall be incurred which is not so. And indeed it is hardly possible that many Articles of Expence very necessary at the time, which the Exigencies of the War required to be entered into without delay should not now require Reformation & admit of being retrenched. But this desirable point can only be effected by a thorough digest & judicious arrangement of the different Departments in America; you cannot therefore be too full in giving your own thoughts upon these Matters nor in procuring the very best Intelligence possible from your Correspondents in all the Provinces to be transmitted to me from time to time also.

The Suppression of Smuggling in North America & the Islands has a very natural Reference to this Article as it in a most essential manner regards the well being of Commerce in general & the Finances of this Country in particular. Every Hint towards the best manner of attaining this very desirable End will also be duly attended to & you will spare no Pains to be well informed of the several Species of Smuggling in the different Provinces, the different Countries with which the illicit Trade is carried on the arts & Practices used to evade the Laws, & the most effectual Methods of detecting & putting a Stop to them.

More than one plan has been given in relative to forming a Government in the Illinois Country but 'til a general System for America shall be further advanced no Resolution can be taken on this head.

By the latest Advices from West Florida, there is reason to fear that Matters are not so well managed with the Southern Indians as they might be. I have the King's Orders to declare that He by no means approves the Policy of formenting Wars among the several Indian Nations & setting them at variance on every trivial Occasion for if the Indians were once induced to look upon us as their Friends & Protectors & as the Arbiters of their Differences, rather than as a Party in their Quarrels, I am certain we should find our Account in it.

The Propriety of managing Indian Matters in the Northern District by the means of one Superintendant only, as you observe in Your Letter of the 11th Septr is very obvious, & as Sr Wm Johnson whose Activity & Integrity in the discharge of his duty cannot be too much commended has His Ma[jes]ty's Commission as sole Agent for

Northern Indians; Major Gorham must certainly take his Instructions from him.[1]

I could wish that in Your future Correspondence, you would allot a separate Letter to every seperate Subject, such a Regulation will contribute very much to the Order & Dispatch of Business, especially where Your Packets might otherwise contain Matters of a different & quite distinct Nature.

I am &c[a]

SHELBURNE.

[*Endorsed:*] Draft to Major General Gage Dec[r] 11[th] 1766. (N° 2.)

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, December 23, 1766

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.85, f. 17—A.L.S.]

(N° 2)

NEW YORK Dec[r] 23[d] 1766

MY LORD,

I have received Letters from Colonel Tayler from Pensacola, in which he acquaints me, That a war seems determined upon in West-Florida against the Creek Indians, but he does not find that the Governments to the Eastward, have taken any Steps to Second it. There may be many Reasons for such a Measure, but all I have learnt for certain is, that two Traders have been killed, and said to have been killed with aggravating Circumstances. I have the honor to transmit your Lordship a Copy of a Letter from Governor Johnstone to Colonel Tayler, which contains the Opinion of the Council of West-Florida concerning the Measures Necessary to be pursued in this Matter, and the Making Preparations to attack the Creeks. on the other hand, Governor Grant has informed me in a Letter from S[t] Augustine, of a later Date than any I have received from Pensacola, that the Indians in his Neighbourhood, who are likewise of the Creek Nation, behave very civily to everybody in his Province, and that he was soon to have a Meeting with them to make them Presents. The Letters which I have received from M[r] Steuart, His Majesty's

[1] It had been proposed to the ministry that Major Gorham be appointed an independent superintendent of Indians for Acadia, but General Gage wrote to Lord Shelburne in opposition to it with the above result. *Documentary History of New York*, 2:841.

Superintendant of the Southern Indians from Charles-Town South Carolina, and from the Officers at the Indian Posts in that Province, make no Mention of the Appearance of a Quarrell with any Nation. Mr Steuart acquainted me some Months ago, that Governor Johnstone was of Opinion it was proper to make war upon the Creeks, and that he has transmitted some Proposals for carrying on the war, to His Majesty's Ministers; but I have not yet been honored with any Commands from His Majesty on that head. As an Affair of so much Consequence ought not to be undertaken without the King's Approbation, I shall take no Step whatever, that can tend towards the bringing on a war with the Creeks; and I have delivered My Sentiments to that Effect to Brigadier General Haldimand, who is sailed for Pensacola to take the Command of the King's Forces in the Southern District of North-America, I dont conceive, that the Circumstance of two Traders being killed, is a Sufficient Reason to enter immediately upon an expensive and unprofitable war with Savages in such Case, our Indian Wars could have no End. It often happens that People are killed by disorderly Indians, and frequently thro' their own Faults; and the Action disavowed by the Nation the Indians belong to, who upon Serious and proper Representations made to them by the Superintendant, give Satisfaction for any rash Action their People have committed. General Haldimand will do every thing in his Power for the Defence of the Province, but will use his Endeavors to prevent Affairs being brought to Extremitys; and I have wrote to Mr Steuart, to desire he would repair to Pensacola; that he may Second the Brigadier's Endeavors to preserve Tranquility in an Infant Colony. If the Creek Nation is determined to make war upon the King's Subjects, the Provinces of East-Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina would soon feel the Effects of their Rage, as well as West-Florida, but as they are already engaged in a war with other powerfull Indian Nations, it is more probable that they will give ample Satisfaction for any Insults their Partys may have been guilty of towards His Majestys People. That Circumstance should make our Situation respectable; we may become Mediators, and by proper Management, have it in our Power, to turn the Ballance on the side of those, whom it is Most our Interest to favor, without engaging in their Quarrells. The ordering the Traders to depart out of the Creek Nation, would be considered as a Declaration of war, and I don't Apprehend that

the Neighbouring Provinces will follow the Example of West Florida in that respect; but rather try every Method to avoid a Rupture, and first sound the Creeks as to their Resolution to annoy them, before Hostilities are commenced against them. If a war with the Creeks becomes inevitable, I would take the Liberty to recommend, that it should at first be carried on with vigour, as the Surest and quickest Method to put an End to it, that they should be Attacked from all Quarters with the Assistance of every Indian Nation we can engage to join against them, and that Requisitions should be made upon the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia for Assisstance, particularly the former Province, which is able to furnish Troops and Money, with Many Articles Necessary to carry on a war.

From the Intelligence given by a Spanish Officer who has been at Pensacola, I learn that Don Antonio de Ulloa still declines to take Possession of the Government of Louisiana, they talk of a Reinforcement of Troops, but no Account that any are sent out, Remittances have been made from Spain to the Amount of two hundred thousand Dollars, for the Purposes of building a Church and a Convent. The French and Spaniards are far from agreeing at New-Orleans, and it's to be hoped the King's Subjects may Receive some Benefit from their Disunion.

The Account that has been sent me of the state of the Barracks, Hospital Storehouses &c[a] at Pensacola is a very bad one, they are all reported to be in a Miserable Condition and scarcely repairable. Brigadier Haldimand will make Such temporary Repairs as shall be deemed absolutely Necessary for the Health of the Officers and Soldiers, and transmit a Plan and Estimate of such Buildings, as it shall be judged requisite and proper to erect for the use of the Troops; with a Report of the situation in which he shall find every thing under his Command I shall immediately provide Bedding out of the Hospital Stores in this Place with some Refreshments which are wanted for the use of the Sick.

I have the honor to inclose your Lordship a Paper which will give you some Information of the Mississippi River and French Settlements in the Neighbourhood of Fort Bute, as well as of the little River of Ibbeville, from which your Lordships will observe the Difficulty of ever making the latter Navigable, so as to answer the general Purposes of getting into the Mississippi by water through the Lakes

Ponchartrain and Maurepas. The only favorable Circumstance towards compleating such a Project, is from the Mississippi strikeing with Force upon the Point, 300 yards above the Junction of that River with the Ibbeville, but it remains to be known, whether the Scheme mentioned in the Paper is practicable, or would answer the Expence of compleating it. Brigadier General Haldimand will have the Place well examined.

It is reported, that the Traders in West-Florida carry most of their Skins to New-Orleans, where they sell them at as good a Price, as is given in London: As I had before Some Intelligence of this, the Officer Commanding at Fort-Pitt had Orders to watch the Traders from Pensylvania, who went down the Ohio in the spring to Fort-Chartres, and to report the Quantity of Peltry they should bring up the Ohio in the Autumn. He has just acquainted me, that the Traders do not return to his Post, that they are gone down the Mississippi with all their Furrs and Skins, under Pretence of embarking them at New Orleans for England.

M^r^ Croghan one of Sir William Johnson's Deputy's, had a general Meeting with the Indians of the Ilinois the Middle of September, consisting of twenty Tribes, wherein he says, everything was settled greatly to the Satisfaction of Colonel Reed who commands in that Country; that a general Peace and Reconciliation had been declared in publick, and that the French in their turn, begin to fear the Consequence of his Conference. The Ilinois Country is greatly afflicted with Fevers in the Autumn, and the Garrison was growing very sickly.

Your Lordship will know, that the Fortifications of Louisbourg having been destroyed, the whole is now a heap of the Rubbish, and the Place entirely defenceless. There are four Companys of His Majesty's 59^th^ Regiment posted there, and Major Milward of that Regiment having lately transmitted me an Account of the Island of Cape Breton, I have the honor to send it your Lordship in the inclosed Paper, for your Information of the State of the Island respecting the Number of Inhabitants, Live Stock, and Fishing Craft belonging to it.

By the last Accounts from the Forts upon the Lakes, the Indians were everywhere in good Temper and well disposed. The Defences of those Forts are continualy falling, and I shall be obliged to make

considerable Repairs as early as possible in the Spring, at Detroit and Niagara; particularly at Niagara, as it is hardly at present Defensible. It is proposed to inclose all the Buildings with a Line of Pickets, and to erect two Stone Blockhouses where the Demie-Bastions stood, which are now in Ruins; by which Means our Fire will plunge into all the outworks which are decayed, and command everything without and within the Pickets.

In my last of the 11th November, I informed your Lordship, that a Mob had pulled down part of one of the King's Storehouses at Albany. The Magistrates applied to me a long time ago to remove them, I consented to it, on Condition that they should grant some convenient spot to erect them upon, and furnish Carriages. They agreed to it, but instead of performing the Conditions, procured a Grand Jury of their own, who indicted His Majesty's Buildings in the City of Albany as Nusances; and threatened, unless they were removed by a stated Time, that they would take them down. They were answered they might do so, but must answer the Consequences. They afterwards made out a strange Deed of Conveyance of a spot of Ground, which was refused by the Advice of His Majesty's Attorney General; but without waiting an Answer, a Mob was to be employed, who Attacked the Storehouses as generaly believed, with the Knowledge of the Magistrates. A Guard has been posted from that Time to prevent the Stores being plundered, with orders to retire, when the Magistrates shall choose to pull down the Buildings by Authority.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem.

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient, and most humble Servant,

THOS GAGE.

RIGHT HONBLE EARL OF SHELBURNE, one of His Majtys principal Secretarys of State

[*Endorsed:*] New-York. 23d Decr 1766. Majr Genl Gage. (No 2.) R 4th Febry 1767.

Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Johnson
December 28, 1766[1]

[Johnson MSS., 13:205—A.L.S.]

New York December 28th 1766

Sir

We should have sooner acknowledged the Receipt of your kind Favor, of the 24th of October But we were at a Loss to know, what your Honor intended by Our "transmitting to you, all the necessary Vouchers and Receipts &c respecting the £2321 9 8 New York Currency, paid to us by the General."

When Our Mr Wharton was at Fort Pitt, in June last, He exhibited Our Accounts against the Crown, to Mr Croghan and at the same Time, gave Him a full Receipt *under Them.*

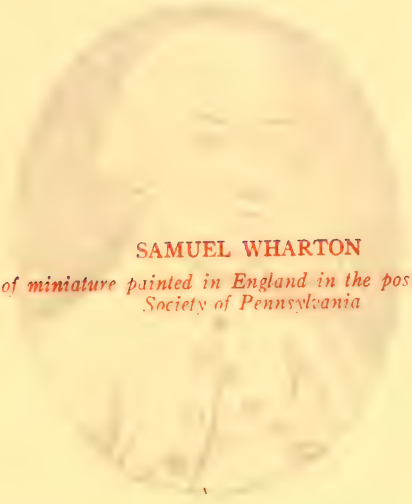
These Accounts, Mr Croghan forwarded to you and Then he gave us a Draft upon your Honor, for the above Sum (which includes, as well our Account, as the Cash we advanced to that Gentleman, for the pay of Himself &c) and that Draft, we inclosed to you, *indorsed, by us.*

We are realy distressed, That we do not know, What farther Voucher is wanted;—But if you will be so good Sir, as to point Out to us, What is — we will chearfully execute it. And in the mean Time, we hereby acknowledge to have received from you, Thro' his Excellency The Honorable General Gage's office, the above sum of Two thousand Three hundred & Twenty One pounds 9/8 New York Currency, in full of all Our Demands against the Crown at Fort Pitt, to the 8th or 10th of June last and likewise, in full of George Croghan's Draft upon your Honor for that Sum, drawn in the said month, of June.

We are most sensibly Obliged, by the very Polite and friendly manner, in which you have mentioned the Trade at the Shawanese Town, to his Excellency the General. Mr Croghan will shortly return from the Illenois and will, we dare say, chearfully confirm what we have said to your Honor, On this Subject. Now we mention this Gentleman, we have the pleasure of acquainting you, That this Day we are informed, by a Batteau Man, in Our Service, Who landed here last night from Pennsacola,—That He arrived at New Orleans on the 15th Day of October, and was getting somewhat better.

The Batteau man left Him there, on the 24th of that month and says —He preposed embarking, for this City, by the first Vessel, That offered.

[1] The letter is in the handwriting of Samuel Wharton.



SAMUEL WHARTON

From woodcut of miniature painted in England in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania



SAMUEL WHARTON

M^r^ Croghan was very ill with the Fever and Ague at Fort Chartres (as were Captain Gordon & Our Partner) and continued so, The whole passage, down the Missisipi. Our Letters from Our Partner, are replete with Complaints against the French, being suffered to come from the Spanish Shoar (where They have removed to) to Ours & then dispersing Themselves, up the Wabache, Illenois Rivers &c— To the inexpressible Injury of the British Interest. And Which, is very hard, upon us, after strugling with almost insurmountable Difficultys and Expence—But we will not anticipate a Subject—Which is the proper Province, of y^r^ Deputy.

The Liberty and Honor of corresponding with you —, which you have Sir, been so condescendingly obliging, as to grant us — constrain us, to mention a matter to you, — That may perhaps, hereafter, check that Tranquility, Which you are incessantly laboring to perpetuate. By Letters from Cumberland County, from Persons, we can rely upon, we are informed, That Colonel Cressap of Maryland, sometime last Summer held a Treaty with forty Six Nation Warriors, In Which, They, by Deed, ceded to Him a large Extent of Land, down the Ohio & about *Green Brier* &c. We never heared, That M^r^ Cressap any ways acted, in Subordination to your Honor and Therefore we are uneasy, least such Contracts may produce Discontent; For others will no Doubt, follow such unwarrantable Practises & for small Considerations —, perhaps, When the Natives are intoxicated, may beguile Them into a Disposal of their Lands.

We can never fully testify Our Gratitude, for the very humane and friendly manner, In Which your Honor has interested yourself, for us, with Respect, to a Compensation, for Our Immense Indian Losses; But if Colonel Cressap or any other Persons, are permitted *thus* to bargain with the natives — we are apprehensive, your benevolent Intentions may be frustrated and this Unfortunately, at a Crisis, When Our Fr^d^ Doctor Franklin, is earnestly pushing, for the Kings Confirmation; — For by the last packet, He writes us, That Lord Shelbourn, had the matter *then* under Consideration.

The Losses, which we formerly sustained by the Indian War, joined to the Embarrasments, we have since encountred with, in the Trade, have been, almost, too much for us, to wrestle with. — Your Goodness, we trust, will therefore pardon our, perhaps, troublesome Tautology, On the Subject of the *Indian Grant;* For suffer us to say —

It is the great & long sighed for Object, — From Whence, we fondly hope, to derive some Comfort. One favorable Letter *Now*, from your Honor, to his Lordship the Earl of Shelbourn, expressing the Policy, as well as Equity of the Kings confirming to the Traders, the Indian Grant D^r^ Franklin says, would induce the Confirmation, as his Lordship, has the highest Respect, for y^r^ Honor.

We realy blush, to be so free,—But permit a compassionate Regard, for innocent Sufferers, to plead in their Behalf.

Major Murray gave Captain Callendar, at Fort Pitt, on the 20th Day of last month, the same Relation, as to M^r^ Cressap's Purchase, which we have afforded your Honor.

Last night M^r^ Wharton (who writes this, from New York) had the pleasure of a Letter from Governor Franklin, giving Him the agreable Intelligence,—That just as He was writing, He had an Express from Judge Read, informing Him, That He had tryed the murderer of the Oneida Indian, in Sussex County & That He was convicted *and executed.*

The Government of New Jersey, certainly deserve great Credit for the laudable Spirit, They have evinced, in punishing Indian Murderers. And to do Governor Franklin Justice It must be admitted, That He has been very industrious, To have, the last Fellow, in particular, convicted, As his Crime was aggravated, by a most atrocious Robbery.

You no Doubt Sir, have heared from Him, in Respect to the Illenois matter, As He told us, He should write very fully, to you.

We are fearfull of offending, And Yet Our Want of Cash is so great, That necessity impels Our Pen to intimate, That if it was not disagreable to your Honor — we should esteem it, very kind, to order us paid, M^r^ M^c^Kee's Draft for £299 New York Currency;—As we advanced it to Him, long since — But if it is the least Inconvenient — We Pray you will decline it.

We are with Sentiments of the highest Respect & Gratitude Sir your most Obedient and faithful Servants.

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bar^t^ &c.

[*Endorsed:*] New York Decb^r^ 28^th^ 1766 Letter from Mess^rs^ Baynton Wharton & Morgan

British Cabinet Minutes, 1767[1]

[Lansdowne MSS., 85:89–90—A.L.]

America. Quebec.

1. General Murray's Conduct.[2] Postpon'd.

2. Ecclesiastical State. V. Plan from the Board of Trade for Remarks. Postpon'd.

3. Courts of Justice. V. Last Report of the Board of Trade for Remarks. Nothing can now be done for it is referred back to the Board of Trade which is not full.

4. Legislature. Postpon'd 2^{d} do.

Besides this the Indian Trade remains to be settled, and some Government to be given to that Country which was excluded from the other Governments by the Proclamation of the 7th October 1763, including the Illinois Country, Detroit, 1100 Families remain at Illinois, 500 at Detroit, out of reach of all sort of Government.

Newfoundland—unsettled.

West Florida complaind of & Disputes.

Ecclesiastical State.

Query—It is certainly legal to take the Church Lands. If it is, is it Politick to appropriate them immediately to the support of the opposite Religion? As to the 1st Article is there any Permission of Exercise of the Catholick Religion in the Laws of Great Britain? If not, it avails nothing. But the whole of this seems to turn on a general Toleration under proper Regulations adapted to the Circumstances of the present Inhabitants.

Courts of Judicature.

The Objections I understand are

1. That the former Ordinances however objectionable should not be abolished till the Laws directed by these Instructions have been approved here & returned.

2. As to Appeals lying from the Courts of Laws to Chancery & then to England—this appears so reasonable that I doubt there must be some mistake.

[1] We cannot make a better guess as to the date of this document than that made by the one who wrote at the end, "1767 probably beginning."

[2] General James Murray, governor of Canada, who had been recalled by the Rockingham ministry. The first four questions all concern the difficulties of administration in Canada.

3. As to Circuits that they should not be taken from those in England but from the Grand Sessions in Wales which seems perfectly just.

Query. As to Article 2d Instead of referring the [*blank in MS.*] to Candian Lawyers &c. should not some Method be found to establish the Customs of Canada either by Jury or other means.

2. Should not instead of referring to the Civil Bill in Ireland that be explained?

[*Endorsed:*] Minutes of Am[erica]n Business. [*In pencil:*] D. of Grafton tomorrow Col. Barré & Sutton. 1767 probably beginning.

S. WHARTON TO W. FRANKLIN [1767][1]

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 48:147—A.L.S.]

DEAR SIR

We have received so many Letters by the Post, Which must be answered by a Vessel, going to Dublin to Morrow, That I cannot do myself the Pleasure, of attending yr Excellency & Mrs Franklin to Hall's.

Will you pardon Me for once more requesting of you, to urge your Father, rather to drop the Illenoise affair, Than miss succeeding in the *Restitution;* for be assured, the Latter would be an immediate very great Thing & is of infinitely more consequence, to you & us, than the former.

I have so lately, had an Opportunity of discovering the Inclination of Our frontier People, to settle On the Ohio, That I am persuaded,— We could soon convert a very considerable part of the Indian Grant, into Money.

I wish you & Mrs Franklin an agreable Journey & am with the sincerest Respect & Regard

Dr Sir Yr very Affectionate Frd

S WHARTON

Sunday Morning.

[*Addressed:*] To His Excellency William Franklin Esqr Prest

[1] The date is a guess, but it was probably written about this time, possibly the last of December or the first part of January.

Census of Illinois, 1767[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, f. 71—D.]

State of the Settlements in the Ilinois Country. (In Gen. Gage's (No. 22) of 5th Jan. 1769)

At Kaskaskias in 1767.

Inhabitants, Men, Women and Children:	600
Negro Men:	142
Negro Women:	81
Negro Boys:	80
Oxen:	295
Cows:	342
Horses:	216
Bushels of Indian Corn:	25,500
Bushels of Wheat:	13,085
Mills:	8
Hoggs:	912

N. B. Number of Familys, at Kahokia: 60
Prairie de Rocher: 25
St. Philip: 3
Fort Chartres: 3

[*Endorsed:*] State of the Settlements in the Ilinois Country. In Major Genl Gage's (N° 22) of 6 Jany 1769. Inclosure 3.

Census of Vincennes, 1767[1]

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.87, f. 75—D.]

State of the Settlement at St Vincents on the Ouabache.

Inhabitants, Men, Women & Children:	232
Strangers:	168
Negro Slaves:	10
Savage Do:	17
Oxen:	352
Cows:	588
Horses:	260

[1] This probably represents the population in 1767 and 1768.

Hoggs:	295
Mills:	3
Bushels Corn to be reaped:	5,450
Bushels Indian Corn to be reaped:	5,420
Tobacco growing n^t^ Pounds:	36,360

[*Endorsed:*] State of the Settlement on the Ouabache. In Major Gen^l^ Gage's (N° 22) of 6 Jan^y^ 1769. Inclosure 4.

JOHNSON TO GAGE, January 2, 1767[1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:831 *et seq.*]

JOHNSON HALL Jany 2d 1767

DEAR SIR

Since I had Last the pleasure of Writing to you which was on the 12th ult° I have received Letters from Niagara informing me of the burning of one of the Vessells at Navy Island on 30^th^ Nov^r^ last which was at first ascribed to the Indians, but the Commissary with others went thither the next morn^g^ to View the remains and made a Report to the Commandg Officer in writing from which and from the substance of his Letter it appears that a party of Men had set out before day Light on that day for Fort Erie and it being very Cold and the Crossing tedious had probably kindled a fire wch was it seems usual & which they did not take sufficient pains to Extinguish, there does not appear any probability of the Indians having done this, or that they should destroy one Vessel when they might as easily have burned both, this is all as yet come to my knowledge concerning the affair, a few days ago I Read a Letter of the [*blank*] Sept^r^ from M^r^ Croghan then at the Ilinois Very unwell, as were the Greatest part of the Garrison only 3 Officers and 50 Men fit for duty, his state of health was so bad that he would be obliged to return by way of *N Orleans* He arrived there the 20^th^ of August, & soon after had the Satisfaction of accomodating matters with 8 nations there assembled divided into 22 tribes, who shewed the greatest surprise at his Speech, and declared that they had been greatly imposed upon by the French, but would for the future avoid being Led astray,—the French who endeavored to obstruct the Meeting had interest enough to prevent

[1] This letter (Johnson MSS., 14:1) was completely destroyed by the fire at Albany.

Three Nations from attending, but being undeceived by the rest they came afterwards and appeared equally satisfied, all which he greatly attributes to the assiduity and Good behavior of the Six Nations and other Chiefs that accompanied him He adds that Col Read, and himself found it indispensably necessary to incurr some farther Expences there especially as he had been compelled to make some presents at *Scioto*.

I have Lately received Two Letters from Lord Shelburne concerning the Conduct of the Frontier Inhabitants and the redress of Grievances, in one of them I have been honored with his Majestys approbation of all my late proceedings and informed that the plan is under Serious Consideration.

As M^r^ Croghan takes no notice of any Large body of Troops ascending the Mississipi I imagine that part of my late intelligence was without foundation, as for the rest touching their Secret Artifices, Belts, Messages, presents &c^a^ it is very strongly confirmed from Every Quarter and cannot be doubted.

I most sincerely Wish you and family the Compliments of the Season, as I am, with the greatest Esteem D. Sir &c^a^
GENL GAGE

PROPOSALS OF BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO GAGE
January 5, 1767
[Lansdowne MSS., 49:593—C.]

Proposals to his Excellency the Honor^ble^ Thomas Gage Esquire Major General and Commander in Chief, of all his Majesty's Forces in North America by Baynton, Wharton & Morgan of the City of Philadelphia Merchants, for supplying his Majesty's Garrison of Fort Chartres with Provissions for five six or seven Years—Vidz^t^—

We will contract to furnish Bullock and Buffalo Beeff Flour Pease and Indian Corn at twelve pence Sterling per Ration and deliver the same into the Kings Stores at Fort Chartres. And We will engage upon the sum of Three thousand pounds Sterling being advanced to Us, for Which We will give proper Security, to deposit twelve Months Stock of Flour Pease and Corn in Store and twelve Months Stock of Bullocks & Buffalo Beeff, for at least five hundred Men And We

will moreover contract, That the said Bullocks Meat shall keep sound & Good for twelve Months And the Buffalo Meat for five Months—Provided that the Crown finds strong & good Stores & sustains all Risques after the Provissions are received therein, Whether the same be by the Enemy Fire Water Or otherwise And provided That his Excellency the General, gives immediate Orders to the Officer commanding at the Illenois, Not to permit any Stills to be Set up, Nor any Kind of Grain to be there expended, in Distillation, Which we have Reason to know, is intended by some persons, from Pennsylvania.

By these Proposals, it can readily be made appear, That the Crown will save, at least, fifty per Centum; For by the present Contract, Which is Nine pence half penny Stg a Ration, *delivered Only, at Fort Pitt,* The Crown is subjected, to the great Expence of building Batteaus there and of transporting all the provissions from thence, to Fort Chartres, Which, by our Proposals, would be avoided, and the Garrison, be at a Certainty, with Respect to its Support.

It may not, perhaps, be improper to remark, That by the Manner, Fort Chartres is now supplied, it will be very difficult, if not impracticable (considering the small Number of Batteaus, The Crown has now, at Fort Pitt And the great Length of Time, it will take to build More, joined to the few Months, in the Year, That the Ohio is navigable)—to throw such a Quantity of Provissions into it, As that the Troops there, need Not, in Case of an unfavorable Turn, in Indian Affairs, be under, well grounded Apprehensions, as to a *dangerous Scarcity*.—But, if the Kings New Subjects, in the Illenois could find a Market at home, for the produce of their Lands, it would be the greatest Incentive to their being warmly attached to the British Interest And of Consequence, would divert them from poisoning the Minds of the Natives against it; And especialy, as We should pay Them, on the Delivery of their Provissions, in a Manner, That They greatly prefer, to *Money* or *Bills*; which would effectualy, alienate their Connexions from the French at New Orleans, and encrease, the Demand for British Manufacturees; as well, as the *Revenue*, of the Crown.

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

January 5th 1767.

[*Endorsed:*] Messrs Baynton Wharton & Co's Proposals to General Gage for supplying the Garrisons in the Ilinois Country with Provisions.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO MACLEANE[1]

January 9, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 49:579—A.L.S.]

PHIL[A] January 9th 1767.

DEAR SIR

We took the Freedom of writing to you, On the 27th Ultimo & then besought your Interest and Friendship, in respect to Obtaining, the Kings Confirmation of the *Indian Grant*, for Our Losses, in the Indian Trade.

We are largely engaged, in an Adventure to the Illenois Country and We have now, a very grand Cargo of assorted merchandize there; Over which, Our partner Mr Morgan presides.

This has given Birth to a Scheme, Which if We are lucky enough, to have compleated, will put it in Our Power, to evince the Sincerity of Our Friendship towards You and in Which Light, We beg you interpret the following Overture.

The important Garrison of Fort Chartres, in the Illenois Country, was last Year taken possession of, after a very heavy expence to the Nation, in different Treatys with the Indians. The French, who had made a Settlement there, about thirty Years ago,[2] have many of Them removed to the Western Side of the Missisipi and there, use every Artifice in their power to alienate the Affections of the Natives, from the British Interest; That so, They may enjoy the Benefits of the Fur Trade. The Garrison of Fort Chartres is now furnished with Provissions, from Fort Pitt, Which is both expensive and very hazardous; as it is, at least, Eleven hundred Miles from Thence, all the Way *through the Indian Country*, wherefore the French, have at all Times, the fairest opportunity of inducing inimical Indians, to cut Off the Supplys of Provissions and thereby to *starve* Our Troops, out of their Country—Add to Which That the Ohio is only navigable for large Batteaus (as you well know) for two Months in the Spring and about two Months, in the Fall of the Year. We are informed, That Messrs Franks and Company[3] have undertaken to furnish Provissions for the

[1] Undersecretary in Lord Shelburne's department. Macleane had lived in Philadelphia.

[2] It was exactly sixty-seven years before.

[3] Franks and Company was a London and Philadelphia firm of merchants. It was an early rival of the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan in the western trade and after about 1770 appears to have displaced the latter in influence.

Illenois at Nine pence half Penny Sterling per Ration, delivered at Fort Pitt *Only*, and from Thence, They are to be sent, at the Expence of the Crown, to Fort Chartres, Wherefore General Gage is Obliged to hire Ship Carpenters at the Rate of Twelve pounds p^{r} Month, in Philadelphia and have, even, the Pitch Tar Iron Work &c all sent from thence, to build Batteaus, for the transportation of the Provissions. The Cost of Which &c, as p^{r} the within Calculation stands the Crown in, at least, five Thousand pounds Sterling per Annum.

Our last Letters from Our partner M^{r} Morgan were dated, the 16th Day of September,[1] When He wrote Us, That there was not then, two months Stock of Provissions in the Garrison—Since Which Lieutenant Steel with some Recruits from the 28th Regiment, departed from Fort Pitt, with Only fourteen Batteau Loads; The Whole of Which, must be expended, before any more can be sent, In the Month of April next, Good policy, certainly forbids the Continuance of a Supply, in so scanty a Manner, As it will, beyond Doubt, invite the French, to Stimulate the Natives to rescind it. And publick Oeconomy, will it is to be hoped, prefer paying twelve pence Sterling a Ration, for good Provissions delivered *into the Kings* Magazines at Fort Chartres, To the exorbitant and hazardous Manner, In Which it is at present done.

We now take the Liberty of inclosing you, a Copy of Our proposals to his Excellency General Gage and our Letter to the Right Honorable the Lords of the Treasury And We beg the Favor of you, to seal and deliver Them. They are such, as speak for Themselves; for They not only, will save the Crown, at least fifty per centum annualy But will, if adopted, insure the future Existence, of Fort Chartres, with its immense Fur Trade, in the British Empire.

Our proposals, being so perfectly honorable in Themselves and so beneficial to the Nation, We can without Diffidence, presume to acquaint you, That if you will push *your Interest* and get an Order, early in the year to General Gage to contract with Us, five six or seven years, or longer if possible, at Twelve pence Sterling p^{r} Ration &c Agreable to Our propositions—We will interest you, One seventh in the annual Profits of the Contract,—Which from What Our partner writes Us, (and his Judgment, can be depended on) will be, at least,

[1] The earlier letters of Morgan to his partners have not been preserved; at least, we have been unable to find them.

four hundred pounds Sterling a year, *to you.* It's true, this Sum, is not very considerable—Yet, as you will have no Trouble, with it, except receiving your annual Remittance from Us (and Which you may *punctualy* rely On) It may not be, beneath your Notice.

Perhaps, it may not be easy for you, to Obtain this Contract, without the Assistance and Influence of One of the Secretarys of the Treasury. If you should think so—We are quite satisfied, that you should take Him or any other Gentleman in, with Us, Who can accomplish the matter. And When it is—We give you Our Honor, That We will, instantly transmit to you, regular Obligations to be accountable for your yearly Sevenths.

A Gentleman is to be concerned with Us, in this City and One, at the Illenois.

Our Fr^d^ M^r^ Leake of New York, Commissary of Provissions, for America, has mentioned this Matter, in a very favorable Light—(As He well knows, That there will be a great Saving to the Nation, by Our proposals) by this Packet, To Sir Jeffery Amherst and to Lord Chesterfield; Wherefore if Necessary, you can make a proper Use of his Information and of their Opinions, On it.

Should any Enquiries be made by their Lordships, About Us, Doctor Franklin knows us and That We have a great Property, in the Illenois Country.

We have now, We assure you, at least Thirty Thousand pounds Sterling there, Which is what will enable Us immediately to comply with the Terms, We have proposed to their Lordships. And if Mess^rs^ Franks and the other Contractors, should urge, That They will forward, suitable Goods there, It should be remembered, They are ignorant of the Sorts, That are yet, to be shipt from Britain And that the Trees are yet standing, On the Ohio, from Which their Batteaus are to be formed &c. In short, it would take any House, at least Eighteen Months, from this Time, to prepare for such a distant & extensive Expedition.

Bills or *Money* are of no Use to persons, living at such a vast Distance, from any Sea port Town (at least 1500 Miles *up Stream* from New Orleans) & Therefore We may, without an Imputation of Vanity, say, That no House in England or America, save Ours, can supply the Crown, On the cheap Terms We Offer and at the same Time, be at a moral Certainty, as to procuring the Provissions;—for no other

Persons have property of *the Kind*, wanted by the French—But Ourselves.

The longer you could Obtain this Contract for—The more profitable, it would be,—As We Should, in Case of your Success—send a large Number of Dutch Families (on very low Terms) from this province, to raise a considerable Part of Our Grain—In short—We could make it, a very *genteel Thing*. If possible, procure it early in the Spring That M^r^ Wharton may put every Thing, on a proper Footing, When He is, at the Illenois.

We have an implicit Confidence in your Friendship & Honor, and Therefore We write without Reserve to You;—For We well know, That you would disdain to act unfriendly by us, Even if you should decline, being concerned with Us.

We are on all Occasions, with the sincerest Respect & Esteem Dear Sir your most Obedient & very faithful Servants.

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

LAUCHLIN MACLEANE Esq^r^

PS. Permit us to mention, That if the present Contractors should have the least Hint, of Our Proposals, before you have secured *y^r^ Interest*, They may effectually supplant us.—pardon this Intimation.

We have no Intimacy with General Gage and therefore possibly, He may neglect to transmit Our proposals to their Lordships.

B W M

COST OF TRANSPORTING PROVISIONS, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 49:605—C.]

A Calculation of the Cost of transporting Provissions from Fort Pitt to Fort Chartres in the Illenois Country. Viz^t^

It will require at least forty five Batteaus, Annually, to be built at Pittsburgh, to transport the Provissions, Which Batteaus are all made of *green Timber* and will not last longer, than One Summer; But admitting They would—The Expence of sending Them *against Stream* to Fort Pitt, would be more than their Cost; So that after They have landed their Provissions at Fort Chartres, They are of no farther Use. The Cost of the Batteaus to the Crown, is at least One with Another, £55 Pennsylvania Currency.

1 Batteau costs at Fort Pitt.....	£55	—	—
5 Men to navigate each Batteau at £4 ℔ month for 4 Months certain & None will contract for less Time, as They must return either by way of Pensacola or march 700 Miles across the Country.....	£80	—	—
½ pint of Rum ℔ Day to each Man. 9/ ℔ Gallon.....	£15	15	—
1 Pound of Flour; 1 Pound of Beeff to each man ℔ Day for 4 Months certain at 9^{d} ½ S^{g} ℔ Day.....	35	11	8
Pennsy^{a} Currency..	£186	6	8

which is equal to 496⅞ Dollars and Which at 4/8 Sterling Each is sterling..... £115 18 9

45 Batteaus at £115 18 9 St^{g} each will amount to..... £5217 3 9 Sterling

PHILAD^{A} January 9 1767.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY, January 9, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 49:600—C.]

RIGHT HONORABLE MY LORDS,

We presume to lay before your Lordships, proposals for supplying his Majesty's Garrison of Fort Chartres, with Provissions for five six or seven Years, at least. And We most humbly, beg Leave to inform your Lordships, That upon the Terms, We undertake to do it, there will be a Saving to the Crown, of at least five thousand Pounds Sterling a Year; As thereby the whole Expence, of building Batteaus and of transporting Provissions from Fort Pitt (at least Eleven hundred Miles) will be avoided. And the possession of the Country and its extensive Commerce, rendered secure—Which now and Always, must be very uncertain, Whilst our Garrisons there, depend On Provissions, at so great a Distance, as Fort Pitt; The Batteaus On their long and dangerous Passages, being daily Obnoxious, to the Attack & seizure of the Indians. If to be the first British Merchants,

Who hazarded great Property, into that distant Country and thereby seconded, his Majesty's Negociations, with the numerous Natives—merit any Notice—We, with the most profound Deference, to your Lordship's Judgment and Justice, hope you will be pleased, to gratify us in Our very humble Application; for Which, We are always ready to give, the Amplest Security to Goverment, That Our Contract shall be faithfully fulfilled.

We are Right Honorable My Lords Your Lordships Most Obedient and Most humble Servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

PHILADELPHIA January 9th 1767

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY &c.

MACLEANE TO SHELBURNE, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 49:575—A.L.]

Papers relating to a Proposal of Messr Baynton &c. to supply Fort Chartres with provision.

Mr Macleane received the Pacquet sent herewith late last Night. He has the Honour to send it to Lord Shelburne that His Lordship may direct what is to be done with it. Mr Macleane could have wished that Messrs Baynton and Wharton had known him better than to have offered Him a Bribe;[1] as the Proposals however seem very advantageous for Government, and prove the Utility of a Settlement at the Ilinois, he was determined not to suppress their Letter, although provoked.

These are the Gentlemen who drew up the Plan for a Settlement at the Ilinois Country,[2] transmitted home by General Gage; they are Merchants of more abilities than usual and very enterprising; They are the most extensive Fur Traders in North America and suffered very heavy Losses in Pondiac's War.

From the Proposals it is plain that these Gentlemen intend to raise the Provisions on the Spot. This proves two things;

1. That a Settlement at the Ilinois is practicable and would not be expensive.

[1] See Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan to Macleane, January 9, 1767, *ante*, 474.

[2] Printed *ante*, 248.

2. That in Case it is not thought necessary to establish a Government there, the maintaining a Garrison will not be near so expensive as was imagined, as 500 Men may be supplied with Provisions for less than £10,000.

3. And that, (by the Offer made me) they expect to clear £3000 or 33 ℔ Cent by Every 500 Men that they shall supply for one Year for they estimate a seventh Part to be worth £400 ℔ Ann.

CROGHAN TO GAGE, January 12, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 48:127—C.]

A Letter from G. Croghan to General Gage on the best method of supplying Fort Chartres with provisions.

NEW YORK 12 Jan^ry^ 1767

SIR,

In obedience to your Excellencys desire, I herein deliver you my Candid opinion, in respect to the easiest, Cheapest and most certain method of supplying Fort Chartres with Provisions.

Finding, when I was there, a great Scarcity, notwithstanding the two Batteau Loads, which went down, with me from Fort Pitt, I made it my business to enquire into the State of the Country, and found, that the Garrison could be well furnished with Flower, Peas, Indian Corn, Buffelo & Bullock Beef. The latter indeed cannot be got a[t] Fort Chartres, but can be procured at Post Vincent, about Sixty Leagues from thence and they would always be delivered in good order to our Troops, as they would be drove thro' a fine Meadow Country.

I likewise made it my business, whilst at the Illinois, as I saw the Situation of the Garrison, to enquire of the most considerable French Farmers there, what was the reason, they discovered so much backwardness in Selling Provisions to us, when such plenty could and was raised in their Country. They informed me, that it was Occasioned by the Pay they received, which being either in *Bills* upon England, or upon New York. It was not only very inconvenient to them (living at such a vast distance from any Sea Port Town) but they were great Sufferers thereby, as they were obliged to Sell them, to a Loss of fifty and Sixty Per Cent, to the Merchants of New Orleans, from whom they Purchased their Goods.

The bad management of the paper Currency of the Illinois,[1] during the French Time, and the very general Discredit of *English Bills*, both there, and in New Orleans, have fixed such an aversion in the minds of the French, that they never will supply us with Provisions, except they are either paid on the Spot, in Cash, or such Commodities, as they want.

Upon the whole I am clearly of opinion, that a Sufficient quantity of Provisions, for five hundred Men, for twelve Months, may be immediately obtained there, Provided, either that Cash, was without loss of time, sent to the Commanding Officer to purchase it, or some good Persons of Suitable property in the Country, bought it of, and paid the French Farmers for it, and by which means, I think the Troops may be certainly furnished, at about Twelve pence Sterling per Ration on the Spot. With respect to supplying Fort Chartres from New Orleans, Pensacola or Mobile, I am convinced it is wholly impracticable, unless at an immense expence to the Crown.

From Fort Pitt, it can undoubtedly be done, but there are only two Seasons in the year, that can be depended on, for expedition, and even then, the expence is enormous to the Crown in Building Batteaus, for every new Supply and in Employing Men to Navigate them (who will not go except at high wages) which Batteaus are an intire Loss to the Crown, *as they cannot be brought up the Ohio again, to Fort Pitt.* Indeed, as they are all made of *Green Timber*, they will not last any time. If a good Magazine of Provisions was immediately bought of the French, I beg leave to Acquaint your Excellency, that I am persuaded it would tend greatly as well to the Safety of the Garrison, as to the continuance of the present peaceable Temper of the Natives: and it would Induce the French to be Industrious in raising Wheat Cattle &c for future years. In short, it is my opinion, we should loose no time in making it their Interest to be our Friends, whereby we should break their Connextions with the people at New Orleans (which the sooner it is done, will be the better for the British Interest) And it would be a means of inducing many of those, who have removed to the Spanish side, to return to our's with their Cattle &c. on the contrary If what I have mentioned, is not done speedily, I am con-

[1] For discussion of the finances of the Illinois country under French rule, see C. M. Thompson, "Monetary System of Nouvelle France," in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 4:145–156 (July, 1911).

vinced the few French, who continue on our side of the Missisipi, will drive over their Cattle &c, and remove to the Spanish side. I have delivered my Sentiments, with great Openness, and Candour to your Excellency. As I am very Confident, the good of His Majestys Service requires it. I am Sir,

Your Excellency's most obed[t] and most humble Servant

GEO. CROGHAN.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONOURABLE GENERAL GAGE &c

T. WHARTON TO B. FRANKLIN, January 14, 1767

[A.P.S., Franklin Papers, 2:63—A.L.S.]

PHILAD[A] January 14. 1767.

DEAR FRIEND

Thou'l find by the date of this Letter, that, We have entr'd into another Year, thy Friends here sincerely wish, it may be repleate with Health and Happiness to thee, and that, within it, We may have to Congratulate each other, on the Important Change made in our Government from Proprietary to Royal.

Our Assembly are now sitting but as yet, nothing Material has happened, between the two Branches of the Legislature; The House have receiv'd a Number of Petitions from every Quarter of the Province, praying that, an Act may Pass, to Oblige the Judges of the Supreme Court, to ride the Circuits. That the Country should not be forced to attend in this City, at so great an Expence, as they now do; This no doubt will meet with much Opposition, and possible may Miscarry with the G———r; If it does it will further Confirm to the People the Necessity of the Change; that thereby Justice may be duely & Properly Administered. I think in their Present situation it will much puzzle them to know how to Act.

Our last stroke in Politicks, of [*MS. torn*] Expediency or Inexpediency of this Plan, not having as yet seen it.

I was Yesterday favourd with thy kind Letter ℔ packet of the 8[th] Novem[r] last, for which I thank thee.

By the same post from N York We were Informd, of the safe arrival of George Croghan from the Illinois, by way of New Orleans; and I understand, that, His account of that Country is, that, its One of the finest in the World, that, He has settled everything with the

Indians to his Intire satisfaction; And that Baynton Wharton & Morgan will this Winter have a Most Profitable trade there; Its likely my Brother Samuel Who is now at N York, will give thee a more full account of this Matter.

We have had in this Month, the Most [*MS. torn*] Changes in the Weather, known for Many Years, as thou'l Observe by the Account Inclosed.

The Assembly of Maryland finding (as I understand) it Impossible to bring their matters to a hearing before the King, and Prosecute such Measures for the Good of that Province, which they could Wish to have done, as the other Branches refus'd passing any [*MS. torn*] his first Number on the 26 Ins^{t}, and as far as I can Judge, the People are inclined to favour his Undertaking.

Thy Family are Well, my Father desires his sincere Respects paid thee.

I am thy real & affectionate Friend

THO WHARTON

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ESQ.

[*Addressed:*] For Benjamin Franklin Esq^{r} Deputy Post Master General of North America In Craven Street London ℔ Packet

JOHNSON TO GAGE, January 15, 1767[1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:833 *et seq.*]

JOHNSON-HALL Jany 15th 1767.

DEAR SIR

I have received your favor of the 29th ult^{o} and had the pleasure of writing to you on the 2^{d} of this Month[2] concerning M^{r} Croghans proceedings at the Ilinois, since which I am informed he arrived at Philadelphia in a bad State of health so that I have not as yet received the particulars of his Transactions.[3]

I am glad to hear that M^{r} Maturin[4] has laid by the money you

[1] This document, Johnson MSS., 14:15, was completely destroyed in the Albany fire.

[2] Printed *ante*, 470. Gage's letter of the twenty-ninth has not been found.

[3] We have been unable to discover the official proceedings of Croghan's negotiations in the Illinois.

[4] Maturin was General Gage's private secretary.

mention, and hope some opportunity may be found to send it up when the Sledding is good at present we have little or no Snow hereabouts, I return you by this opportunity the Receipt signed agreeable to your directions: The French were doubtless at the bottom of the Affair in West Florida, as they are of all other disturbances on the Continent. by Letters I have Just received from Com^{y} Hay at Detroit I find some fresh instances of it. he incloses me Copys of Letters by which I find that the french Traders about *Wabache*, and the *Miamis* are doing all they can to set up the Ind^{s} to resent our not permitting Traders amongst them, that one *Capucin* who has been very busy in Sending Messages to the Indians told Major Smallman he would trade where he pleased in defiance of any person or Government whatever and that there are now at Miamis, *Lorrain La Motte*, *Potdevin*, *Capasin*, *Bartholomi*, *Bergen*, & Richarville all Traders without passes, that the Traders do as they please who have no passes, & leave Detroit in defiance of what is said to them. That *Huron Andrew* a very faithfull Indian well known has delivered up a belt (now in my Custody) from *Rochblave* a French Officer at *Misore* opposite the *Kuskuskies* to the Ind^{s} ab^{t} Detroit with an Artfull Message one part of which was that he was glad to hear they were in peace and Quietness but concluded on the other half of the Belt with desiring them to remember "That the french have been their father a Long while and that in a Short time he believed they would Quarrel with the English." that the Shawanese had rec^{d} a Larger Belt on which more was said & that *Babie* was to receive and forward all belts and Messages that passed between him and the Indians.

L^{t} Hay has Likewise sent me a Copy of a Court of Enquiry held at Detroit, Nov^{r} 12th concerning one Abbot a Trader there without a pass on whom Huron Andrew had an Order from M^{r} Croghan for *Lb* 100 W^{t} of Lead, & 2 Q^{r} Casks of powder, which on being weighed in other Steelyards fell short the first *Lb*, to w^{t} the second *5Lb* which Steel Yards being Examd. by the Court & Compared with others were proved to be as false as before, that he refused to give bond for his future behaviour & on being desired not to Trade, Said he would Continue to trade till turned out of his House and that he desired nothing better, that the Comd^{g} Officer placed a Centry on his House & that he did not make up the W^{t} to the Ind^{n} till compelled to do so That he since talks of Coming down the Country, perhaps to com-

mence a suit. That Indians are daily abused but that there is no preventing it without proper authority.—This Abbot is a Trader from the province without a pass. I could wish a proclamat^{n} was issued Giving Notice to the Traders to apply for passes otherwise not to be passed out of the Government, and should be Glad you would remind S^{r} H. Moore of the necessity there is for it. I am sorry to See that differences are Likely to be between the Comd^{g} Officers and Comp^{ys} at some places, by what I can find its owing to the Old Stand^{g} Orders respecting the duty of the former, and wch were given out before the Appointment of Commissaries was projected, as the Latter is now approved of at home, and the rest of the plan by a Second Letter I have from L^{d} Shelburne is Likely to be so the Commiss^{s} will certainly be of no use unless supported in the Authority proposed for them over Indians and Traders, which is intended cannot interfere with that of an officer but will Save the Latter an infinity of trouble—the Office of Comiss^{y} was first projected by the Ministry, and his powers by them particularly ascertained,[1] which cannot be executed should the Comd^{g} Officers interfere in Matters of Trade and Traders &ca or should he fail of giving him a reasonable Support when demanded. besides should the latter prove the case the Traders will disregard the Com^{y} who is to Inspect them, & he will soon Lose all respect with the Indians, which are the Two prin^{l} Objects of his Appointment—I take the liberty of mentioning this not as what has happened but what probably may, and from my inclination to prevent disputes arising where either the Officer or Coms^{y} should be fond of stretching their authority Assigning their Separate dutys will prevent both, and I flatter myself you are persuaded that I have not nor can I have any other motive for the Liberty I take in offering my thoughts hereon.

As Michilimackinac Seems now to be our principal Mart of Trade and that for sev^{l} reasons it should be well and Duly Inspected I think a Comiss^{y} there very necessary, and shall be glad of your thoughts about it, which if agreable to mine I shall remove one of the Comiss^{ys} to that place early in the Spring and appoint another in his Stead.

I am &ca

[1] See form of instructions to the commissaries of Indian affairs, March 24, 1767, *post*, 529.

JOHNSON TO SHELBURNE, January 15, 1767[1]
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.68, f. 167—L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL, 15th Janry 1767.

N° 1
MY LORD,

. . . . . .

I have Just received the Agreable news of Mr Croghan one of my Deputys having surmounted all the Difficulties which the French created to obstruct his transactions at the *Ilinois*. He has at length in a public Congress there with Eight Nations divided into 22 Bands convinced them of the falsity of the stories with which they were formerly led away by the French and which is still daily practiced by them as Agents for the Spaniards, and having given them a present with repeated Assurances of His Majestys good intentions towards them with all which they appeared extremely well pleased, a Peace was publickly made between the English & them, & notwithstanding the French (who failed this year in Spiriting up any Tribes to attack him as they did last Summer) had interest enough to keep *three* Nations from attending the Congress, yet the favourable Reports of the rest, supported by the good conduct of the Six Nation Deputys who accompanied him, induced those three to come and ratify what the rest had done before his departure from the Ilinois.

Affairs are thus happily settled there for the present, but allow me, My Lord, candidly to assure Your Lordship that these and all other Negotiations will prove fruitless soon after they are made, unless equal pains be taken to preserve them in that pacific temper by a regular Establishment, & by a proper support of the Officers of Indian Affairs. for there are now, & always will be amongst them, & the other Nations many Frenchmen & other Foreigners whose interest it is to create Disturbances & to obstruct our Trade, besides the hopes that many entertain of Fleets and Armies, and a Change of Government; there will always be besides some avaritious and fraudulent Traders, as well as some imprudent Persons of other Denominations who will neither treat them with prudence or humanity, and there will ever be amongst themselves some Indians of turbulent Dispositions, impatient of wrongs, and ready of resentment who can in conjunction with the aforementioned persons, and Causes operating

[1] Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:891 *et seq.*

on the credulous suspicions & revengefull disposition of the Indians in General, produce a sudden War, on the most Defenceless parts of His Majestys American Dominions, bring a Heavy charge of Men & Money on the Government, & ruin the Settlements & Trade.

Now to avoid those disagreable tho certain Consequences, We should employ Men acquainted with their manners to put in force Measures adapted to win upon their affections, to coincide with their Genius and disposition, to discover all their Designs to prevent frauds & Injustice, to redress greiviances, and to remove their Jealousies and apprehensions, Whilst by Annual or other stated Congresses, as practiced amgst themselves we mutually repeat our engagements, refreshing the Memories of those who have no other Records to trust to this, would Soon produce most salutary effects, their apprehensions removed, their attachment to us would acquire a solidity not to be shaken, whilst time, intercourse with us, & instruction in Religion and Learning, would create such a change in their Manners & sentiments as the present Generation might live to see, together with an End to the Expences and Attention which are as yet so indispensably necessarry to attain these great purposes and to promote the Safety, extend the Settlements, and encrease the Commerce of this Country.

The Persons I have appointed as Commissarys are Gentlemen of understanding and Character, known to the Indians, and acquainted with their Dispositions. My three Deputys have each a District allotted for their Visitation, & transacting all business subject to my Directions, but as yet their powers are not at all ascertained, the Comissaries have no Authority, and it is not in my power to enable them to execute their Office as they ought, and as the Plan directed from the many obstructions and disputes of their Authority, & their inability to punish any frauds, or redress any greiviances, My own Case & that of my Deputys are circumstanced in the same manner whilst reasonable powers supported by Laws, & the proposed Expences for the Presents &^{ca} would enable me to pursue that Uniform System from which alone I can hope for success.—With this View I have used the freedom of tresspassing on Your Lordships patience by so long a Letter, to your Lordships favourable sentiments. I must be solely indebted for its Reception, as I can plead nothing in its excuse but my desire to render his Majesty my best Services as a Tribute of Gratitude & Duty and to approve myself to your Lordship as in some

Measure deserving that Countenance & Protection of which I shall ever be truely sensible. As I am with profound Respect.

My Lord your Lordships Most Obedient, and Most Devoted Humble Servant W JOHNSON

P. S. Agreable to Your Lordships desire this letter is marked N° 1 and I shall continue to mark all those I have the honor to address to your Lordship, persuaded of its propriety.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SHELBURNE

[*Endorsed:*] Johnson Hall. 15th Janry 1767. Sir William Johnson. (N° 1.) R 25th March.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO MACLEANE
January 15, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 59:578—C.]

PHILADA January 15th 1767.

DEAR SIR,

Since we did Ourselves the pleasure of writing to you,[1] We are informed That Colonel Croghan is arrived from the Illinois & at the request of the General, has *reported* to Him his opinion upon the Trade of that Country & the Manner of furnishing Fort Chartres,[2] certainly & cheaply with Provisions—We are also told, That He has sent Mr Franklin a Copy of his Report, on these Subjects.

We just mention this, As it may be usefull.

We are with equal Respect & Esteem Dear Sir Yr most Obedient & most humble Servt

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

LAUCHLIN MCLEANE Esqr

CROGHAN TO GAGE, January 16, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 48:147—C.S.]

SIR

Having finished my Journey to the Illinois Country, and being returned hither, I now proceed, Agreeable to my Instructions, from your Excellency, and the Hoñble Sir William Johnson Baronet, to

[1] Printed *ante*, 473.

[2] Printed *ante*, 479.

report such matters and observations, as Occurred to me, during my negotiations with these Natives.

Upon my Arrival at Fort Pitt, I found *there*, a great number of Six Nations, Shawanese, Delawares, and Hurons from Sanduskey, who had waited for some time to see me. I soon discovered, that they were greatly Chagrined, on Acc^{t} of the Murder of some of their people, on the Frontiers of our Governments, and on the River Ohio, which rendered it indispensably necessary for me, with the Approbation of the Commanding Officer, to open a Conference with them and thereby, to remove disgusts, which appeared to me, to be of a very Serious and Important nature, to His Majesty's Colony's.— In this I was luckey enough, to Succeed.

From Fort Pitt, I proceeded to the Mouth of the River Sciota, in Company with Captain Gordan, And there, I was met, by a considerable number of the Shawanese Delawares, and Sandusky Indians; in *short*, by all the *Chiefs*, and *Warriors*, of each Nation & Understanding, that Twenty of the Shawanese, had Just returned from the Illinois Country, I Assembled all the Chiefs and Warriors with them, in *Council*. I desired to hear, what News the [*sic*] brought from thence; They very frankly Communicated it to me. And as I then Transmitted it, to your Excellency, from Sciota, I must now beg leave to referr you to it.[1]— From Sciota, I found it absolutely expedient, to send Deputys of these Nations, by Land, to the Wabash, and Illinois Indians; in order to remove dangerous Jealousies and Suspicions, which the French had Industriously propogated against us.— In so much, that these Nations, were made to believe, we were coming with a numerous Army, to Cut them Off, and by Violence to retain their Country.— Having Settled matters with these Nations, and having thus Dispatched, the Deputys to the Wabash, and Illinois Indians, I proceeded, with Caution, to the *falls of the Ohio*, And from thence, I sent forward, some Runners to the mouth of the Wabash, to discover, whether the Deputies, I had forwarded from Sciota, had removed the insidious Jealousys and designs of the Indians; whom the French, had Collected there, to intercept me.— They met me, near the mouth of the Wabash, and represented to me, that the several Parties of Warriors, which had been Collected there, were returned, they believed, to their Towns.— upon which, I Dispatched over Land, a Deputation

[1] See letter to Johnson from this place, *ante*, 373.

of the Tribes, which went down with me from Fort Pitt, and Sciota, to the Kaskaskeys, desiring, that the Chiefs and Principle Warriors of the Nations there, might be Collected, against my Arrival, so that no delay, might be given to the *Service*, I was going.

I arrived at the Kaskaskeys, on the 19th of August, and there found a very considerable number of Indians, of different Nations, Collected together, who received me, with the Deputies, of the Six Nations, Shawanese, Delawarse and Hurons, with great kindness.

On the 20th, I set forward, for Fortt Chartres, in order to know of Colonell Reed when it would be Agreeable to him, to open a Conference, with the several Nations.— And to obtain of him, and of the Commissary of Indian Affairs, every Information, I could, respecting the Disposition & expectation of the Indians.

Having finished this business, I returned to the Kaskaskeys, when the Chiefs of the Indians, Assembled there, Called me and the Deputies, from the Six Nations, Shawanese Delawares and Hurons, to a *Council*; where after the usual Ceremonies, in such Meetings, were over, they proceeded to an Adjustment, of the Difference, between the Western & Northern Confederacys; occasioned by the Warriors of the former, Striking and Plundering me, and the Deputies of the latter, the last year, at the Mouth of the Wabash. And in Order, that a safe Communication, Might be kept up, from Fort Pitt, Detroit, and other Northern *Posts*, with the Illinois, and an extensive Commerce, might be carried on, with the numerous Nations. And for the general good of his Majesty's Indian Interest,— I judged it, indispensably requisite, for me to interpose, as a Mediator, between these two great Confedracys.— And my mediation, was Successfull, on the following Terms.

First, That all Hostilities, should immediately cease, between them.

Secondly That the Western Confederacy, should Acknowledge their Trangression, in Striking and Robbing me, and the Deputation, from the Northern Tribes, the year before.

Thirdly, That the Western Confederacy, shall also Acknowledge themselves, to be *younger Brothers* to the Northern. And Promise, that an inviolable friendship, should subsist between them. And that they would follow the Advice, of their *Elder Brothers*, upon all

future Occasions. And take care, that their Warriors, should behave, in a better Manner, than they had done. Affairs, thus being fully settled, between the two Confederacys, I Acquainted them, that on the 24th I should open a Conference with them, at Fort Chartres.

They Accordingly met me, and then, I informed them, of the several matters, with which, I was Charged by your Excellency, and Sir William Johnson, And I have now, the Pleasure of Acquainting you, That I ratified and Confirmed a Peace, with the Several Nations, on the following Terms.

First, they Acknowledged, the King of Great Britain to be their Father, and to have the Sovereignty of their Country.

Secondly, they engaged to deliver up to the officers of His Majesty's Garrisons, such English Prisoners, as they had in their Country, and to return the Horses, which they had Stolen from the Troops of Fort Chartres.

Thirdly They Agreed, That His Britannick Majesty's Troops might, when ever they thought proper, Occupy such Posts, where the French had before, or make others; for the Security of Trade wheresoever His Majesty Judged best.

Fourthly They Agreed, that they had sold Lands to the King of Frace [*sic*] to erect Forts or Posts on, and *also Land* to his Subjects; for all which, they had received a consideration. That these Lands, they Agreed, the King of France had a right to cede to the King of Great Britain.— But denied, That He had any right to cede any other part of their Country, to his Britannick Majesty.— And to prove, The truth of their Allegations, they referred, to several Treaties, between then [*sic*] and the King of France's Officers since, their first entering their Country, as then deposited in Fort Chartres.

Fifthly, They informed me, that they had never refused, to make Room in their Country, for any of the King of France's Subjects, to settle on, *neither had they any objection*, at *any time* to grant *any part of their Country* to their *Father the King of England.* Provided they received a proper Consideration for it.— They sayd, that the Great Giver of Life, had given them that Country and the wild Beasts thereon, for their support, and that their Forefathers, had come thro' that Land, many hundred years before any *white Man* had crossed the great waters. wherefore, they looked upon

themselves, as the Sole Owners of it. And expected, that no part of it, Should be taken from them, before they were paid for it.[1]

Sixthly, They Agreed to keep the Roads or Communication *open*, both by Land and Water, Thro' all the country, ceded by the King of France to great Britain, & hereafter to Trade with His Britainnick Majesty's Subjects, Provided they Sold to them, as Cheap as the French.

And Lastly That they would hold fast, the Covenant of Peace and friendship on their parts, while the Sun, and Moon, gave light, and the Waters run — In Confidence, that due care would be taken, by their new Father the King of Great Britain, and his subjects that came into their Country, to maintain the same, *on their parts*. And that their Father, would in every respect, Treat them as kindly, when they came to *Trade* or to *Council*, as the French King, had always done, whereby their Women and Children, might enjoy the Blessings of Peace.

Having thus settled matters, with the several Nations — I next proceeded to enquire into the nature of Trade, The manner it was Conducted and the Annual Valuation of it.— Upon our taking possession of Fort Chartres, The most considerable Trading People, that were Settled at Kaskaskeys, Fort Chartres, and Kahoki, removed to the opposite side of the Missisipi, from Whence they have constantly sent Traders up the Missisipi, as far as the falls of S^{t} Anthony up the Illinois River to its Sources, and *even up* the Wabash and Ohio Rivers, by which means, They have carried on a most profitable Tho' to us an illicit & very Impolitick Trade in that Country. Impolitick it is to the last Degree; for whilst the French are provided with French Manufactorys from New Orleans and are permitted to go into the Indian Country to Trade (*as they now do*) I am Convinced, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, except at a vast Annual expence in *Presents*, to retain the Indians in our Interest.

For they Spare no pains, to Inflame their minds with the Strongest prejudices against us — They having from their first Settlement there, carried on a very Lucrative Trade, And therefore are very Impatient, at any opposition from us.

[1] Croghan undoubtedly had this clause inserted in the interest of the Pennsylvania company which was hoping to obtain a cession of land in the Illinois. See *ante*, 248.

From the best Intelligence I could obtain, both at the Illinois and at New Orleans, I am thoroughly convinced, that the *Skins* and *Furrs*, received there and Shiped to France, are not worth less, than Eighty thousand pounds Sterling, one year with another.

Of How great Importance, a Trade of this very extensive nature, carried on, with *British Manufactories* only, And especially when *duty's* to a great Amount, would be annually received from it; greatly more, than Sufficient to defray the expences of Treaty's, with the Natives, I say of how much Consequence, a Trade of this sort, is to the Kingdom of great Britain? — I submit to your Excellency's Judgment & especially when it is recollected, That after the Conquest of Canada The French of the Illinois had so much Address, as to Poison even the minds of all the Indians, residing on the *Lakes*, and of the *Shawanese* and *Delawares* against us. And from thence to supply them, not only with Cloathing, but Ammunition, to prosecute their dreadfull War, against our Colonys.

In order to remove, the present dangerous and Clandestine Trade, carried on by the French — I know of no Method, Effectually, to do it, except by Erecting a Fort immediately, at the Mouth of the Illinois River, whereby they could be Hindered, from going into the Indian Country, and the British Traders, would enjoy a very Valuable Trafick, from the numerous Indians, who would come down, to our *Posts*, from Lake Michigan and the great Tract of Country, lying between it, and the Missisipi.

I am also of Opinion, that a Post should be Erected on the Wabash, from thence the *five Nations*, who are settled on that River, may be Safely supplied with British Goods. And all the French, except those who become English Subjects, be prevented from Trading there.

During my Stay at New Orleans I made particular Enquiry, in regard to their Trade, and discovered, That the principal Merchants, there, Purchased quantitys of Indian Goods, from Mobile and Pensacola and thereby, were Enabled, to carry on their contraband Trade, in the Illinois Countrys.

This is certainly very unjustificable, as it will not only enable the French, to rival us in the *Furr Trade* in Europe, (The English Merchants in Mobile and Pensacola, being *never paid in Peltrys*) But thereby, the Crown looses a great Revenue, which she otherwise

would derive from it, If British Merchants themselves, only carried on that Commerce.

Finding, when I was at the Illinois, That a Strong Connection subsisted between the several Indian Nations, who resided on His Majesty's side of the Missisipi and the *Missouri*, and *Arkansa, Nations*, who dwelt on the other, I Judged it for the good of the Service, to send a Deputation, from the Kaskaskeys, to inform them of the Ratification of Peace, between the Western Confederacy & myself in behalf of his Majesty & the Northern Confederacy and to assure them, that a free Trade, would be allowed to them, with His Majestys Subjects at Fort Chartres or at any other *Posts*, possessed by His Majestie's Troops, in the Illinois Country and on the River Missisipi.

Thus — Sir — I have in as Brief and yet, in as Circumstantial a manner as possible, Communicated to your Excellency, such matters, as have Occurred, And such Observations, as I have made, during my Tour from Fort Pitt, to the Illinois, and from thence, to New Orleans.

The taking possession of Fort Chartres, has been attended with great expence, as well as my negotiations this year, to remove the uneasiness of the Shawanese On Account of the Murder of their People. And in Consolidating a Peace with numerous new Allies, in the Illinois Country.

But when it is considered that, That Country, is the Frontier of all our Canadian Conquests — is a place of a most extensive Trade, whereby the French are able to rival us, in the *Furr business*, and with all is capable, if possessed by them, to Involve all these Colonys, into the very heavy expence and Calamities of repeated Indian Wars.

I humbly Apprehend, that the retention of it, & it's Valuable Commerce, will Amply Compensate, for the expences already, and what may hereafter be incurred by the Nation, and Especially — If the King's Ministers should think proper to form a Government there, whereby not only Fort Chartres and all the Posts in the Illinois, could be supplied, very Cheaply, with Provisions — But those down the Missisipi, even as low as the *Natches* and *at the Iberville*. Indeed as to the two latter, I am persuaded, they would be Supplied, much Cheaper and better, *down Stream* from the Illinois, than from Mobile or Pensacola.

I Cannot conclude this *Report* with[t] Acquainting your Excellency, with the Spirit Zeal & firmness which the Deputation, from the Six Nations Shawanese, Delaware's and Hursons (who Accompanied me to the Illinois) Uniformly Manifested, for the British Interest — And therefore, as they lost all the Hunting Season, in our Service — I must in Justice to them, and as a matter of *necessary Policy*, Earnestly recommend, That you order the Commander of Fort Pitt, and the Commissary of Indian affairs, immediately, to make them a Suitable *Present*, for their *Services*.

I am with great respect — Sir — Your Excellencies most obed[t] & most humble Serv[t]

Copy.— GEO: CROGHAN

NEW YORK 16[th] January 1767 —

TO THE HONOURABLE MAJOR GENERAL GAGE, Commander in Chief of all His Majestys Forces in North America — New York

The Names of the several Nations of Indians with whom, I held the Conference at Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country —

The Kaskaskeys,
Peorias,
Mitchigamis,
Cahokias,
Pyankichaas,
Wawiatanons,
Kikapoos,
Masquitamis,
Tweetchwees,
Poutewatemis,
Sackees,
Outagamis,

With the Deputies, of the Six Nations — Delawares, Shawanese and Hurons which Accompanied me from Fort Pitt & Sciota

The above mentioned twelve Nations of Indians composed the Western Confederacy, in the Illinois Country, The French During the late War, divided them into Twenty six Tribes & appointed a Chief, to each Tribe, so that now they consider themselves, as so many distinct Nations Which makes it more difficult, to Transact business

with them. Since that time, many of the Tribes, have divided from the rest, left their Old Settlements, and have Settled in other parts of the Country.

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, January 17, 1767[1]

[*Calendar of Johnson Manuscripts*, 342]

NEW YORK, January 17, 1767

George Croghan, speaking of ill health, an inclosed report, his intention of resigning because of ill treatment by Gen. Gage, and war dresses and specimens of the mandrake plant which he has obtained.

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, January 17, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.85, f. 51—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK Jan^ry^ 17^th^ 1767

(N° 3)

MY LORD,

The Packet had sailed with the December Mail, before I got a Sight of the Address from the general Assembly of this Province to their Governor, upon the Subject of your Lordship's Letter to him, concerning the quartering of His Majesty's Troops, according to the full Extent and Meaning of the Act of Parliament made in that respect. Sir Henry Moore[2] will have transmitted your Lordship a Copy of the Said Address, and I have the honor to inclose your Lordship a Return of the Number of Troops quartered in the inhabited parts of this Province: And at the same time to represent to your Lordship, that this Province has reaped very considerable Benefits from His Majesty's Troops, beyond any other part of America, that it is to the Troops the Traders chiefly owe the Fortunes they have made, the Citizens of this Capital the great Increase of their City, and the neighbouring Farmers their present opulent Circumstances. Your Lordship will judge from thence, whether the Province is at present overburthened with Troops, or whether they can fear at any Time to be overbur-

[1] This document, Johnson MSS., 14:21, was completely destroyed in the Albany fire; we have been unable to discover a copy of it, and therefore print this calendar.

[2] Sir Henry Moore was governor of New York from 1764 until his death in 1769. For sketch of his life, see *New York Colonial Documents*, 8:197.

thened with People, who carry an Increase of Wealth wherever they go? This Province is also happy in the state of it's Finances, for I am credibly informed that every Farthing of Debt will be paid off this Year, and good Revenues comeing in. I acquaint your Lordship of these Particulars, tho' it may be needless to do it with a view of refuting any of the Arguments inserted in the Address; as your Lordship will know, that the Assembly had Reasons of another Nature for refusing an Obedience to an Act of the Legislature of Great Britain, or to use the proper Methods which are pointed out to them in your Lordships Letter, to obtain Redress of any part of the said Act, which Might be a Grievance.

A ship arrived in this Port from Pensacola soon after the Departure of the December Packet, by which I have the Pleasure to learn, that Colonel Tayler[1] had exerted himself to prevent an immediate War with the Creek Indians, that he had Succeeded in his Endeavors and obtained from those Savages all the Satisfaction we could expect, for the Insults their Partys had committed; and which from their critical Situation, there was every Reason to believe they would give, without putting us to the disagreeable Necessity of making war upon them. For your Lordship's better Information in this Matter, I have the honor to transmit you Some Extracts of a Letter from Colonel Tayler to Me on that head.

A Deputy of Sir William Johnson[2] with an Officer of the 34th Regiment came to this Place a few Days ago from the Ilinois, by the way of New Orleans; and inform me, that the Animosities between the French and Spaniards are increased greatly in Louisiana, insomuch that Don Ulloa did not think himself Safe at New Orleans, and had retired to a Small Fort a few Leagues below the Town called the Balize, where he remained in Expectation of being joined by five hundred Spanish Troops, from the Havanna. The late French Governor Monsr Aubry, was still in Louisiana, but the Scheme of taking the French Colony Troops into the Spanish Service had met with Obstructions. They don't approve of the Terms offered them by Spain, and it was said, they were either to be sent to France or some of the French Islands. With respect to the Trade of the Ilinois,

[1] Colonel William Taylor succeeded Henry Bouquet as military commandant in West Florida in 1766.

[2] George Croghan.

and in general of the Mississippi, the Benefit at present accruing to Great Britain from thence, seems to be confined to the Disposal of her Manufactures. The French take a great deal from our Merchants at Mobile and Pensacola for the Indian Trade, and our own Traders also vend large Quantitys to the Indians: But the Skins and Furrs which the Indians exchange for these Manufactures, center chiefly at New Orleans from whence it is computed they have yearly exported to France in Skins and Furrs, to the Amount of £80,000 Sterling, tho' perhaps the Calculation is too great.[1] By these Means the Government loses the Duties which would arise, from the Importation of great part of the Peltry gained by her own Subjects, into Great Britain. Nor do I see at present any way to remedy this Evil, whilst the Traders can get high Prices for their Peltry at New-Orleans. Means may be taken to prevent the Foreign Traders going up the Ohio and Ilinois Rivers, and to oblige our own, to go up those Rivers from the Ilinois forbidding them the Navigation of the Mississippi below the Mouth of the Ohio. By the first we may diminish the Trade of Foreigners with the Savages, but the latter may be difficult to effect to any Purpose, as it is so easy for our Traders to get their Peltry conveyed to New-Orleans, by a Collusion with the French, who live on the shores of the Mississippi opposite to the Ilinois. The Traders from these Colonies Say, that it will answer to carry Goods down the Ohio, but that it will not answer to return with their Peltry by the Same Route, as they can get to the Sea at so much less Expence, and greater Expedition, by means of the Rapidity of the Mississippi, and pretend, that they have ships at Orleans to transport their Peltry to England. This however must depend upon themselves, and is a Matter in which they will gain little Belief, if Skins and Furrs shall bear a high Price at New-Orleans.[2]

Lieutenant Colonel Prevôst has brought here, 188 Recruits from Hamburgh, to compleat the two Battalions of the Royal American Regiment; And as they will not be able to join their respective Battalions till the Spring, I have wrote to the Governor of Connecticut to desire he would provide Quarters for them in his Government till the Month of April. As the Colony of Connecticut has never erected

[1] See Croghan's estimate, *ante*, 492.

[2] For a discussion of trade conditions in the Illinois country during this period, see Carter, *Illinois Country*, ch. 5.

any Barracks in their Country for the use of His Majesty's Troops, they must be quartered there on publick Houses in the same Manner as in England. I have not yet received the Governor's Answer to this Requisition.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's, Most Obedient And most humble Servant,

THO^{S} GAGE.

RIGHT HON^{BLE} EARL OF SHELBURNE One of His Majesty's Principal Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York 17th Jan^{ry} 1767 Major Gen^{l} Gage. (N^{o} 3.) R 18th Feb^{ry}.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, January 19, 1767[1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:835]

NEW YORK Janry. 19th 1767.

DEAR SIR

I am favored with your Letter of the 2^{d} Ins^{t}: The burning of the Sloop has been reported to me from Niagara, which might have been done either by strolling Indians or others Soldiers Sailors or Traders either by Accident or Design, for anything that can be discovered about it. Had either a Party of Soldiers or Sailors been left with the Vessel, she could not have been lost in this Manner. You will hear of M^{r} Croghan's arrival at this Place and have an Account from him of all his Transactions, As for the Trade of the Ilinois, and in general of the Mississippi, we may dispose of some Manufactures there, but whilst Skins and Furs bear a high Price at New Orleans, no Peltry gained by our Manufactures, will ever reach Great: Britain; And if our Traders do not return with the produce of their Trade to the Northward Provinces, by way of the Ohio or the Lakes, it will not answer to England to be at Much Expence about the Mississippi. M^{r} Croghan has incurred a very great Expence in this tour to the Ilinois, of which he is now giving in his Account.

Cap^{t} Maturin sent you by Cap^{t} Stevenson the sum of £776.4.0 which I hope will get safe to you, and has paid some of your Draughts.

[1] This document, Johnson MSS., 14:23, was in a volume that was burnt in the Albany fire.

My Family join me in thanks to you for your kind Remembrance, and in wishing a series of happy years. And I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble Servant,

THO^{S} GAGE

SIR W^{M} JOHNSON Bar^{t}

GAGE TO JOHNSON, January 25, 1767 [1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:836 *et seq.*]

NEW YORK Janry. 25th. 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I am favored with your's of the 15th Inst with the Receipt you was pleased to sign,[2] M^{r} Croghan is here and just setting out for Philadelphia, as you will have heard from him, I need not mention his Transactions. The Temporary Receipt given by M^{r} Wharton will now be cancelled and returned to him.

From all I can pick up, out of the Many acc^{ts} received from all Parts concerning the Ilinois, and the Mississippi in general, very little Benefit is likely to arise to Great Britain from the Trade thereof. Some British Manufactures may possibly be disposed of, but as long as Skins and Furrs bear a high Price at New-Orleans, they will never be brought to a British Market. The Indian Trade in general from the observations which I have made, will always go with the Stream; and the whole will either go down the S^{t} Lawrence or Mississippi Rivers. I don't find that the Furr Trade in these Colonys is at all increased Since the Reduction of Canada.

I am quite sensible of the Irregular Behavior of the Traders, and have intimated to his Majesty's Secretary of State what I told the Board of Trade four or five years ago; that they must be restrained by Law, and a Judicial Power invested in the Officers Commanding at the Posts, to see such Law put in Force. And without this, Regulations may be made, but they will never be observed. As for the Traders from the Ilinois I have given orders to seize them and their Merchandize whenever it can be done, but you will know the Difficulty of this as well as Myself. If the Entrance of the Ohio and Ilinois Rivers are shut up by Posts, it will prevent those Traders getting into

[1] This document, Johnson MSS., 14:28, was completely destroyed in the Albany fire.

[2] Printed *ante*, 482.

our Country. And this is the only Benefit that I can see that we shall gain by possessing the Ilinois Country; unless that is done, it is better to abandon it. The Traders whom you mention to be at the Miamis are all French Names, I shall transmit them to Gov^r^ Carleton and to Colonel Reed at Fort-Chartres, they must belong either to Canada or the Ilinois.

I know of no Standing Orders that can occasion any Dispute between the Officers Commanding at the Posts and the Commissarys, If each chooses to keep to their own spheres, and not interfere with each others Business. I have before wrote to the Posts concerning this Matter. If People are disposed to have Disputes it will be difficult to prevent them, but I shall do all I can towards it.

Michillimakinak seems to be the most Material Post we have, and certainly more necessary for a Commissary than any other.

Sir Henry Moore shall be acquainted with your Desire concerning the Traders being obliged to take Passes.

Cap^t^ Maturin will pay M^r^ Byrns the whole Ballance remaining due upon your Account, which will not amount to quite so much as the Sum, which you desire may be paid to him.

I am with great Regard Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

THO^S^ GAGE.

S^R^ W^M^ JOHNSON Bar^t^ Johnson Hall

P.S. I inclose some Letters for the Posts, which I beg of you to forward when you meet an opportunity. It is reported that all the Traders who came this year to Missilimakinak have been permitted to ramble wherever they chose. T: G:

CROGHAN TO B. FRANKLIN, January 27, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 50: 281—C.]

A letter from G. Croghan to D^r^ Franklin relating to the trade &c. with the Illinois.

NEW YORK January 27^th^ 1767

SIR,

By the last Packet from hence, I did myself the Honour of writing to you, and of inclosing you a Copy of my *Report* to His Excellency

Gen[l] Gage, in respect to the Trade, Situation &c[a] of the Illinois Country. Since which I have strong Reasons to suspect that he has imbibed unfavorable & very unjust Sentiments, relative to that Acquisition. Wherefore for the Good of the King's Service, I take the Liberty of troubling you with some farther animadversions thereon.

If I am rightly informed, & I have no cause to suspect the Channel of my Intelligence, the General has pretty plainly mentioned to the King's Ministers, as his opinion, that it would be best for the Nation to relinquish our Possession in the Illinois, as it was more expensive than beneficial to the Crown.[1]

From the Treatment I have met with as I mentioned in my last, I have quit the Service I have been long engaged in, therefore Envy itself must acknowledge I can have no sinister Motive, in pressing my *Sentiments again* on so very important a Matter.

I assure you Sir, I am constrained from my long acquaintance with Indian Affairs, & from the sincerest Regard for the future Peace of our Colonies, *plainly to inform you*, that if the British Nation does abandon our Possession in the Illinois, it will be but a very short time before we are engaged in a most bloody and expensive War, with all the western Nations; as it is the Interest of the French to create such a Rupture with all Expedition; for so soon as that begins those Nations will all carry their Peltry to the Illinois, to trade with them.

The principal Reasons assigned as I hear, for abandoning the Illinois, are, that the Retention of it is vastly expensive, especially in Provisions, That to secure the Trade we should have more Forts built, & that as the French give better Prices for Peltries, than the English Merchants do, the Crown will never derive any Revenue from the Commerce, as our Traders will sell their Furrs at New Orleans.

As to the first, I confess, the present manner of our feeding our Troops, is highly extravagant, dangerous and impolitick. But if the General had accepted of the Proposals made him by Mess[rs] Baynton, Wharton and Morgan[2] of Philadelphia (a Copy whereof I am told, is sent to the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury) who have a great Property in that Country there would be a vast saving to the Nation, as their Terms were, within one penny halfpenny ℔ Ration as cheap as

[1] See what he did say, *ante*, 497. In a letter to Johnson, January 19, 1767, he made a stronger statement. *Ante*, 498.

[2] Printed *ante*, 471.

the Contract for *Fort Pitt*, & at the same time, it would be a means of attaching the French to the British Interest, as they would find a Market at home for all they raised.

As to the Troops I apprehend it is immaterial to the Crown, in point of Expence, whether they Garrison *Fort George in this City*, or Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country, their Pay being the same in one Place as in another.

With respect to the building some new Forts there, I conceive they are indispensibly necessary, especially *one* at the Mouth of the Illinois, and one on the Wabache; as they would effectually prevent the French or Spaniards from entering into the Indian Country, and thereby seducing the Trade from Us to France or Spain.

The cost of them need not be very great, as they would be of no use, except against the Natives, unless, in case of a Rupture between France, Spain and England.

As to the French at New Orleans giving better Prices for Peltrys than the English Merchants do, & that thereby the Crown would lose the Duties on them, I beg leave to observe that I made particular Enquiry when at *Orleans* into this Matter, and I found that the General had been imposed on by some People; for Peltries of all kinds are at least 15 ℔ cent higher in our Colonies than there. But even admitting it was so, is not that Evil easily removed?

You know Sir, that there is an Act of Parliament which requires that all Skins and Furrs shall only be shipped to Great Britain, & that the Master of the Ship Trading *Coast Wise* in the Colonies or to Europe, shall before he attempts to load his Vessel, give Bond to the Naval Officer of the Port, conditioned for the legal landing of the same. If therefore a short Act of Parliament was made directing the Indian Commissaries at our Posts on the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois & Wabache Rivers, to take from every Trader who loads a Batteau, a Bond of this Sort, with a Condition that the same should be void, in case of producing a Certificate of the due landing the Quantity of Peltrys specified therein. The objection would be fully removed, and the Duties as undoubtedly secured as they are now from the Ports of any of our Colonies.

The principal People of this Province (New York) have long enjoyed the Benefit of the Indian Trade; but they have found since the Conquest of Canada, that the French have inclined the Traffick from

Lake Michigan, S^t^ Joseph's, the Bay &c^a^ to the *Illinois*, & they are very apprehensive that if proper Establishments are [not] made in that Country, more of the Indian Nations, with whom they have trafficked, will also go that way. Other Persons here of no inconsiderable Consequence supply the French at New Orleans with Goods to carry on their Contraband Trade in the Illinois Country. Both these Parties have their Friends, and by this Means, I fear, Misrepresentations are made which pervert the Judgement of one who ought to determine better from the Information given him by those who have been on the Spot and whose Duty as well as Inclination have impelled them to *speak plainly* on so very significant a Subject to the Nation. On the whole if we improve our present Advantages in the Illinois Country, We shall be amply repaid for them, in the great Sale of British Manufactories, in deriving an annual Revenue equal to our Expence, in having no Rivals in the Furr Trade, & in perpetuating Peace or Tranquillity to our Colonies &^c^ But if we either relinquish our Possessions there, or do not speedily put our Trade on a more respectable Establishment, & support our Troops *better*, be assured the Consequences I have so explicitly mention'd, will shortly be fatally experienced.

I am &^c^

GEORGE CROGHAN.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN Esq^r^

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from M^r^ George Croghan to Benjamin Franklin Esq^r^ dated New York Jan^y^ 27^th^ 1767

JOHNSON TO GAGE, January 29, 1767[1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:838]

JOHNSON HALL Jany 29^th^ 1767

DEAR SIR

I have had the favor of your Letter of the 19th Inst[2] at the same time I received another from M^r^ Croghan,[3] with a General Account of his Transactions, & informing me that his bad state of health would not permit him to send me the Whole till his return to Philadelphia, he has again renewed his desire signified to me in April of

[1] This document was lost in the Albany fire.

[2] Printed *ante*, 498.

[3] See *ante*, 495.

resigning, and is very sollicitous to resign, and have somebody put in his place. I have for the last time advised him to think farther about it, and indeed I should be at some loss if he pursued his inclinations from his long acquaintance and influence amongst the Indians in his Deputation, for it is such people only who are best calculated for that service, but he seems very uneasy and without assigning more than I formerly mentioned appears determined. I know he was greatly affected at the Slanders of some persons in Pensylvania sometime ago, when he declared his inclination to resign as soon as he returned from the Illinois. I must do him the justice to say that he has ever been ready to offer his Service wherever it was necessary and that he has formerly suffered many losses on these occasions, neither have I ever been able to find out that he was interested, however this may be I shall beg the favor of your advice and direction touching his request, as I know not whether he has taken the Liberty of mentioning it to you.

I am entirely of your opinion concerning the Trade &c by way of Missisipi whilst the traders find better Markets at N Orleans &c, but I apprehend it might be remedied by Confining the Northern Traders to the posts, and if *La Baye*, & *Miami's*, were reestablished the Ind[s] would soon resort there in great numbers and the Furrs would return to the Northward, but as it would not well answer those Trading at & about the Missisipi to send theirs by any other way than that River, some restrictions might I imagine be fallen upon to prevent the French from Engrossing it, and if proper Steps Could be taken to direct the Channel of Trade in West Florida, where the French are so well supplied with goods, N Orleans would not Long be the Mart in that Quarter, tho' I own this appears a difficult task as each Province has a peculiar Interest which must often interfere with the General good of the Whole.

I have had a Letter from Capt Maturin concerning the Cash, and another from Capt Stevenson who tells me it is in his hands, & I shall send the Receipt by next apportunity.

M[r] Croghan has represented the Case of the Indian Deputys who accompanied him to the Ilinois to whose Services he was greatly indebted, and who lost their hunting season thereby, I cannot but recommend this to your Consideration, as a reward for their behavior and an incitement to others to act in like manner, whatever is ordered for

them may be given them at Fort Pitt;—I wish the Services lately performed at the Ilinois may appear adequate to the expense, the amount of which I am not acquainted with but I suppose you are furnished with the particulars.

I have only further to assure you of the perfect Regard with which I am Dear Sir

GEN^L GAGE.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, February 8, 1767[1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:840]

NEW YORK Febry. 8th. 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I have received yours of the 29th[2] ul^mo: M^r Croghan has intimated here his Design of quitting the Service; but I have heard no other Reason given for it but that he does not find it answer; and that he could do better for himself in another situation.

No better Method occurs to me to prevent the French from interfering with our Trade, or our own Traders from carrying their Furs and Skins down the Mississippi, than to forbid all kinds of Merchandize going up the Ohio or Ilinois Rivers, and all Ships from going down those Rivers; and unless Posts are erected on convenient spots near the Junction of those two Rivers with the Mississippi, with orders to the above Purpose, the Ilinois will be of little use. At present you can only say that there is a Fort, which may give us some superiority with respect to the Savages; at an enormous Expence; but little or no service as to the Trade. The French would then have no way left to come into our Country, but by the Wisconsin River high up the Mississippi which a Post on the River Renard a little beyond the Bays [La Baye] might also prevent. To erect as many Posts as the Trade would demand, I fear would be very difficult as Lake Superior alone would require three or four. Whether the Indians are spirited up by the Traders; or it is their natural attachment to the old Customs, and the ease they found in getting their necessarys at home, without going so farr for them, I can't say; but they seem every where averse to the Regulations of trading at the Posts only; especialy those who are at a Distance from the Posts, and desire Traders to be sent to them.

[1] This document was burnt in the Albany fire.

[2] Printed *ante*, 503.

What you think proper to be done with the Indian Deputys shall be done, in such manner as you shall direct. M^r Croghan's acc^ts have been inspected settled and paid, I will desire Cap^t Maturin to send you a sketch of them for your Information.

I am with great Regard Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

THO^S GAGE.

S^R W^M JOHNSON.

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, February 14, 1767

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:420]

Great changes being expected keeps men's minds in suspense, and obstructs public affairs of every kind. It is therefore not to be wondered at that so little progress is made in our American schemes of the Illinois grant and retribution for Indian losses.

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, February 22, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 49:636—C.]

A letter from General Gage to L^d Shelburne, Feb. 22, 1767, accompanying Capt^n Gordon's Journal, and descanting on the subjects to which it refers.

N^o 5

NEW YORK February 22^d 1767

MY LORD,

I have the Honor to transmit Your Lordship, a Copy of a Journal made out by Cap^t Gordon, chief Engineer of N^o America,[1] in his Progress down the Ohio to the Ilinois, down the Mississippi to New Orleans, & from thence to Mobile & Pensacola, It contains chiefly a Description of the Countries he passed thro', with the Distances & Latitudes of Places taken, I believe, with more Accuracy than has ever been done by any other Person, and Your Lordship will also find in it some account of the Trade of the Mississippi, and Settlements made upon that River.

That Trade will go with the Stream, is a Maxim found to be true, from all accounts that have been received of the Indian Trade carried on in the vast Tract of Country, which lies on the back of the British

[1] Printed *ante*, 290.

Colonies; and that the Peltry acquired there, is carried to the Sea either by the River S[t] Lawrence, or River Mississippi, as the Trade is situated on the Lakes, Inland River and Streams, whose Waters communicate respectively with those two immense Rivers. The part which goes down the St. Lawrence we may reckon will be transported to Great Britain, but I apprehend what goes down the Mississippi will never enter British Ports; and I imagine that nothing but a Prospect of a Superior Profit or Force, will turn the Channel of the Trade contrary to the above Maxim.

The Traders on the Branches of the Mississippi will never be tempted to bring their Peltry into the British Provinces whilst they get high Prices for their Skins at New Orleans or can ship them from thence immediately to Foreign Markets, in Foreign Bottoms. Nothing then but Force, can oblige our own Traders to bring the Produce of their Trade in those Parts into our Provinces to be exported to Great Britain, or prevent foreign Traders from intruding upon the Territories ceded to his Ma[jes]ty.

The only Method to effect this would be to put in Execution what is proposed in Capt[n] Gordon's Journal, Viz. to erect Posts on the Rivers Ohio and Ilinois near their Junction with the Mississippi in order to prevent all Furs & Skins from coming into that River from the Eastern Branches and to prevent Foreign Merchandize being Smuggled into His Majesty's Territories by means of the Ilinois and the Ohio. I must confess upon Reflection, that I have strong doubts after all whether such Posts would effectually answer all the Purposes expected from them, for tho' the Vigilance of the Officers might be very great, it seems no difficult Matter for Traders to pass the Posts unobserved in the Night, or by Collusion with Indians whom we could not seize without a Quarrel, they might get by unmolested at all Times.

Cap[t] Gordon's Journal gives an account of Fort Chatres, with his Opinion of the only use he conceives it to be of; I must own myself to have been of the same Opinion from the first accounts I received of its Situation: It does maintain a kind of Superiority over the Indians in that Country, keeps up an Interest with them, and is a check upon His Majesty's New Subjects there whom I apprehend will not be the most faithfull Subjects, whilst their former countrymen are settled so near them, as on the opposite Shores of the River.

As Fort Chatres will certainly be destroyed very soon, without a possibility of preserving it, other Posts must be Built if it is judged

proper to maintain the Country of the Ilinois in His Majesty's Possessions & in such Case it would be adviseable to erect them in the Situations mentioned & take every Precaution to confine all the Trade to the East of the Mississippi, as far as shall be in our Power.

The Acc^{ts} I have received from the lower Parts of the Mississippi on the Subject of Trade are of the same Nature, respecting the Peltry being carried to New Orleans, & of their being Smuggled into that Place from all Parts of West Florida. That they are conveyed from Mobile along the Coast into Lake Pontchartrain, & likewise by the River of Pearls which falls into the said Lake, which they cross to a Place called the Bayouc of St John, where a French Detachment is constantly posted, & within a very short way of New Orleans. I am likewise informed which is confirmed by Capt Gordon, that the French cross over to the East side of Lake Pontchartrain, where they make great Quantities of Pitch & Tar with which they carry on a very good Trade with La Veru Cruz. A Detachment from Mobile posted on some advantageous Spot in Lake Pontchartrain might in great Measure defeat such Proceedings.

The Spaniards are not yet settled in their new Acquisition; Your Lordship is informed how their new Subjects are already disgusted with a Spanish Government, we may wait with Patience for some Time in observing their Conduct & the System they shall adopt in carrying on their Affairs. They have no Experience in Indian Management or Commerce, & perhaps mismanagement in these Particulars may give us an Advantage we cant otherwise expect, for the Port of New Orleans will always give them a natural Supremacy over us.

After having given Your Lordship such Reflections as have occurred to me concerning the Indian Trade in general, I am led to consider the first Point on which Your Lordship has required my Deliberation in your Letter of the 11th December,[1] Viz. "a proper System for the Management of Indians, & for the carrying on the Commerce with them on the most advantageous Terms."

With respect to the Management of Indians, no better System occurs to me, than the present Plan of putting them under the Direction of Superintendants, with Commissaries to assist them, posted in the most convenient Spots for the Nations within certain Tracts of Country to apply to them, to redress any just Grievance, or to transact Business. But with respect to the carrying on of Commerce with

[1] Printed *ante*, 454.

the Indians, the present Method pursued, particularly in the Northern District, of suffering no Trade but at the Posts only, approved of by most People at first from its good Appearance, is found upon Trial not to answer. It would be a good Plan if it could be executed universally, but the Posts cannot be multiplied to the Degree necessary to compleat it; From hence the Traders complain that they are prevented from getting the Quantities of Furrs they could procure from Nations who live at a great Distance from the Posts, were they not restrained from going to them which gives the French Traders an advantage over them who go & reside among such Tribes, & by their Intrigues do a great deal of Mischief. It is also so contrary to the old Custom of Trade, & no People more attached to Customs than the Indians, & they find so much more trouble than formerly to procure their Necessaries, that the Indians are in general very averse to the Plan; are desirous that all Traders should come amongst them & encourage them to act contrary to their Regulations.

It may be difficult to fix the exact Boundaries of Trade to each Province respectively or to prevent the Traders from one Province, when in the Deserts, from rambling into the Precincts allotted to others. But it is certainly very necessary that the whole should be subject to some general Rules & Restrictions. I am of Opinion, that the Price of all Goods should be fixed for every Part of the Country, That no Trader should trade without a Licence, in which the Prices of his Goods should be inserted, & a very small Fee taken for such Licence; That the Traders should give Security for their good Behaviour, & observation of all Rules & Restrictions; That tho' licensed in one Province they may be brought to Punishment in all, for any Frauds or Misdemeanours, or in any shape breaking the Conditions of their Bonds by which they obtain their Licenses; That every Trader should be obliged to return with his Peltry to that Province from whence he received his Licence, & make Returns of the Quantity & Nature of the Peltry he brings with him. This Method may in some Measure prevent their going down the Mississippi; Returns should also be made of the Quantity & Nature of the Goods they carried out. That the Indian Commissaries should be so stationed, that every Nation may be able to lay their Complaints before some of these Commissaries, who should be empowered to do them Justice in case of Misusage or fraudulent Dealings on the part of the Traders, transmitting the names of such People to the respective

Governors that they may meet with proper Punishment. The Indians should be made acquainted with all the Rules & Restrictions, particularly with the Prices fixed for the Goods, and warned to trade with none but the Licensed Traders. This I conceive will give them a high Notion of His Majesty's Regard for them, by the Care they will see that is taken to prevent their being abused or defrauded.

I have taken the Liberty to offer Your Lordship my Sentiments on this material Point, and tho' sensible of the Difficulties of exacting a strict observance of any Rules, from a Sett of People, who for the most Part, are near as wild as the Country they go in, or the People they deal with, & by far more vicious & wicked, yet by due care & attention in His Majesty's Governors, & the Indian Agents & Commissaries, I think much good may be done. The above Reflections are also calculated upon the Plan adopted, of laying every part of the Trade open to all Adventurers. I have only further to add at present on this Subject, if such a Plan coincide with our Principles of Government, That of all the Systems of Indian Commerce which have come within my Knowledge I have found none equal to that adopted by the French; which a long Experience proved to be a good one. The whole Country was divided into Districts, and sold, upon Condition of paying Yearly Revenues to the Crown, to certain Traders or Companies of Traders, who enjoyed exclusive Rights of Trade in their respective Districts.[1] It was the Policy as it became the Interest of all, to treat the Indians well, and conciliate their Affections: If they were used ill they would go to the neighbouring District for their Necessaries. If those of one District intruded upon the Territories of others, Government was not troubled, but the Persons aggrieved were redressed by Law, and the whole business of Indian Commerce was transacted greatly to the Benefit of the Crown, to the general Satisfaction of the Savages, without Trouble or Expence to Government & the Trade flourished exceedingly. I am &c

THOMAS GAGE

RT. HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF SHELBURNE One of His Maty's Principal Sec^{rys} of State

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from the Hon^{ble} Major Gen^{l} Gage to the Earl of Shelburne dated New York Feb^{y} 22^{d} 1767.

[1] See fuller description of this system in Pownall, *Administration of the Colonies*, 187.

CROGHAN'S ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES ON JOURNEY TO THE ILLINOIS
February 22, 1767[1]

[Johnson MSS., 14:62—C.]

Copy.

The Crown to George Croghan Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs to Sir W^m^ Johnson, for Sundry Expences accrued in my Journey last Summer to the Ilinois. — D^r^

To Baynton Wharton & Morgan's Account for paying Sundry Indians for Sundry Services &ca, as per particulars inserted in Accompt N° 1			508	8	
To Ditto's Account for Presents as per Acco^t^	N°	2	2821	12	
To Ditto.....for D°.....		3	,440		
To Alex^r^ Maisonville for his Acco^t^ paid by me		4	144	16	9
To Morris Vodre's Account as Indian Interpreter		5	69	12	
To Raphael Beauvais for Sundry Provisions furnished during the General Conference at Kaskeskias & F Chartres		6	348		
To M^r^ La Dernetis for Tobacco		7	102	8	
To Baynton Wharton & Morgan's Account for Goods		8	211	10	5
To Raphael Beauvais Account		9	52	16	
To Simon Girty's Account		10	86	5	3
To Myer Myers Account for 20 Silver Medals		11	39	19	10½
To Henry and Bensted's Acco^t^ for 441 Gallons Rum		12	235	4	
			£4520	12	3½

To which Add his Drafts paid for Indian Presents.

To Baynton Wharton & Morgan	2570			
To Edmund Milne	803	4		
To W^m^ Gallagher	514	13	4	
			3887	17	4
			£8408	9	7½

[1] Marked in later hand in lower left corner: "1767 Feb." This document is arranged immediately after Johnson MSS., 14:61, a signed letter of Croghan to Johnson of February 22, 1767, but is in an entirely different hand and there is nothing to show that it is the account therein mentioned, although it probably is. Johnson MSS., 14:63, printed *post*, 513, is an autograph letter of George Croghan but does not identify the account.

Distribution of Troops, February 22, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 49:646—C.]

General Distribution of His Majesty's Forces in North America New York, 22d Feb[ruary] 1767.

Regts &c	Places where Stationed	N° of Companies &c at each Station	Roy[l] Artillery	Provinces &c.
14th	Halifax	9 Companies		
	d°	5 d°		
29th	Fort Cumberland	2 d°		
	Annapolis Royal	1 d°	1 Company	Nova Scotia
	Fort Frederick	1 d°		
	Louisbourg	4 d°		
	Island of St John's	2 d°		
59th	St John's & Isle of Buoys	1 & half d°		Newfoundland
	Placentia	1 & half d°	1 d°	
52d	Quebec	9 d°		
27th	Three Rivers	3 d°		
	Montreal	6 d°		
	d°	5 d°	2 d°	Quebec
15th	Oswegatchie	1 d°		
	Quebec	3 d°		
	d°	6 d°		
	Charlestown			South Carolina
60th	Fort Charlotte			
1stBattn	Fort Augusta	3 d°		Georgia
	Fort Frederika			
	Fort Prince George.			Cherokee Country
	Michillimackinac	2 d°		Communication to Michillimackinac
Ditto	Detroit	3 d°		
2d Battn	Niagara	3 d°		
	Oswego	1 d°	1 d°	
	Crown Point & Ticonderoga	2 d°		
17th	Fort George	half a d°		
	Fort Stanwix	half a d°		New York
	Albany	1 d°	2 d°	
	New York	5 d°		
46th	d°	9 d° Except 20 Men	one Officer n at Oswego	
28th	Perth Amboy	5 d°		New Jersey
	Elizabeth Town	4 d°		
42d	Philadelphia	6 d°		Pensylvania
	Fort Pitt	3 d°	1 d°	
9th	St Augustine	6 & half d°		East Florida
	Island of Bermudas	1 d°	1 d°	
	Island of Providence	1 d°		
	Appalachie	half a d°		West Florida.
31st	Pensacola	9 d°		

R egts &c	Places where Stationed	N° of Companies &c at each Station	Royl Artillery	Provinces &c.
21st	Mobile	5 d°		West Florida.
	Natches	2 d°	1 d°	
	Ibbeville	1 & half d°		
	Tombeché	half a d°		
34th	Fort Chatres	9 d°		Ilinois Country

[*Endorsed:*] General Distribution of the Troops in North America. New York 22d Feb[rua]ry 1767

THOS GAGE
Commander in Chief

CROGHAN TO JOHNSON, February 23, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 14:63—A.L.S.]

PHILLA Feby. 23d 1767

DEAR SIR

The Inclosd Leter Contains the Several Caueses of My Discont In the Sarvies and the Acount the Loses[1] I have Suffer'd, all which I Submitt to your honour, and if you are of opinion that I have No Right to Expect any Restitusion fer My Loses & Extrordinary Expence I Shall Neaver Menshon them More tho I will produse to you the vouchers fer the whole Indeed the two first artickles of the Acount I had Long Given over any Expectacons of and only Menshond hear to Shoe you the whole that I am out of pocket the Ginerals Conduct Respecting my Memorial I blive you will Say is very Extrordnary, he Did Nott Trate Liftt Freser in that Maner fer on his Return he paid him all his Expences and Made, him a present of Six Hundred Pounds, Butt its to be Considred that he is a Gentleman of the army and Not an Indian agent on your Honours Perrusing the Leter and Acount you will plese to Strike out any part of itt or the whole if you think I Should Nott be paid and Write the Gineral what you think proper on the Subject I am prity Sencable that

[1] According to the *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts*, 346, this was a letter "stating the losses which he has incurred for the Crown since 1757 through the failure of General Gage and Sir Jeffrey Amherst to reimburse him for necessary expenses, also complaining of the attacks of traders on his reputation and inclosing an account of losses and recent expenses." This inclosed letter and the one above were burned in the Albany fire, but of the latter the Illinois State Historical Library possesses an excellent copy.

what Ever part of this Acount your Honour will think proper I Should be paid of itt & Recommend to Gineral Gage to pay that he will Do itt.

as to any promises he May Make of Sending itt home I Can place No Confidence in them from his past Tratem^t To Me and I Shall Esteem itt as a Great feaver if your Honour will Write to him on this Subject.

I will Sett out as Soon as I am able to Ride to Wate on you & Take My Journal with Me.

Plese to present My Complem^ts to Cap^t Johnson Cap^t Clause and the Ladys and Good famely att Johnson Hall & Blive Me with the Greatest Respect y^r Honours

Most obeident and Most Hum^ble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN

TO THE HON^BLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Barr^t

PS: I have had Cap^t M^cloud and his Dear Litle Helen of of Greece hear this three Weeks past they go home In two Days and after a Litle Rest Proceeds to Johnson Hall Whare Me Lady I Supose will Spend the Sumer Either with y^r honour or Cap^t Guy Johnson who She Spakes in Raptuers of.

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia, 23^d Feb^ry 1767 George Croghan Esq^rs Letter with enclosures.

JOHNSON TO GAGE, February 24, 1767[1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:842]

JOHNSON-HALL Feby 24th. 1767

DEAR SIR

I have had the favor of your of the 8th inst with the inclosed Sketch of M^r Croghans Expences, from whom I have not heard since my last to him.

Capt Johnson who goes to N York to attend the hearing of the affair of the Wappingers agreable to Lord Shelburnes Letters to me will mention my thoughts concerning what is necessary for the Indian Deputys that accompanied M^r Croghan.

There are good Authorities for proving that sev^l Traders have

[1] This document was burnt in the Albany fire.

prompted the Indians to desire the Trade at discretion throughout their Country, nevertheless there may be some Nations to the Northward who are so wedded to their Antient Customs, and so Circumstanced as to require it of themselves, but this is only the particular case of those Northern Ind[s] mentioned in a former Letter. I am happy in finding my opinion perfectly Correspondent with yours respecting the Trade by *Mississipi* and the establishing some Necessary posts at the Junction of the principal Rivers which fall into it. The Communicat[n] Westward from *La Baye* is of importance, and the Indians will readily agree to the erecting of a post there, I am sensible that it will not be practicable to erect posts at every place required but if the Trade of L. Superior is excepted, the posts now held, & those you have mentioned will be sufficiently Convenient for the rest.

I am &ca.

His Excell[cy] Gen[l] Gage.

CHAPTER X

DISCUSSION OF THE INDIAN TRADE, MARCH 1, 1767–SEPTEMBER 25, 1767

THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY'S PLANS — MORGAN RETURNS FROM THE ILLINOIS — RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN THE ILLINOIS — INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMISSARIES — LORD SHELBURNE OPPOSES THE PLANS OF CHARLES TOWNSHEND — GOVERNOR CARLETON DISCUSSES THE FUR TRADE — THE DIFFICULTIES OF CONFINING THE TRADE TO THE POSTS — JOHNSON AND GAGE WRITE TO SHELBURNE — THE DISPOSITION OF THE TROOPS — REDUCTION OF EXPENSES FOR AMERICA — FATHER MEURIN AND BISHOP BRIAND CORRESPOND — THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY HOLDS A MEETING — LETTERS FROM COLE — THE USE OF THE OHIO RIVER—HALDIMAND GIVES HIS OPINIONS.

MISSISSIPPI COMPANY TO CUMMING, March 1, 1767[1]

[P.R.O., Chatham MSS., 97:12—C.]

WESTMORELAND COUNTY VIRGINIA, March 1st 1767

THOMAS CUMMING, Esqr

SIR,

It was with concern we understood from your Letter to Mr Wm Lee dated the 16th January 1765, that little hopes was to be entertained of success in a point so much wished by the Mississippi Company. But we should not so long have neglected to answer that very polite and obliging Letter if you had not in some measure rendered an answer unnecessary, by declaring your intention of resuming the Pen when such an alteration in American affairs should take place as might prove favorable to the claim.

That the present is a proper crisis to renew our solicitations, we hope, as well from the Wisdom of the Ministry, as from what you have been pleased lately to write Col. Thornton on this Subject. In conformity therefore, with the direction of the Company at their last general Meeting we are to request, that if [it is] your opinion, a probability of success now opens immediate measures be taken to press for a determination by the Privy Council on the Companies Memorial; and as a previous prudent step we recommend the obtain-

[1] Published by C. E. Carter, in *American Historical Review*, 16:315.

ing as quickly as possible, one half the number of British members of the Company, which you were desired to procure by our former Letter among which number it will give us much pleasure that you sho[d] be one; but the other half it is deemed proper shall remain unfilled, till the next general meeting, when you will receive further advice on this head.

When the consideration of this affair is recommended we should be willing (as it appears to you proper), to yield that part of the Memorial relative to fortifications at Government expence, but with respect to the Quantity of Land for each member, if it be rightly considered, an abridgment of that will by no means answer, since it remains a certainty that one third at least of the quantity will be necessar[il]y sacrificed to the purpose of gaining a sufficient number of Settlers to secure the rest, which added to the Expence incurred by conveying people there, the greater number probably from the continent of Europe, the charge of Surveying, &c., will leave the remainder not more than a good encouragement to the adventurer. With regard to the Crown, it would seem a much more probable method of securing and speedily increasing the Quit Rent revenue, by placing the Land in the hands of persons of property, than by suffering things to remain as now they are, when people in Numbers that have no property and of bad reputations generally are bursting daily thro' the bounds of the settled Colonies, and fixing on the Waters of Ohio where they remain both lawless and useless to their Country, a consciousness of having violated Government Orders, making them choose to have as little communication with the Interior parts as possible.

We observe your opinion of the settled Colonies being too thinly inhabited. For some purposes, no doubt it is so; but whilst Great Britain desires our application to agriculture rather than to Arts, her Interest in this point will more effectually be obtained, by a dispersion than by a collection of our people; experience evincing, that when good Land, can be obtained on easy Terms, the desire of manufacturing is almost entirely lost in the eagerness for Tillage. The difficulty of procuring Land, & the confinement of great numbers in small Tracts of Territory, call necessarily for the exercise of invention, from whence spring originally improvements in Arts and Manufacture.

As the spot chosen by the Company is open to Navigation and the Country round extremly fertile, the settlers there will beyond doubt

considerably benefit both themselves and the Mother Country from the products of the Soil; so the means of conveying British fabricks by water must render them greatly cheaper than they can possibly be made there for ages at least.

The Company have been informed by M^r^ Digges of your declining to accept the Money formerly tendered you, they regard this as a very uncommon, and a very noble instance of Warm and disinterested friendship, the only return to which they can at present make, is a real and genuine esteem.

We conclude that the Solicitor lodged the memorial with the Privy Council & except the Ten Pounds paid him for that purpose, the Balance of the Money rests in the hands of Tho^s^ Philpot Esq^r^ Merchant in London, who will be directed to pay it out to your Order as you shall find it necessary in the course of the solicitation.

In filling up the number of British members as above mentioned we recommend your application to Flemming Pinkston Esq^r^, in S^t^ Albans Street to be one of the Company.

We think of nothing more at this time necessary to be mentioned to you but our request that you give us (by means of M^r^ W^m^ Lee) the most early Notice of what is done in our business; & we beg leave to refer you to a due consideration of the Original Agreement and memorial,[1] & of our Letter accompanying them dated the 26^th^ of Sep^r^ 1763.

We remain with great regard, Sir your most obedient and very humble Servants.

Signed after being agreed to by the Committee and by their Order,

WILLIAM LEE Secretary.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON, March 14, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 14:77—A.L.S.][2]

PHILADELPHIA March 14^th^ 1767

SIR

We took the Liberty of writing to your Honor, on the 28th of December last[3] — But we are apprehensive, as we have not been favored with an answer, That our Letter miscarried.

[1] Printed *ante*, 1:19, 24.

[2] This letter was written and signed by Samuel Wharton.

[3] Printed *ante*, 464.

We then mentioned, That Mr Cressap[1] of Maryland had, as we were informed,— purchased of a Party of six Nation Warriors, a large Tract of Land, situate down the Ohio and about Green Briar &c. We judged it necessary, That your Honor should be apprized of such clandestine and impolotick Proceedings, least Others may follow the Example And Thereby, in degree, defeat your benevolent Intention, towards the unfortunate Indian Traders; As we are informed, part of the very Land, which Mr Cressap, so illegaly bought — is what you kindly intended, for the Indian Sufferers.

Mr Croghan has been so good, as to tell us,— That your Honor has lately received a Letter from the Earl of Shelburn, acquainting you, That every Thing respecting the Indian Department, was then under the King's Consideration.— May we not therefore, as well from the Equity as Policy of the Retribution, hope soon to hear something agreable?

We were lately, lucky enough to meet with a pound or two, of the best plain Rappee,—Which a Friend imported for himself and spared us.

As it is esteemed very good & none is to be bought — We pray the Honor of your accepting it.

We are very respectfully Sir Yr much Obliged and most Obedt Servants.

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

P S. Should your Honor now want a Pipe or two of Madeira— we think, there are some *very excellent* in Town, at about sixty five Pounds Pr Pipe.

B W M

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bart

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia 14th March 1767 Letter from Messrs Baynton Wharton & Morgan Ansd 1st April

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON March 16, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 14:81—A.L.S.]

PHILADA March 16th 1767

SIR

By Our Partner, Mr Morgan, who returned this Day from the Illenois, we received the within Draft of Mr Cole's upon your Honor,

[1] This is the well-known Michael Cresap who was charged with several outrages on the Indians in the famous speech of chief Logan, published in Jefferson's *Notes*. See his vindication by George Rogers Clark in James, *Clark Papers* (*I. H. C.*, 8), 3 *et seq.* and a note on Cresap, *ibid.*

for the Sum of One Thousand four hundred & sixty Eight pounds thirteen Shillings & seven pence New York Currency—Vouchers for which, are inclosed in the within Letter, from Him. The great Length of Time, we have been without any Remittances, from our heavy & very expensive Adventure to the Illenois, constrain us, To implore your Honor, in the most earnest manner,—To prevail on the General to order us immediately paid.

We hope your Goodness will pardon this Freedom and kindly attribute it, To its real Cause — a very great want of Money.

We are very respectfully Sir Your Honors much Obliged And most Obt Servts

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

THE HONORABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bart

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelpa March 16th 1767 Letter from Messrs Baynton Wharton & Morgan with a Draft on me from Comisry Cole at the Illinois for £ 1568 13 7 Yk Curcy Ansd 1st April

RECEIPT FOR RENT OF HOUSE, March 23, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 14:97—D.S.][1]

The Crown To Richard Winston Dr

For 6 Months Rent of a House for the Indian Interpretor Commencing 26th Septr 1766 and Ending the 26th of March 1767 at 20 Livrs Pr Month } is 120 Livrs

Received Fort Chartres 23d March 1767 of Edward Cole Esqr the above Sum of One Hundred and Twenty Livres at five Livres Eaqual to One Dollar for which I have Signed Two Receipts of this Tennor and Date.

RICHD WINSTON

No 11.

FORT CHARTRES March 25. 1767. I do hereby Certify that by the Approbation of Colonel John Reed of the 34th Regiment that the House mentioned in the within Account, was hired for his Majesty's Use for the purpose therein Specified, and that the charge of One

[1] The certificates of Cole and Reed are signed by the men whose names they bear, but the body of the document is not written by Winston, Cole, or Reed.

hundred & twenty Livres for the same is just & True, accounting the same at the Rate of five Livres Per Dollar

EDW^{D} COLE
Com^{y} of Indian Affairs

FORT CHARTRES. March 25th 1767 I John Reed Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel of his Majesty's 34th Regiment of Foot &c &c Do Hereby Certify that the House specified in the within Account was hired for His Majesty's use for the purpose therein Mention'd, of Richard Winston, And that the charge of One hundred & twenty Livres at the Rate of five Livres p^{r} Dollar is just & True.
In Testimony whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand.

JN^{O} REED Col
L^{t} C^{l} 34. Reg^{t}

[*Endorsed:*] Rich^{d} Winston's Acc^{t} & Rec^{t} N° 11.

MEURIN TO BISHOP BRIAND, March 23, 1767[1]

[A.A., Q., Mission des Illinois, f. 4—A.L.S.]

Du presbytère de l'Immaculée Conception, aux Kas colonie angloise, diocèse de Québec, aux Illinois, ce 23 mars 1767.

MONSEIGNEUR,

En arrivant aux Kas pour y disposer le peuple à la pâques j'y apprens par les lettres du père Potier que vous avés enfin pris possession du siège auquel la divine providence vous destnoit. Loué soit à jamais sa grande miséricorde envers le diocèse de Québec. Cette

[*Translation*]

Rectory of the Immaculate Conception, at Kaskaskia English Colony, Diocese of Quebec, at the Illinois March 23, 1767

MY LORD:

On arriving at Kaskaskia to prepare the people for Easter I learned by letters from Father Potier that you have at length taken possession of the see to which Divine Providence has destined you. Praise be forever for His great pity for the diocese of Quebec! This news makes

[1] Printed in Carayon, *Bannissement des jésuites*, 58 *et seq.*

nouvelle me fait presque oublier ma vieillesse et mes infirmités tant elle me remplit de joye surtout apprenant en même temps qu'il doit partir demain une occasion par laquelle je puis vous écrire et vous demender avec confiance du secours pour votre peuple des Illinois.

Depuis près de quatre ans, qu'on arrachât à ce pays la plus grande partie de ses missionnaires et que les autres crurent avoir raison de s'en retirer, voyant qu'il alloit être abandonné et sans pasteur je sollicitai pendant un mois et j'obtins, surtout en considération des sauvages, d'y revenir. Je laisse à part les conditions que l'on voulut m'imposer pour cela, le temps ne me permet pas d'entrer dans un si grand détail.

Ce pays des Illinois n'est plus que de six villages d'environ cinquante à quatre vingt feus chacun non compris les esclaves en assés grand nombre. lesquels villages à cause de leur distances et situation demendent chacun un prêtre scavoir dans cette partie angloise la paroisse de l'Immaculée conception aux Kas, celle de St Joseph à la prairie du Rocher (qui n'étoit que succursale de Ste Anne

[*Translation*]

me almost forget my old age and my infirmities so much has it filled me with joy, particularly when I learned at the same time that there would be tomorrow an opportunity for me to write to you and demand confidently from you assistance for your people of the Illinois.

Almost four years ago when there was taken from this country the greatest part of its missionaries and the others believed they were justified in retiring from it. Seeing that it was going to be abandoned and be without a pastor, I solicited during one month and obtained, particularly on account of the savages, the right to return here.[1] I am silent concerning the conditions which they wished to impose upon me; time does not permit me to enter into such great detail.

This country of the Illinois is nothing more than six villages of about fifty to eighty fires each not including the slaves whose number is sufficiently great. Each of these villages, on account of the distances between them and their situation, demands a priest; namely in the English territory, the parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, that of St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher (which was only

[1] On the banishment of the Jesuits and the sale of the church property at Cahokia see *ante*, 1:62, 125, 132.

au fort de Chartres que les habitants ont abandonné) et la paroisse de la Ste Famille des Kaokias ou Tamaroas, et les sauvages titre de la Ste Famille. Du premier village au dernier il y a vingt cinq lieues. Dans la partie françoise ou espagnole au delà du fleuve sont situés les villages de Ste Geneviève titre de St Joachim dont dépendent la saline et les mines, et à trente lieues plus haut le nouveau village dit St Louis qui s'est formé des débris de St Philippe et du fort de Chartres, ces deux villages sont aussi considérables que les premiers en habitans ou en esclaves rouges et noirs.

St Joachim ou Ste Geneviève est le lieu de ma résidence ainsi qu'il me fut ordonné par les conditions de mon retour dans le pays; c'est de là que tous les printemps je viens et parcours les autres villages pour les paques, j'y reviens encore les automnes et toutes les fois qu'on m'appelle pour des malades. C'est tout ce que mes infirmités et mes moyens peuvent me permettre, encor cela est-il désagréable et préjudiciable à ceux de Ste Geneviève qui seuls me nourissent et m'entretiennent et ils s'en plaignent. Avec cela les peuples et surtout les enfants et les esclaves manquent d'instruction suffisante,

[*Translation*]

a mission of the parish of Ste. Anne at Fort de Chartres which the inhabitants have abandoned), and the parish of the Holy Family of Cahokia or Tamaroa and that of the savages [?] with the title of the Holy Family. From the first village to the last the distance is twenty-five leagues. In the French or Spanish territory beyond the river are situated the villages of Ste. Genevieve with the title of St. Joachim on which are dependent the salines and the mines; and at thirty leagues above is the new village called St. Louis which has been formed out of the ruins of St. Philippe and Fort de Chartres. These two villages are as large as the first in inhabitants or in slaves, red and black.

St. Joachim or Ste. Genevieve is the place of my residence as it was ordained by the conditions of my return to the country. It is from there that I come every springtime and go through the other villages for Easter. I return thither again in the autumn and every time that I am called for the sick. This is all that my infirmities and my means can permit me. Still, this is disagreeable and prejudicial to the people of Ste. Genevieve who alone nourish and support me; and they complain of it. With only these visits the people, and especially the chil-

et privés de la vigilance pastorale perdent insensiblement la piété et s'abandonnent aux vices. Il y a encor icy beaucoup de familles ou la religion règne et qui craignent avec raison qu'elle ne s'eteigne avec eux. Ils vous supplient avec moi d'avoir pitié de leurs enfans et de leur envoyer au moins deux ou trois prêtres si votre grandeur n'en peut envoyer quatre ou cinq qui seroient nécessaires, dont un avec titre de grand vicaire de votre grandeur. Je tache d'entretenir en mon absence l'usage des offices et prières publiques pour aider à la sanctification des dimanches et fêtes. Il y a déjà nombre qui ne fréquentent plus l'église ou qui semblent n'y venir que pour y manquer de respect. Quelques indociles et insolens disent assés hautement que je n'ai aucun titre, que je ne suis pas leur pasteur, que je n'ai pas droit de leur donner des avis et ne sont pas obligés de m'écouter. Ils n'eussent osés parler ainsi de temps de messieurs Sterling et Farmar commendans dont j'avois toute protection; sous le commendement de ces deux premiers personne n'eut osé tenter la moindre indécence.

L'église de Ste Anne est depuis un an presque sans couverture,

[*Translation*]

dren and slaves, are lacking sufficient instruction; and since they are deprived of the pastoral vigilance they are insensibly losing piety and are abandoning themselves to vices. There are here still many families in which religion rules and who fear with reason that it will become extinct with them. They join in prayer with me that you have pity on their children and send them at least two or three priests if your highness cannot send the four or five who are needed. One of these should have the title of grand vicar of your highness. I try to maintain in my absence the use of the offices and public prayers to assist in the sanctification of Sundays and saints' days. There are already a number who no longer attend church or who seem to come there only to show their lack of respect for it. Some intractable and insolent people say, haughtily enough, that I have no title, and I am not their pastor, that I have no right to give them advice, and that they are not obliged to listen to me. They would not have dared to speak thus in the time of MM. Stirling and Farmar, commandants, from whom I had every protection. Under the command of these two first no person dared to attempt the least indecency.

The church of Ste. Anne has, for almost a year, been without

portes et fenêtres et murs brisés ou mal fermés depuis que les marguiliers avoient changé de domicil et village sans m'avertir ni faire élire d'autres laissant les clefs au bedeau qui se retirant aussi les remit à un habitant et ainsi de l'un à l'autre. Ayant enfin été averti je m'y transportai, demendai et obtins de Mr le commendant anglois son agrément pour transporter à la chapelle de St Joseph prairie du rocher les meubles de l'église Ste Anne. J'ay portai moi-même les vases sacrés accompagné de celui à qui on avoit remis les clefs, et ne pouvant demeurer plus longtemps je donnai par écrit commission au capitaine de milice et trois autres dénomés de se transporter à l'église Ste Anne y faire ensemble inventaire et exportation des dits meubles &c à leur chapelle pour y demeurer en dépot jusqu'à ce qu'on put avoir réponse et ordre de l'ordinaire. Les commissionés partirent, voulurent exécuter, opposition et requettes sur requette de la part de deux seuls habitans qui restoient et assurèrent au commendant que l'église et meubles leur apartenoit en propre, ordre me fut signifié de rapporter les vases sacrés et de les laisser tout à la ditte église Ste

[*Translation*]

roof, doors and windows and with walls broken or badly closed, because the church wardens have changed their home and village without informing me or having others elected; and they left the keys to the beadle who withdrew also and left them with an inhabitant and thus they pass from one to another. When finally I was informed I went there and demanded and obtained from the English commandant his consent to the removal of the furniture of the church of Ste. Anne to the chapel of St. Joseph at Prairie du Rocher. I myself carried the sacred vessels, accompanied by the one to whom the keys had been given. Since I was unable to stay longer, I gave, by written commission, to the captain of the militia and three others named the right to betake themselves to the church of Ste. Anne and make there together an inventory, and to carry away the said furniture etc. to their chapel where it was to remain in deposit until one could receive an answer and order from the ordinaire[?]. The commissioned men set out, wished to execute their commission, and met with opposition. There was petition upon petition from the two single inhabitants who remained there and assured the commandant that the church and furniture belonged to them personally. An order was given me to

Anne. Je ne crus pas devoir me rendre, je récrivis en forme de requête au nom de votre chapitre ne scachant le faire de votre grandeur; j'eus gain de cause, mes adversaires insistèrent je ne scais de quel encre, je perdis votre cause, je récrivis encor; juges anglois furent nommés et le procès se terminera quand il plaira à Dieu et à votre grandeur. L'église est toujours en plus mauvais état ouverte de toute part elle a servie de repair aux bêtes, dit-on, pendant l'hyver, les meubles et ornemens y sont encor je ne scais en quel état. J'attens vos ordres et le repentir des opposans. Les vases sacrés sont toujours à la prairie du rocher.

Le poste vincennes sur ouabache chés les miamis prianghichias est aussi considérable que nos meilleurs villages d'icy et a encor plus besoin d'un missionnaire. Le désordre y a toujours été grand mais il augmente depuis trois ans. Quelques uns viennent icy pour se marier ou faire leurs paques. Le grand nombre ne le veut ou ne le peut. Le gardien de l'église y publie les bans par trois dimanches, ceux qui veulent venir icy il leur donne certificat de publication et non opposi-

[*Translation*]

bring back the sacred vessels and to leave them all in the said church of Ste. Anne. I did not believe it my duty to go there. I wrote in the form of a petition drawn up in the name of your chapter, since I did not know that it should be done in the name of your highness; I was obliged to stand a suit; my adversaries insisted upon I know not what yet; I lost your suit; I wrote again; English judges were named and the process will be ended when it shall please God and your highness. The church is getting always in a worse condition; open from every side it has served, I am told, as a den for beasts during winter. The furniture and ornaments are still there and I know not in what state. I await your orders and the repentance of the opponents. The sacred vessels are still at Prairie du Rocher.

Post Vincennes on the Wabash, among the Miami Piankashaw, is as large as our best villages here and has still greater need of a missionary. Disorder has always been great there, but it has increased in the last three years. Some come here to be married or to make their Easter duty. The majority do not wish to, nor can they do it. The guardian of the church there publishes the banns for three Sundays; to those who wish to come here he gives a certificate of publication

tion que je republie moi-même avant de les marier, ceux qui ne veulent pas venir déclarent hautement dans leur église leur mutuel consentement. Un tel mariage peut-il être permis, ni ayant aucune exception dans le décret formel du st concil de Trente sur la reformation du mariage, c'est pourquoi je vous supplie de m'instruire. La clandestinité rend-t-elle nul le mariage des hérétiques comme celui des catholiques. Leur résistance à l'église peut-elle les exempter des loix de l'église.

Avant de remonter aux Illinois on m'assuroit à la Nouvelle Orléans que la Louisianne n'étoit et ne seroit plus du diocèse de Québec. On m'y fit promettre et signer que je n'y reconnoitrois plus d'autre supérieur ecclésiastique que le révérend père supérieur des Capucins qui y avoit et auroit seul toute jurisdiction, qu'a la première occasion on m'en certifieroit ainsi que je le requérois, c'est a cette condition que j'ai signé ajoutant que quand il plairoit à sa sainteté de donner la jurisdiction au plus chétif des nègres, je lui serois soumis comme au plus méritant des évêques. Conséquemment a ma signature donnée

[*Translation*]

without any opposition which I myself republish before marrying them. Those who do not wish to come declare in a loud voice in their church their mutual consent. Can such a marriage be permitted? Since there is no exception in the formal decree of the holy council of Trent on the reformation of marriage, I pray you to instruct me. Does clandestinity render the marriage of heretics null, as it does that of Catholics? Can their resistance to the church exempt them from the laws of the church?

Before I returned to the Illinois, I was assured at New Orleans that Louisiana was not and would no longer be in the diocese of Quebec. I was made to promise and sign that I would no longer recognize other ecclesiastical superior than the reverend father superior of the Capuchins who alone had and would have all jurisdiction, that on the first occasion they would give me a certificate of it if I required. It is on this condition that I signed, adding that when it should please his holiness to give the jurisdiction to the highest chief of the Negroes I should be submissive to him as to one meriting more than bishops; consequently as my signature was given upon the promise of a confirmation which has not yet come, I am bound no longer in any

sur la promesse d'un constaté qui n'est pas encor venu, je ne devois plus avoir aucun raport ni avec Rome ny avec Québec. C'est ce qui jusqu'a présent m'a empêché d'écrire aux grands vicaires du diocèse surtout n'ayant pas trouvé d'occasion sure par terre, comme je trouve aujourd'hui celle des Srs Despins et Bauvais qui vont a Montreal et doivent revenir cet automne prochain, ils se chargeront volontiers de la conduite et depense de vos missionnaires pour icy dont les paroisses ont promis de les rembourser. Le grand besoin de missionaires pour ce pays cy m'a fait frapper à toutes les portes pour en avoir, premièrement a celle des révds pères Capucins surtout du Rd père Dagobert dont je n'ai encor pu obtenir depuis trois ans un mot de réponse; secondement à Philadelphie d'ou j'ai recu plusieurs lettres obligeantes, troisièmement à Monsieur l'abbé de l'isledieu qui me faisoit la grace de me demender ma situation et mes besoins pour y pourvoir autant qu'il pourroit. Peut être aura-t-il eu l'occasion de vous faire part de ma réponse à ce sujet. Enfin je m'adresse à vous Monseigneur le plus tot qu'il m'est possible et avec plus de confiance que tout autre

[*Translation*]

relations either with Rome or with Quebec. That is what has hindered me up to the present from writing to the grand vicars of the diocese, especially since I have not found a safe opportunity by land as I have today by means of MM. Despins and Bauvais, who are going to Montreal and should return this next autumn. They have volunteered to bring at their own expense the missionaries you appoint for this place and the parishioners have promised to reimburse them. The great need of missionaries for this country has forced me to strike at all doors in order to obtain some; first at the door of the reverend Capuchin fathers, especially of the Rev. Father Dagobert from whom I have not yet been able to obtain a word of response in three years; secondly, at Philadelphia, whence I have received several obliging letters; thirdly, at the door of abbé de l'Isle Dieu who did me the grace to ask me about my situation and my needs in order to provide for them as far as he could.[1] Perhaps he will have had an opportunity to inform you of my answer in this matter. Finally, I address myself to you, my lord, as soon as it is possible and with more confidence than to any other, since you are more

[1] Whether all this interesting correspondence has been preserved is unknown.

puisque vous y êtes plus intéressé que moi même. En attendant les effets de votre charité pastoralle je continuerai à me servir des anciens pouvoirs que j'ai recu de Monsieur Mercier il y a vingt cinq ans lesquels m'ont été continués par Messieurs Laurent et Forget qui verbalement me laissa a son départ tout ce qu'il avoit recu. Le grand vicaire que vous nous enverrés en retranchera ce qu'il jugera à propos et me trouvera comme ses prédécesseurs avec tout le zèle et tout le respect possible Monseigneur, De votre grandeur le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

SÉB. LOUIS MEURIN, Pretre missionaire.

[*Translation*]

interested in it than I myself. While I am waiting for the effects of your pastoral charity I shall continue to make use of the former powers which I received from M. Mercier twenty-five years ago, which have been continued by MM. Laurent and Forget the latter of whom verbally left me at his departure all that he had received. The grand vicar whom you will send to us will limit them as he shall judge fitting and will find me, as did his predecessors, with all the zeal and all the possible respect, my lord, your highness' very humble and very obedient servant,

SEBASTIAN LOUIS MEURIN, missionary priest

FORM OF INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSARIES OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

March 24, 1767[1]

[Johnson MSS., 25:84—Draft]

Instructions for [*blank in MS.*] Commissary for Indian Affairs at [*blank in MS.*]

You are imediately to proceed to [*blank in MS.*] where you are to reside as Commissary, And on your Arrival you are to Acquaint the Indians of your being appointed to inspect into the Trade, prevent abuses therein, and transact all business with them under my direction — That an Interpreter and Smith are also appointed to act for them Gratis in their respective capacitys, under your direction.

You are to shew your Warr[t] & communicate your Instructions

[1] Printed by Mr. Alvord in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3:no.3, pp. 24–26

to the Commanding Officer, applying to him for Quarters in the most convenient place for the reception of the Indians, & for Yourself, the Interpreter, and Smith with provisions and fire-wood.

The inspection of Trade, correcting abuses, redressing Grievances, gaining Intelligence of all ill Designs, & securing the friendship of the Indians, being the Principal Objects of your Appointment, you will diligently apply yourself to discharge these important Trusts, to which end you are imediately to inform yourself of the manner in which Trade has been hitherto carried on, and the most reasonable prices of Goods, and Peltry, The Strength, Connections and Interests of the several Tribes about you with their Sachems, Warriors &ca all which you are to Report without delay to Guy Johnson Esq^{r} Deputy Agent for the middle District. And you are to make regular entrys of all Occurrences and Transactions a fair Copy of which on *Folio* you are to transmit to my said Deputy every Three Months, or Oftener if the Service require it.— You are also to keep an Exact Ac-

NB. *Michilimack^{c}* every 6. Months. *Detroit* ev^{y} 4 D^{o}
Niagara, and *Ontario*. every 3. Months.

co[un]t of the Quality, & Value of Goods, and the like of Peltry traded off at your post as well as such as pass to other Garrisons, transmitting the same annually to my said Deputy & for y^{r} farther Governm^{t} with regard to Trade &c you are now furnished, with a Copy of Regulations to which you are to see that due Obedience is paid.

You are not to incurr any Expence without orders from Me, or my Deputy beyond what is absolutely necessary for Pipes, Tobacco, or a Dram occasionally to the Ind^{s}, and you are to satisfy any Indians who may be troublesome on that head by Explaining to them the Expence the Gov^{t} is at by these Appointments, and shewing them the Nature of Your Office and that whatever Presents may be occasionally bestowed on those Nations who best deserve it, will be done by the Superintendant, or His Deputy — That it is Expected they will Shew their Gratitude for the Appointments already made That they will abide firmly by their Engagements and Live in peace and friendship with all his Majestys Subjects, as the only means they have to Intitle themselves to a continuance of this Establishment, or to the hopes of farther favors.

The Interpreter, and Smith are to be subject to your Orders to apply themselves diligently to their dutys, without accepting of any Gratification from the Indians, or being concerned in any Trade or business on pain of imediate Removal, And you are to inspect Strictly into their conduct in their Respective Capacitys, The better to enable you to do which, You will apply yourself to Study the Language of the Neighbouring Indians.

You are to keep Regular and Just Accot^{s} of all Expenses you are Authorized to incurr Transmitting the same with proper Vouchers from the Comd^{g} Officer together with the Am^{t} of Your Sall^{y} and that of the Interpreter and Smith to the s^{d} Deputy presiding over the District, half yearly, that is to say to the 24th of March and September in each year, and these are to be sent in sufficient time to be included in my Gen^{l} Accot^{s} transmitted imediately after these periods.

Lastly, you are on these or any other Subjects which fall within your Duty to do your utmost to the best of your Judgment for promoting the Service you are sent upon, Studiously Applying yourself to discover the Sentiments & Designs of the Indians, Acquiring their Confidence by Integrity, Mildness, and a Strict Attention to their Affairs and promoting to your utmost that harmony which should subsist between them, & the Soldiery, Traders, or others at the Garrison.

Given under my hand at JOHNSON-HALL the 24th day of March 1767.

[*Endorsed:*] Form of Instructions to the Commiss^{ys} of Indian Affairs at Michilimackinac Niagara, & Ontario &c for .1767.

DOCTOR ANNESLEY'S ACCOUNT, March 24, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 25:85 (2)—D.S.]

The Crown

To Doctor William Annesley—D^{r}

For Attendance and Medicines administered to the Indians at this place from the 25th Sept^{r} 1766.—to this 24th March 1767 Inclusive, is 181 Days: a 5/P^{r} Day: £45.5. Pensylv^{a} Curre [*MS. burned*] at Five Livres to the Dollar.

Fort Chartres March 24th: 1767. Received of Edward Cole Commissary for Indian Affairs at this place, the above Sum [*MS. burned*] Forty five pounds, five Shillings Pennsylvania Currency at Five Livres to the Dollar. W^M Annesley

[*Endorsed:*] Doct^r W^m Annesley's Acc^t and Receipt March 24th: 1767 N° 8.

Certificate of John Reed, March 25, 1767

[Johnson MSS., 25:85 (1)—D.S.]

Fort Chartres March 25^th 1767 I. John Reed [*MS. burned*] Lieutenant Colonel of his Majesty's 34^th Regiment [*MS. burned*] &c &c. Do hereby Certify that Doctor William Annesly [*MS. burned*] Attended the Indians that have been from time to time [*MS. burned*] post, during the Term perticularly Specified in [*MS. burned*] hereunto annexed, and that the sum of Forty five poun [*MS. burned*] Pennsylvenia Currency therein Charged is Just and [*MS. burned*] and is equal to Six hundred & three Livers at the rate of [*MS. burned*] Livers per Dollar, and that his appointment to the foreg [*MS. burned*] Service was by the order and approbation of George C [*MS. burned*] Esquire, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs f [*MS. burned*] Northern District, and Myself.

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand

Jn° Reed Col
L^t C^l 34 [*MS. burned*]

Carleton[1] to Johnson, March 27, 1767

[*Michigan Historical Collections*, 10:222 *et seq.*]

Quebec 27th March 1767.

Sir, I received the Favor of your Letter of the 27th of January, and shall allways think myself obliged to you for informing me of any irregularities committed by Persons from this Province, as by that Information I may be enabled to take such steps here, as may correct

[1] Guy Carleton, first Lord Dorchester, was made lieutenant governor of Quebec in 1766, and in the following years succeeded to the duties, though not the title, of Governor Murray, who was recalled to England. In 1775 he was appointed governor of Quebec. For details see *Dictionary of National Biography*, 3:1002 *et seq.*

them for the future, and assist you in your Endeavours to prevent all Cause of Discontent to the Indians from hence: in Return I will communicate to you the complaints which I receive here, as I imagine this mutual Information must be of advantage to His Majesty's Service, whose Intentions are, that His Servants should promote the good of all His Subjects, as well as prevent any just cause of Discontent, to those under his Protection.

That the French who must allways be our Rivals in Trade, often our open Enemies, should take every opportunity of gaining the affection of the Indians, and of misrepresenting us, I expect as a Thing of course; it belongs to us to defeat their Endeavours, whether fair or fraudulent, and by wise Regulations, honest dealing, and by kind Treatment to attach them to us, and avail ourselves of those Extensive Channels of Trade, to enlarge our Commerce to the utmost.

Your complaints of the Canadians, by which name I distinguish the Subjects of the King our Master, acquired by the Conquest of this Province, are so general that I can only make my Enquiries, and speak to them in as general a manner; When I talk here of that Perfidy, false Stories, or views of exciting an Indian War, you complain of, they appeal to Colonel Gladwin, and all the rest of our officers, who were Spectators of the last, and are confident these will give Testimony of very different Dispositions in them at that Time, when such views might have been more excusable, than at present, and that even then some of them were utterly ruined by the Indians for their attachment to us; they very plainly shew me, that such a War must be very destructive to them, and in case of such a Misfortune, that they then did, and would again cheerfully take up arms, to reduce them to Peace, by Force. Ever since my arrival, I have observed the Canadians with an attention bordering upon suspicion, but hitherto have not discovered in them either actions or Sentiments, which do not belong to good subjects. Whether they are right or wrong in their opinion of the Indian Trade, I submit to those whom the King has appointed to direct and superintend the same, but the unanimous opinion of all here, Canadians and British, is, that unless the present Restraints are taken off, that Trade must greatly suffer, this Province, be nearly ruined, Great Britain be a considerable Loser, and France the sole Gainer, as they must turn the greatest Part of the Furrs down the Mississippi, instead of the St. Lawrence, they

compute that or very large Quantity of Merchandise, formerly passed thro' this Province to Nations unknown to Pondiac, and too distant to come to any of our Posts, and that so much is lost of the consumption of British Manufactures. They say that their own Interest will allways be a sufficient Reason and Motive to treat these people well, and to use their utmost Endeavors to keep them in Peace, and the Canadians will engage to take some English in every Canoe, to acquire a knowledge of these Countries, and the Language, to shew they have no Jealousy at their becoming acquainted with this Trade. 'Tis imagined here, that the other Provinces, who are neither acquainted with these Countries, nor so advantageously situated for this Trade are the secret causes of their being so severely fettered; they presume to think each Province should be permitted to avail itself of its natural Situation, and acquired advantages, and that it would be as unreasonable in us to expect the Posts to the Southward should be shut up by Regulations, as long as ours are by a severe climate; that in this Respect all the King's Subjects should be considered as Brothers, or one Family, and that the Rivalship ought not to be between Province and Province, but between the King's Subjects and those of France and Spain; some have offered to prove, that two years ago, while they were confined to the Fort, the French or Spaniards from the Mississippi came within twenty Leagues of the Detroit, and carried of the very Furs, that were intended to clear off the Credit given the Indians the year before. They even assert 'tis impossible to prevent them from carrying off by far the greatest Part of that Trade unless those Restraints are taken off, they maintain that the only possible Means of preventing those Evils for the future, and of removing the Discontents of the Indians, for not being supplied with the necessaries of Life as formerly, is to permit them to go among them as was the Practice of this Colony, that thereby they will be enabled to undersell the Mississippi Traders, detect their Artifices, and be the means of bringing them to Punishment, as it is their Interest and Duty so to do; but supposing the worst of them, they hope the King's Subjects of Canada are as much to be trusted, as the French from New Orleans, and ought to have the Preference, considering they carry up the British Manufactures only.

I have also had many Complaints of the Partiality and Violence of some Comissaries, but as I find by your Letters to Lieutenant

Colonel Massey, you are already informed of them, I will not trouble you with a Repitition, not doubting but they will be properly punished, if they are found Guilty, the British in particular request, that for the future these may all be obliged to give Security for their good Behaviour, while in that Employment, but should they commit any Injustice, Partiality, or Violence, they may know how to recover proper Damages in a regular course of Law, this they think the more reasonable, as they on their side give Bond to observe the King's Regulations, which, if they do amiss, subjects them to suffer for it, in the same way, and not to be left to the Mercy of a Comissary, or of those Indians he may Hulloo after them, they begged of me to let them have a Copy of those Regulations, they give Security to obey, and that I would not leave them to the Information of a Comissary in those distant Parts, of whose Partiality they have already seen many Proofs, by suffering many to go out and trade abroad, they suspect for Value received, while the rest were confined to the Fort, that whatever was the King's Pleasure, they would submit to, but still it became necessary to be apprised thereof, as they must considerably lessen the Quantity of Merchandise for these Parts, and not be obliged to leave them packed up, and lodged in a Warehouse without, willingly submitting to let all be confiscated, if they sold for one Farthing, rather than bring them to a small Market in the Fort, exposed to all the accidents of Fire; this some of them preferred and practised at the Detroit. Had I those Regulations, I would have given them a Copy, but I am as yet uninformed of them.

General Gage acquaints me you complain to him of seven Persons who are among the Indians without Passeports, namely, Capucin, Lorain, LaMotte, Pot de Vin, Bartholomé, Bergeron, and Richarville; the six last are Canadians, and have been settled among the Miamis and Onias from fifteen to twenty years, except Pot de Vin, who has been settled as long at Detroit, but I can give you no certain account of Capucin, who is also among the Miamis, it is supposed that is not his real name, but a fictitious one, to conceal that of his Family.

I have given some Presents to the Indians who came to see me at Montreal, as I find it was customary on the like occasions, and think that attention to them must have good consequences.

I am with Regard &c.

(signed) GUY CARLETON.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of Lieut Govr. Carleton's answer to Sir Willm. Johnson Bt. Super Int. &c 27th March, 1767. In Lieut Govr. Carleton's (No 4) of the 28th March 1767.

Shelburne Opposes Charles Townshend, March 30, 1767

[Lansdowne MSS., 85: 102]

Reasons for not diminishing American Expence this year. 30 March 1767.

The charges of the several Branches of the Civil Establishment in[x] most of the Colonies of North America are defrayed by Annual

[x] The Civil Establishment of Nova Scotia, Georgia, East & West Florida, is defrayed by Government, amounting annually to about £20,000.

Provisions granted by their several Assemblies, therefore the chief Expence incurred by Great Britain on account of North America, arises from the support of the Military Establishment necessary for that Service, and from the Indian Department.

There is no doubt but that the Minister who could lessen the American Expence or who could establish an American Fund adequate to such Expence would do his Country a very essential Service; and indeed the present Administration have not been deficient in this Respect, for very early after their coming into Power they turned their Attention to both the one & the other.[x]

[x] See the American Correspondence particularly to General Gage on these heads.

But in order to effect anything permanent or solid in these points it is very necessary to proceed with caution, and to understand perfectly every distinct Branch of the Military and Indian Departments, and to weigh well upon what Basis an American Fund is to be formed. Otherwise such Reforms may be made on the one hand as may be very distressing to the Service for which the Troops were intended, or such Resources attempted on the other, as may be subvertive of the End proposed.[x]

[x] It is not difficult to point out late Instances which but too fully prove the truth of this.

It is not therefore at the Close of a Session that Measures of such Consequence should be hurried on crude and undigested, as, let me say, every attempt to deviate from the ordinary System hitherto adopted for America must be, before answers are received to the different Letters written for the necessary information upon which these Measures were intended to be founded.

To speak with the more precision to these Points, it is necessary to consider them separately, and to enquire what are the points of Expence which admit of being lessened or curtailed; and from what sources a Fund for American Expences can reasonably be expected. In both these Enquiries the Propriety, nay the necessity, of deciding deliberately, must appear.

The Expence of maintaining Troops in North America can be diminished two ways; the first is by decreasing the number of Regiments destined for that Establishment, to this mode I fancy it is unnecessary to speak at present; The second is by withdrawing them from the Outposts and quartering them in the settled Parts of the Provinces.

Opinions in regard of this Latter differ so widely, and both sides of the Question are supported by Authorities so respectable, that I cannot help saying that there would be great Presumption in declaring for either without the maturest Deliberation.

The Generals who have served in that Country, & who wish too well to the Service to scatter & break the Regiments into small Detachments without sufficient Cause, all agree in the necessity of maintaining & even encreasing the most distant Posts & Forts, and of distributing the Troops uniformly so as to constitute a general defence. Of that opinion General Amherst & General Monckton have always been, & General Gage in his last Despatches recommends to erect Posts on the River Ohio & Illinois near their Junction with the Mississippi, & on Lake Pontchartrain; And it is but very lately that a Fort has been built at the Junction of the River Ibberville with the Mississippi, while another has been recommended at the entrance of the said River from the Sea, and a third at the mouth of the River Yasous to protect the Chickesaw Indians always much attached to Us, and therefore exposed to the Enmity of the French, and the more numerous Indian Tribes which surround them.

Contrary to this opinion, Lord Barrington recommends the aban-

doning most of the Forts which are now maintained & the collecting the Troops together to be quartered chiefly at Nova Scotia & East Florida, from whence he says they may be easily embarked or marched on any emergency. He is for relinquishing many Posts which the Generals think very essential to be supported and he even recommends the entire abandoning of the Indian Trade by the Mississippi as not worth the pains of our Interposition, & of consequence all the fine Country of the Illinois to the Possessors of New Orleans.

Both these Opinions should be considered with great Candor, for it is not to be doubted but that many of the Posts & Forts which we now maintain may be abandoned very safely, but at the same time it requires a thorough Examination what Forts they are which we ought to abandon, & which to maintain.

The General who commanded at the time & who recommended the Military System for America which has been adopted subsequent to the Peace, as well as the Minister who approved it, were both remarkable for their Œconomy. And so necessary a Part of the national Burthen did this Minister think it that he chose rather to subject himself to all the Inconveniencies which he could not avoid foreseeing must be the consequence of the Fund which he attempted to establish for its support rather than avoid them by a Diminution of the Expence by a Reduction of the Establishment or by the abandoning the Frontier Posts. This System has now been followed four years, and altho' it may admit of, or even require, many essential Amendments yet that can never justify a rash or over hasty Innovation.

Nothing can weaken Government more than the adoption of measures which require subsequent Reformation. Until therefore it can be clearly pointed out what the points of American Expence are which can be advantageously retrenched, I shall never give my voice for a Change, & this is a knowledge which cannot be attained with any Accuracy during the Course of this Session, but for the Attainment of which no Pains have been nor will be spared.

Opinions differ still more widely in respect of the Indian than the Military Department as being of a more speculative Nature. Almost as many Plans as Opinions may be collected; from all which we can only infer that altho' the Expence has been encreasing, we still con-

tinue very short of the End proposed, which is to settle this Department on the best possible footing at the least possible Expence.

The Objections to the System at present pursued are very weighty, there being scarcely one Article of it free from great Inconveniences. At the same time it merits a fair Trial as far as it has been adopted, on account of the Authority by which it was formed, & it can answer no good purpose to change it till a better can be substituted in its room. To decide on the merits of the Plan in question it would be necessary to state fairly the Arguments for & against each Article, when, in case it should be found deficient, as doubtless it will, a better, thoroughly digested and free from the defects of this, should be substituted in its place. As this is a work however which demands time and more than a cursory Examination, I shall only observe at present that by its constitution it is founded upon a Basis which can have neither weight nor duration, to wit, the will of the SuperIntendants almost uncontrolled by either the civil or military Power.[x]

[x] See the 4th, 10th, & 11th Arts the first of which demands a Repeal of all the Colony Laws relating to Indian Affairs or Commerce.

It has been mentioned cursorily that it was thought more eligible to abandon the entire Trade of the Mississippi than to incur the Expence of the Outposts necessary to secure it. The contrary opinion of General Gage has also been mentioned that in order to secure that Trade as far as it is possible by Posts, two new ones should be erected exclusive of Fort Chartres which is now repairing. To decide upon this Question it is only necessary to consider what the Trade of the Mississippi is, for then I fancy there will not remain a doubt which Opinion ought to be followed?

[x] The Trade of the Mississippi if not diverted into other Channels,

[x] Eleven Indian Nations which formerly traded with the French only, have last year been gained over to the English Interest by Mr Croghan, Deputy to Sir William Johnson.

might be estimated at one half of all the Indian Trade of North America, for if we consider the Communications from the course of the Mississippi northwards from the great Lakes from La Baye, Michigan & St Joseph's, from the Mississippi, from Ilinois & Ohio & the lesser rivers which run into them, we must allow that half the

Indian trade at least must as General Gage terms it "go down the stream."

The Impracticability of a Trade against the Stream of the Mississippi has been aledged as a reason for not paying the proper Attention to that River, for, say the Advocates against it, it is impossible to carry up Goods for the Supply of the Indians without incurring such an Expence as must disable the French Merchants from trading on equal terms with the English. Experience however has evinced the contrary and tho' many doubted of the Fact yet it is well established that a Trade to the Lakes, and from thence a Communication even to the River S^{t} Lawrence, has been carried on to advantage. Captain Gordon who has been very exact in his Examination & description of the Ohio Mississippi & the considerable Rivers running into them, fixes the time necessary to carry a Boat from New Orleans to the Ilinois at 70 Days, which by the distance is at the rate of 22 miles per day. These Boats he says go to the Ilinois twice in the year.

As the properest means of cutting off all the Communications of our own Traders as well as the Indian Northern and Western Tribes, seem to be by Forts & Posts judiciously situated at the conflux of the large Rivers, there can I think be no hesitation in regard of the propriety of incurring the consequent Expence.

A Fund for American Expence may be reasonably enough expected in process of time. It's Basis must be laid on proper Regulations for the better Management and Receipt of the Quit Rents & the future Grants of Lands, on such Aids as may be beneficial to the Colonies, at the same time that they lessen the Burthen of the Mother Country, but chiefly on Requisitions from the different Provinces to be granted annually by their Assemblies according to their respective Abilities.

As every Governor in America, the Commander in Chief of the Forces, & the Super Intendants of Indian Affairs, have been written to on these heads, would it not be very inconsistent to decide without waiting for their answers? A Plan calculated upon solid Principles for the Diminution of Expence, & at the same time for the Security of Government & the Extension of Commerce, whenever it appears, must command assent. If no Person has such a Plan yet in readiness, a reasonable time must be granted to those who are willing to produce it.

The affairs of America cannot suffer much by going on one year more in the Channel they have hitherto done, and that year is short enough time for furnishing a Plan capable of correcting past, and preventing future, Abuses.

[*Endorsed:*][1] Reduction & Fund highly [?] proper. M^r^ G. Stamp Act. Systems requiring subsequent reformation to be avoided. As it stands approved by the Military & former Ministers. Indian Plan approved by Board of Trade & in great measure adopted. Effects to be Seen

JOHNSON TO SHELBURNE, April 1, 1767[2]
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.68, f. 227—A.L.S.]

MY LORD

The 26^th^ of February I had the honour to receive your Lordships Letter of the 11^th^ December[3] which I delayed answering until the return of Cap^t^ Johnson my Deputy who was gone for New York to be present at the Hearing of the case of the Wappinger Tribe of Indians, which Your Lordship recommended to me to assist them in, in your letter of the 11^th^ October.

The Affair came to be heard on the 5^th^ of March before the Governour & Council, who gave me previous notice of it, but I was oblidged to send my Deputy, as the Ball I formerly received & is still lodged in my Thigh grows yearly more troublesome, & prevents me from undertaking a Journey on Horseback, which at that season was the only conveyance.

My Deputy being Just returned has Informed me that the Hearing lasted some days, and has presented me with the Governour & Councils Decision thereon, a Coppy of which I herewith enclose by which Your Lordship will find that they are of Opinion, that the suit was Vexatious, & that the Indians have no title to the lands in dispute.

As I was thoroughly sensible of the difficulties that must arise on the part of the Indians to prove so old an Affair, I had presupposed that this would be the case in my letter to Your Lordship of the 15^th^

[1] The indorsement is in Shelburne's handwriting.

[2] Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:913 *et seq.*

[3] Printed *ante*, 449.

of January last, I have not as yet been able to procure a Copy of the whole proceedings, but I find that in Answer to the objection against the Patent, namely that it was obtained five Years before the Indians had conveyed the Land, the Board were of Opinion, that the Land was notwithstanding vested in the Crown, and that an Indian conveyance of the Soil is unnecessary *a point* which I shall not take upon me to offer any remark upon at present, but only add that the Indians are like to give me still more trouble herein, Several of them with *Nimham* being now come up to desire my farther interposition.

After the many letters which I have taken the liberty to write to his Majestys Ministers & the Board of Trade, and from Your Lordships perfect knowledge of the best System for the management of Indian Affairs as expressed in Your Lordships letter of December last, I have little left to add on that Subject.

I am perfectly convinced of the Justness of the reasons Your Lordship has given in answer to M^{r} Stuarts request, why the correspondence of the Superintend^{ts} should be with the Commander in Cheif of his Majestys Forces, and I have been so well acquainted with the contrarieties of Opinion, & the many other Obstructions to the Service w^{h} must attend a fixed Correspondence wth the Several Governours that I cannot think it eligible.

I feel a most sensible pleasure Joined to the deepest Gratitude for the favourable expressions of his Majestys good Opinion signified by your Lordship, and I shall always endeavour to improve the Harmony subsisting between Major Genr^{l} Gage and Myself in a Humble confidence that it may contribute to the advantage of that Service, the Interests of which, we are mutually bound to promote. Our combined efforts will, I persuade myself be always directed to the great Objects recommended to our care, and had we fewer Obstacles to encounter in the prosecution of so perfect & Judicious a System, its effects would be imediate, and its consequences lasting.

Your Lordship is doubtless sensible of the many difficulties we must labour under in the execution of His Majestys Royal Commands, and you will pardon my enumerating some in my Department at present. I do not apprehend the Colonists are extremely fond of Support^{g} Officers imediately under the direction of the Crown. The Governours are in a great measure dependant upon the People, and

the latter are all concerned either in Trade or Lands, to limit them in either of which pursuits, produces an universal opposition, by which the good intentions of Government must be frustrated, and yet these are the Two principal heads, on the conducting which the Success of all our endeavours does essentially depend. The Affairs of Lands are more imediately interesting & alarming to the Indians than anything else, yet the avidity manifested by most People here in pursuit of them encreases everry day in so much that the American Governments I beleive find it impracticable to prevent them. I have in former letters given many instances of this, and altho—more might be produced I shall content myself with informing your Lordship that some persons from Virginia have lately formed a plan for establishing a large Settlement near *to Ohio*, and I am well informed they are now prosecuting the same, and that they threaten that if they meet with any opposition they will cut off some of the nearest Indian Villages, an attempt of such a Nature must prove fatal to those concerned, but its final consequences would be much more so, and if an American Government is either unable to prevent, or unwilling to discountenance such Attempts an Officer of the Crown can do nothing in it, and his Majestys Orders respecting those Heads must fail in their Effects, through the want of power in the few, and the interested opposition in the Many.

Trade is the next consideration, in which the difficulties are many. There are doubtless Several Honest Men concerned in it, but if we consider the low Scituation, and other circumstances of the Majority, we may venture to pronounce that their conduct be too closely inspected. This is Sufficiently provided for by the Plan, if the latter be enforced, till when as I have observed in former letters, there can be but a verry little check upon them, and the Commissarys risque a prosecution for doing the Smallest part of their Duty.

I am under no Small difficulty in preparing such Regulations for the ensuing season as I think can be enforced, but the Traders have got such a habit of late of passing the Posts, & trading where they please, that it is impossible for me to prevent them, especially to the Northward, where they avail themselves of the Complaints of the Indians on Acc^{t} of the Severity of the Winter, in order to carry Goods to them.

I hope I have not in the foregoing transgressed Your Lordships

directions to me for giving each Subject a Separate letter, as I apprehended the Matter contained in this to be so connected, as not to require it, but in this, and on all future occasions I shall pay due regard to your Lordships directions, as I have nothing more at heart than to testify my profound respect by a ready obedience to your Lordships Commands and a faithful discharge of my Duty. I have the Honor to be with the Utmost Respect.

My Lord Your Lordships Most Obedient most Oblidged & most Humble Servant

W JOHNSON.

JOHNSON HALL April 1st 1767.
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

[*Endorsed:*] Johnson-Hall. 1st April 1767. Sir Willm Johnson. R 5th June. (N° 2)

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, April 3, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 85, f. 143—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK April 3d 1767

(N° 6)

MY LORD,

I have the honor, to transmit your Lordship a Disposition proposed for His Majesty's Forces in North America, in Consequence of the 2d Article in your Letter of the 11th of December last,[1] on which your Lordship has been pleased to demand my Consideration.

The Disposition is made for the Number of Garrisons at present existing in North America, putting as few Troops as possible in detached Posts, and keeping as large Bodys as can be collected in the Most Material Places; that a respectable Force may be assembled on Emergencys:[2] of all which I mean to trouble your Lordship with some Explanations and Remarks.

Very little need be said of the four Regiments destined for the Province of Quebec. The Company to be detached from thence to the Post of Oswegatchi is very Necessary, to protect the Provision

[1] Printed *ante*, 455.

[2] This idea of concentrating the troops may be found expounded in Lord Barrington's plan (*ante*, 242). The issue between scattering and concentrating the troops had now become important.

which is sent in Boats from Montreal to Oswegatchi, and carried in Sloops from thence over the Lakes, to supply the Forts in the Indian Country.

The Forts upon the Lakes, kept up for the Purposes of being some Check over the Indians, by having a Force with Military Stores lodged in their Country, Serving as Places of Rendezvous in Case of a war with them, and according to late Regulations, being the only Marts for the Trade; are as few as can be maintained for the Purposes Mentioned. Fort-Ontario perhaps may be spared, and in that Case might be suffered to fall in Ruins.

The two Regiments proposed for Nova-Scotia and Newfoundland are divided on a Supposition, that all the Posts mentioned should be thought worth Supporting; if His Majesty Judges proper to order any of them to be abandoned, it is proposed that their Garrisons shall join the large Body at Halifax. There can't be less than three Company's for the Forts of S^{t} Johns and Placentia in Newfoundland. The Fortifications of Louisbourg being entirely destroyed there is no visible Occasion to keep four Companys at that Place. If it shall be Judged proper and Necessary to prevent Vessels going into the Harbour, Batterys may be again erected on the Island at the Entrance of it, and one Company left there. There are now two Companys in Fort Amherst on S^{t} John's Island, but it has not appeared, that this Fort has been of any use since the Peace. If His Majesty shall Judge it proper to maintain a small Post on this Island, whether for the Encouragement of Settlers or any other Purpose, it is so much in Ruins, that it will require to be almost new-built; and one Company, or even a Detachment of Thirty Men from Halifax, will be sufficient to answer the End. Fort Cumberland can't have less than two Companys, It is a Frontier Post, a Check upon the Savages, guards the Isthmus of Nova Scotia, and keeps open a Communication between the Baye Verte, and Bay of Fundy. One Company is posted at Annapolis Royal because it is a Fort of Consequence when built, but Affairs are so much changed since, by the Removal of the Acadians, and settling the Country with British Subjects, not to mention the Conquest of Canada, that it does not seem to require Attention, or to answer the Expence of supporting it. Fort Frederick on S^{t} John's River is almost totaly in Ruins, one Company is proposed for it's Defence in the Disposition, tho' less might do. It is some Check, tho'

small upon the S^t^ Johns Indians. The Settlers are at a great Distance from it, and in Case of an Attack from the Savages upon the Settlements, could only protect such People who should be lucky enough to make their Escape and get to it.

The posting of one Regiment only in West-Florida, is on a Supposition that the said Regiment shall be compleat, tho' the greater or lesser Force to be Maintained in this Province, must depend upon the Views and Intentions of Government respecting it. The Post of the Natche's is reported to be of Consequence, chiefly for gaining an Influence over the Savages in those Parts; which is looked upon as very Material. Fort Bute is at the Entrance of the Ibbeville from the Mississippi. As a Portage is began from the Place where the Navigation of the Ibbeville ends to Fort Bute, it is of use being at the extremity of the same, where the Stores and Provisions are again transported by Water. And by means of such Portage, they avoid going round by New-Orleans, from Mobile and Pensacola. It is to be remarked that it would be no easy Matter to support these Forts in Case of a Rupture with the Spaniards; on which Account it might be best to abandon them on the Approach of a Rupture with that Nation. Two Company's will be sufficient for Mobile, which ought to be relieved frequently during the Sickly Season, and the Sick brought to Pensacola for their Recovery. Tombecbé is a Post once before taken Possession of, and abandoned afterwards as useless; but has been repossessed lately at the Desire of the Superintendant; It is conceived to be usefull in Indian Affairs by him, but of no other use whatever. Pensacola is no more than a Place surrounded with Pickets, defencible only against Indians, and the Companys proposed to garrison it, may be sufficient for that End; But if it shall be judged a Place of such Consequence as to deserve the Expence of erecting a regular Fort to protect it, a greater Number of Troops must be stationed there.

Two Regiments are proposed for East-Florida Georgia, South Carolina, Bermuda and New Providence. The Post of Appalachi can be of no use, but either to protect Settlers or promote the Trade. No Account has been yet received that Settlers intend to go there, or that Traders resort there. The Numbers stationed at S^t^ Augustine, is on the Principle of Assembling as great a Force as possible in the large Garrisons. Georgia, has two Forts now garrisoned by the

King's Troops, viz^{t} Fort Frederica and Fort Augusta. The first on an Island at the Mouth of George River, and of Apparent use when the Spaniards held S^{t} Augustine; a Detachment is now posted there, purely at the Desire of Governor Wright, Fort Augusta lies on the Savannah River, and is called a Frontier Post; And there are some stockaded Houses up the Country which the Rangers, who are lately ordered to be disbanded, used to defend. Three Companys were ordered to South Carolina after the Peace; to replace some Independent Companys then reduced. They have in this Province Fort Prince George, and a new Fort upon the Savannah River, called Fort-Charlotte. Neither of them of any use as to the Trade; and can only be usefull in Case of a War with the Indians. These Provinces seem to decline the defraying the Expence of the Transportation of Provisions and Stores to the Forts, or Supplying them with proper Necessarys, with which the Independent Companys used to be supplied, and South Carolina is very well able to defend itself as well as Virginia and other Provinces. If His Majesty thinks proper to withdraw the Companys from thence, they may serve to increase the Body at S^{t} Augustine. The Islands of Bermuda and New-Providence had each an independent Company, but they were disbanded at the Peace, and replaced by two Companys of His Majesty's Troops.

The Situation and particular Circumstances of the Ilinois Country, and the use if that Country is maintained, of guarding the Ohio and Ilinois Rivers at, or near their Junction with the Mississippi, has been set forth to your Lordship in my Letter of the 22^{d} of Feb^{ry}[1] last (N° 5). It is upon that Plan the Regiment is posted in the Disposition in the Ilinois Country. Fort-Pitt is absolutely necessary for a Communication with the Ilinois; but if the Ilinois is not guarded by Troops, is of the same use only, as the other Forts in the Indian Country.

With Respect to the four Regiments, or even more could they be spared, which are disposed of in *the Disposition* in the old Colonies; As they would be nearly in the Center of America, a respectable Force might be assembled in a Situation, ready for Service in every part, where their Assistance should be required. If ordered for Embarkation, Shipping, Provisions, with every Article Necessary for an Expedition might be procured in the Ports of Boston, New York, and

[1] Printed *ante*, 506.

Philadelphia, Advantages which are not to be had in the New-Provinces: And the Crown will save the Expence of quartering them. Troops posted in the Middle Colonies would be likewise in readiness in Case of Indian Quarrells on the Lakes, or on the Ohio, as well as to move into the Province of Quebec, upon any Emergency. The Natural Situation of the Provinces of New York and Quebec seems to be Such, that by keeping the Communication already established between them, an Advantage is gained of affording each other Mutual Assistance, and would in a Manner separate the Northern from the Southern Colonies, which might give Weight and Influence to the Authority of Great Britain in the Political System of America. I had the honor to receive His Majesty's Commands some Months ago through M^r^ Secretary Conway, when he held the Seals of your Lordship's Department, to fix upon some proper Spot near this Place to build a Fort, for the Security of the large Quantity of Military Stores deposited here, and unprotected. Which Order I conceived to have proceeded from some Views of keeping Troops in the Middle Colonies. I have now the honor to forward to your Lordship by the hands of Captain Hope of His Majesty's 27^th^ Regiment, a Plan of the said proposed Fort, with a second Plan, Section, and Estimate of the Expence of the same; and a Draught of the Hudson's River from New York to the Sea.

The Island on which it is proposed to erect the Fort, is called Nutten, or Governors Island, belongs to the Province, and given to the Governor for a small Farm of little or no Value. It is presumed, that the Island may be obtained from the Province, and as the Fort would be of infinite Advantage in the Protection of this City, which lyes at the Mercy of five Ships of War or less, who might either lay it under Contribution or reduce it to Ashes; The Province if they consider right, would not only grant the Island, but contribute largely towards the Expence of fortifying it.

As Difficulties have arisen in providing Quarters for His Majesty's Troops in these Provinces, I would desire the Liberty to mention, that if the Clause for quartering in the Mutiny Act, directed, "That the Troops should be quartered in Inns, Alehouses &c^a^ and further extended where such Publick Houses were not sufficient, to the quartering on Butchers Bakers or other People who benefit by Troops, as practised in Scotland, except where for the Ease and Convenience of

the Inhabitants, the Provinces shall make Provision, to quarter the Troops in such Barracks, or Houses fitted up as such, as are or shall be provided by the Provinces, and furnishing the same with Bedding Utencils for cooking &c^{a}. In such Case said Barracks or Houses fitted up as such to be first filled with Troops, before any are quartered or Inns Alehouses &c^{a}." I am of opinion the Difficulties which have occurred in quartering the Troops would be removed. It would then entirely depend upon the Executive Power to put the Laws in Force, and leave no Pretence for the Want of Means to do it. The Governors should be made Answerable for the Execution of the Law, and a large Fine upon any Justice of the Peace, Mayor or other Magistrate who shall refuse or Neglect paying due obedience thereto.

If it shall be His Majesty's Pleasure, that all the Troops should be thrown into the New-Provinces, I would humbly propose, that one more Regiment should be added to the Province of Quebec: And set forth the Expediency of immediate Orders for building Barracks for the Reception of the Troops, in the Provinces to which they shall be allotted. None of the New Provinces, Nova-Scotia excepted, have proper or sufficient Lodgement for the Forces now in them. Canada is distressed in this respect, S^{t} Augustine but ill provided, and the Miserable Hutts in West-Florida, scarcely keep the Soldiers from the Weather. It may be of Service too, if the respective Governors should receive Directions not to dispose of any vacant Lots in the Towns belonging to the King, which might be proper for this Purpose; particularly if a large Force is intended for Halifax, The Governor might be directed not to suffer any Incroachments, and to remove any that have been made on the Ground where Barracks, Storehouses, or Hospitals belonging to the King do actually stand, or have formerly stood.

As your Lordship acquaints me that this Matter of the Disposing of the Troops in North-America will be discussed at home, I beg Leave to recommend to your Consideration, the properest Place, for the Deposit of the Military Stores, hitherto lodged in this Place as the most Centrical, with many other Advantages attending it; If the Troops are removed, the Stores will bo doubt be moved also, with the two Companys of Artillery that have been kept here with the Magazine. And your Lordship will permit me to add, that wherever they go, they ought to be well secured from all Attempts of an Enemy.

None of the New Provinces appear so proper for such a Deposit as Nova-Scotia. The tedious and difficult Navigation of the River S^{t} Lawrence will be an objection to Quebec, and the dangerous and bad Harbour of S^{t} Augustine, which none but very small Vessels can get into, would render that Place improper for the Importation or Exportation of heavy Artillery, and Ammunition. Halifax has the Advantage of both the above Places with respect to its Harbour, the Facility of Importing and Exporting, and the getting immediately to sea in the largest Ships.

After the Removal of the Troops from these Provinces, it may be also proper to consider, in what Manner the Garrisons of the Indian Country can be supported, in Case of an Insurrection amongst the Savages, and a sudden Attack upon the Forts. Those upon the Lakes might receive Assistance from the Troops in Canada, but the Garrison upon the Ohio and at the Ilinois must depend entirely upon the Provinces of Pensylvania and Virginia. A Support that will be always precarious, and tardy. It is from those Provinces that the Trade upon the Ohio, and in the Ilinois, will be chiefly carried on.

When His Majesty's final Orders shall be transmitted to me upon these Heads, I shall endeavor to put them into Execution in the best Manner for his Service, and shall not fail to acquaint your Lordship with everything that occurrs to me, that can tend to improve such Plan as His Majesty shall please to adopt.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most Obedient, And Most humble Servant,

THO^{S} GAGE.

RIGHT HON^{BLE} EARL OF SHELBURNE, one of His Majesty's principal Sec$^{ry's}$ of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York 3^{d} April 1767. Maj^{r} Gen^{l} Gage. (N° 6.) R 15th May.

PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION OF TROOPS, April 3, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.85, f. 155—D.S.]

Disposition proposed for His Majesty's Troops in North America.

Provinces &ca.	N° of Companys & Where Stationed.	Total of Regiments in Each Province.
Quebec	1 Company detached to Oswegatchie.....	4 Regiments
Posts on the Lakes	2...D°...Michillimackinac.....	1.....d°
	3...D°...Detroit.....	
	3...D°...Fort Erie & Niagara....	
	1...D°...Oswego.....	
Nova Scotia, & *Newfoundland*	3...D°...Newfoundland.....	2.....d°
	1...D°...Louisbourg.....	
	1...D°...Fort Amherst.....	
	2...D°...Fort Cumberland.....	
	1...D°...Annapolis Royal.....	
	1...D°...Fort Frederick.....	
	9...D°...Halifax.....	
West Florida	2...D°...Natches.....	1.....d°
	1...D°...Fort Bute.....	
	2...D°...Mobile.....	
	4...D°...Pensacola & Tombecbé	
East Florida, Georgia, & South *Carolina &ca.*	11..D°...S[t] Augustine	2.....d°
	1...D°...Appalachie.....	
	4...D°...Georgia & South Carolina.....	
	1...D°...Bermuda.....	
	1...D°...New Providence.....	
Ilinois & Ohio	3...D°...Fort Chartres.....	1.....d°
	2...D°...Proposed Fort on the Ilinois.....	
	1...D°...D°...on the Ohio.....	
	3...D°...Fort Pitt.....	
Pensylvania	.....	1.....d°
New York	2...D°...Crown Point & Ticonderoga.....	1.....d°
	1/2..D°...Fort George.....	
New Jersey	.....	1.....d°
Massachusetts Bay, *or Connecticut*	.....	1.....d°
	Total	15 Regiments

THO[S] GAGE
Commd[r] in Chief

Royal Artillery	
Provinces &ca.	N° of Companys in Each Province
Quebec	2 Companys
Posts on the Lakes	1 ..... D°
Nova Scotia & Newfoundland	2 ..... D°
West Florida	1 ..... D°
East Florida	1 ..... D°
Pensylvania	1 ..... D°
New York	2 ..... D°
Total	10 Companys

THO[s] GAGE
Commd[r] in Chief.

[*Endorsed:*] Disposition proposed for His Majesty's Troops in North America. In Maj[r] Gen[l] Gage's (N° 6.) of the 3[d] April 1767.

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, April 4, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.85, f.163—A.L.S.]

(N° 7)

NEW YORK April 4[th] 1767.

MY LORD,

With Respect to the Reduction of the Contingent Expences of North America, mentioned in your Lordships Letter of the 13[th] of December last,[1] I have the honor to acquaint you, that the Contingent Expences of the Military Establishment of North America, have been greatly reduced since the Peace, and the Expences put upon as regular a Footing as the nature of the Service of this Country will admit. Every Department has been examined, and many unnecessary Expences curtailed, and every Article whereby any saving can be made to the Publick will be constantly retrenched, as opportunitys offer.

The Chief Articles of constant Expence, are The Providing Fuel, Bedding, Utencils &c[a] for the Troops. The Supplying the Distant Forts with Provisions, Stores and other Necessarys. The Expence of Victualling the Troops, The Engineers Expences for Repairing Bar-

[1] Printed *ante*, 454. The correct date was December 11.

racks, Posts Forts &c[a] And the Charges attending the two Indian Departments in the Northern and Southern District.

The First concerning the Supply of Fuel and Barrack Furniture, is reduced to Rules and Regulations; and I believe settled upon a Plan as little costly as can be done.

The Transportation for the Support of the Forts might be lessened, by altering the Method of Supplying the Forts with Provision. Where there are Settlements near any of the Indian Forts, which can supply the Troops posted there, they might receive the Provision upon the Spot, and the Transportation saved of the Contractor's Provision, from the Place of Deposit. For Instance, The Detroit might furnish Provisions, at least the most Material Species, not only to victual that Fort, but also Missilimakinak, which would save the Transportation of Provisions from Montreal, with the considerable Losses upon it; for great Damage must arise from the Nature and Length of the Transportation. The same may be said of the Ilinois, where the Inhabitants raise Provision, and the Transportation of the Contractors Provision from the Place of Deposit, full twelve hundred miles. In these Respects the Agreement with the Contractors might be loose; that where the Service shall require the Commander in Chief to transport any Species of Provision from the Inhabited Colonies to the Indian Forts, he shall demand the same in the usual manner from the Contractors or their Agents.

The continual Repairs wanting at the Forts, which are built of such perishable Materials that Parts tumble down every year, as also the constant Repairs of the Barracks, occasions the Expences of the Engineers; but nothing is done except the making the Forts merely defencible, and keeping the Soldiers from Wind and Rain.

The Indian Departments have of late years been every expensive. The making up of old Quarrells, the taking Possession of New Countrys, where it was Necessary to conciliate the Affection of Strange Indians, who had great Suspicions of our Intentions, and Jealousy of our Power; would Naturaly occasion them to be so: And tho' I hope many Expences before incurred, May now be retrenched, yet I fear those Departments will be always a heavy Charge. The Board of Trade will no doubt fix upon the Number of Officers proper to carry on the Business of the Departments, and allow no more than are Necessary; And likewise Judge of the Congresses proper to be held

with the several Nations and Tribes; and of the Presents to be made them on Such Occasions. And will put the Delivery of Presents on all Occasions, under such Restrictions and Regulations, as the Nature of that Service will admit of.

If the Provinces who benefit by the Indian Trade, were at the Expences they used formerly to defray: upon the Account of Indians; so much would be saved to the Mother Country. Since the Crown has taken the Sole Management of Indian Affairs,[1] to put them under wholesome Regulations for the benefit of the whole Country, I don't find that the Colonies have contributed the smallest share of the Expence. The New Provinces may in general be yet unable to contribute, but the rest, who benefit by the Trade, and are in a Situation to fear Indian Incursions, which may be reckoned from New-York to South Carolina, both included, are very well able to pay their Proportions, and lighten a heavy Burthen bore by the Mother Country.

Could the Plan pursued by the French be adopted by us, which I had the honor to take Notice of to your Lordship in my Letter of the 22^{d} of February,[2] a great Saving might be made in the Number of Indian Officers now kept up, besides the Receipt of a larg Revenue from the letting of the Posts. If such a Scheme well regulated, was universaly pursued from the Province of Quebec to that of West-Florida, I conceive that very considerable Revenues would be gained to the Crown. I think the Trading Posts dependent on Canada, yielded between five and six Thousand Sterling P^{r} Annum to the French King; besides some Posts reserved to the French King, for his own Trade. And I imagine that many of those Posts would let higher now, than when the French were Masters of that Country; because the Traders were not only obliged to take their Powder and other Commodities from the French East India Company, perhaps at a high Price, but were also obliged to sell all the Beaver Skins to the said Company at a fixed Price, by which they lossed the Profit they would have made by exporting the skins, and selling them at the French-Markets.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Regard, Respect and Esteem,

[1] In 1755 the crown took over the political control of the Indians.

[2] Printed *ante*, 510.

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient, and most humble Servant

THO^{S} GAGE

RIGHT HON^{BLE} EARL OF SHELBURNE one of His Maj^{tys} Principal Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York. 4th April 1767. Maj^{r} Gen^{l} Gage. (N° 7.) R 15th May.

A PLEA FROM VINCENNES, April 6, 1767

[A.A., Q., Mission des Illinois, f. 3—A.L.S.]

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ose prendre la liberté de vous écrire ces lignes pour vous asseurer de mes très humbles respects, vous représentant que depuis le départ du Révd Père Jésuite que l'on nous a retiré de cette paroisse j'ay le chagrin de voir ellevé nombre de petits enfants qui sont d'un age à faire leur première communion et s'en trouvent malheureusement privé, hainsi que bien d'honêtes gens de passage, des sacréments, nul ressource dans cet endroit; j'ay le désagrément de voir plusieurs mariage contractés sans pouvoir les obliger de recourir à notre mère la ste eglise, ce qui ne peut porter qu'un grand scandale. Voyla depuis le départ du révérend Père cinquante enfants à qui j'ay donné l'eau du baptême toujours dans l'église, le Père me l'ayant ordonné

[*Translation*]

MY LORD:

I dare to take the liberty to write you these lines to assure you of my very humble regards, to represent to you that since the departure of the reverend Jesuit father who has been retired from this parish, I have the sorrow to see growing up numbers of small children who are of an age to make their first communion and who are unfortunately deprived, as well as many honest traders, of the sacraments, since there is no resource in this region. I have the disagreeable sight of many marriages contracted, without the power to make the parties have recourse to our mother holy church; this can cause only a great scandal. Since the departure of the reverend father there are fifty children to whom I have given the waters of baptism in the church, the father having directed me to constrain our inhabitants

pour assujettir nos habitants a toujours reconnaitres la ste église; je faits l'exortation tous les dimanches et fêtes hainsi que la prière tous les jours ouvriers. Le révérend Père partant m'a confier les vases sacrées hainsi que les stes huiles dont il m'a permis de les visiter de temps à autre; c'est ce que je faits; je n'ayx trouvé aucune corruption. Nos habitants ont l'honneur de vous représenter un plaset pour qu'il vous plaise leur accorder un missionnaire. C'est ce que nous attendons de votre clémence. Je suis avec un profond respects de votre Révérence, Monseigneur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

PHILLIBERT, garde presbitaire, chantre.

AU POSTE VINCENNE, paroisse St Xavier le 6 eme avril 1767.

[*Translation*]

to recognize always holy church; I have exhorted every Sunday and holy-day as well as offered the prayer on all working days. The reverend father departing confided to me the sacred vessels as well as the holy oils which he has permitted me to examine from time to time; that is what I have done; I have found no corruption. Our inhabitants have the honor to present to you a plea that you will please accord them a missionary. That is what we are bringing to the attention of your clemency. I am with profound regard for your reverence, my lord, your humble and very obedient servant

PHILLIBERT, guardian of the rectory, precentor

POST VINCENNES, parish of St. Xavier, April 6, 1767

COLE TO VAN SCHAACK, April 12, 1767

[C.P.L., Mason Collection—C.]

FORT CHARTRES, April 12th 1767

DR. HARRY,

I have received no line from you since I have been here. I have wrote to Mrs. Cole that I should want this fall a thousand pounds, & that if yould not pay the whole at least to raise that sum as I cannot well do without it, & the remainder you could have a year longer on interest. Now dear Harry let Mrs. Cole have that £1000 as my affairs want it much. I have been much deceived in the description of this country, & am determined to quit it as soon as I can; but this keep

to yourself. No comfort—Indians eternally about me—My compliments to Mrs. Van Schaack & all friends.

I am, Dear Harry, Your Most Obt.

EDWD. COLE

TO HENRY VAN SCHAACK, Esq.

CROGHAN'S RETURN OF EMPLOYEES IN THE INDIAN SERVICE
April 15, 1767[1]

[Johnson MSS., 14:71—A.D.]

A Return of pople Imploy[d] in the Indian Depertment att the Iliniois Detroit & fort pitt

Att Iliniois	
A Comisary	£200: Sterling
A Gunsmith	100: D°
An Interpreter	80: D°
A Doctor	80: D°
	460

Att Detroit	
A Comisary	£200: St[g]
A Gunsmith	100: D°
An Interpreter	80: D°
An Interpreter fer y[e] Hurens	80: D°
	460

att Fort Pitt	
A Comisary	£150: St[g]
A Gunsmith	80: D°
An Interpretor	80: D°
A Docter	80: D°
	390

the Gineral May think od of a Doctor being Wanted att Those posts Butt its Imposable to Do without one att Fort Pitt as there is Such a vast Resort of Indians & Warr partys pasing Continuly by that post.

[*Endorsed:*] Sallarys Agreed on for the Sever[l] Officers in the Western District

[1] This list of employees was probably inclosed in a letter of April 15, 1767. Both the letter and the inclosure herewith published were destroyed in the Albany fire.

JOHNSON TO MATURIN, April 24, 1767[1]

[*D.H.N.Y.*, 2:852]

JOHNSON-HALL April 24th. 1767.

SIR

I have received your Letter of the 13th inst. and now enclose to Mr Comy Genl Leake an order on you for £1732. 11. 10. N York Curr. being the Ammount of Mr Croghans last Acct given in to the General, who Mr. Croghan writes me allowed of it and required my Order on him for the payment. I also Enclose to Mr Henry White an Order on you for £1568. 13. 7. Y Curry being the Ammount of the pay, Expences &c of Mr Cole Commissary at the Ilinois, which (according to the Letters I have received) you was to pay so soon as you received my Order.

I am in much want of the pay of the Officers and my Disbursements, as I am daily obliged to advance cash for both, but I make no doubt of your readiness to settle the whole as soon as you have it in your power, and I thank you for the readiness you have Expressed in these Matters.

I am, with Esteem, Sir,

G MATURIN Esq.

BISHOP BRIAND TO MEURIN, April 28[?], 1767[2]

[A.A., Q., Mission des Illinois, f. 8—L.B.C.]

MON RÉVÉREND PÈRE,

Je ne puis assés vous exprimer la joie que j'ay ressentie d'apprendre par le R. P. Dujaunay qu'il restoit un Jésuite dans les malheureuses contrées des Illinois et du Mississipi, Des que la providence sans avoir

[*Translation*]

MY REVEREND FATHER:

I cannot sufficiently express to you my joy at learning from Rev. Father Dujaunay that there was a Jesuit left in the unhappy countries of the Illinois and the Mississippi. Ever since Providence,

[1] The original of this was in Johnson MSS., 14:160, but was destroyed in the Albany fire, so that we are forced to copy it from the above publication.

[2] This date is probably the same as the succeeding document. It is printed in Carayon, *Bannissement des jésuites*, 67 *et seq.*

égard a mon indignité m'a chargé du pesant et redoutable fardeau de l'épiscopat de Québec, j'ay toujours été dans une mortelle inquiétude sur le sort des pauvres chrétiens de vos cantons. La nouvelle que j'eus à Paris et du renvoy des Jésuites et de la honteuse retraitte je dirois même criminelle retraitte des prêtres des Tamarois et Illinois, m'avoit jetté dans un embarras inexprimable et dans une mortelle inquiétude sur le sort de la petite et bien déplorable chrétienté de ces cantons. Oui votre présence dans ces lieux me comble de consolation, car j'espère que vous voudrés bien donner vos soins à ces peuples abandonnés. Je bénis mille fois le Seigneur d'avoir inspiré aux Anglois de la bonté et de la vénération pour vous et d'authoriser votre ministère, nous jouissons de la même faveur, et à peine nous appercevons nous que nous sommes sous un prince protestant, il faut avouer qu'il n'y a point de nation comme l'angloise pour avoir de l'humanité et qu'elle possède toutes les vertus qui en découlent.

Je vous envoye des lettres de grand vicaire les plus étendues, vous en userés partout ou vous trouverés dans l'étendue de cette partie de

[*Translation*]

without regard to my unworthiness, charged me with the heavy and formidable burden of the bishopric of Quebec, I have been in mortal anxiety as to the fate of the poor Christians of your districts. The news which I had in Paris both of the dismissal of the Jesuits and of the shameful—I might even say criminal—retreat of the priests of the Tamaroa and the Illinois, had left me in an inexpressible embarrassment and in a deadly anxiety as to the fate of the small and most pitiable Christian community in those districts.[1] Yes, your presence in those parts fills me with consolation for I hope that you will be disposed to care for these forsaken people. I bless the Lord a thousand times for inspiring the English with goodness and veneration for you, so that they permitted your ministrations. We enjoy the same favor, and hardly notice that we are under a Protestant prince. It must be admitted that no nation like the English possesses humanity and all the virtues which flow from it.

I send you letters of appointment as grand vicar in the most extended terms; you will use them wherever you may chance to be

[1] Compare *ante*, 1:45, 102.

mon diocèse, dont les limites sont immenses et que je ne connois pas moy meme, au moins est-il assuré qu'elles s'étendent à tous les pais qu'ont possédés les françois dans l'Amérique septentrionalle.

Je n'ay eu encore aucune nouvelle de La nouvelle orléans. La difficulté de gouverner de si loin, d'y avoir des personnes de confiance, les troubles qu'y ont toujours excités les Capucins, leur mauvaise conduite, leur désobéissance, leur opiniatre résistance depuis 23 ans à l'ordinaire, toutes ces considérations m'ont si fort dégouté et effrayé que j'ay une opposition extrême à me charger de cette partie, et je vous assure que je ne la regretterois pas si le gouvernement espagnol vouloit qu'elle dépendit de quelqu'un de leurs diocèses de l'Amérique. J'ay chargé à Paris Mr l'abbé de l'Isle Dieu grand vicaire de mon prédécesseur et un peu instruit de ces affaires, d'agir auprès de l'ambassadeur de la cour de Madrid à Paris; je ne sais trop encore ce qui aura été décidé; s'il étoit possible de faire venir quelqu'uns de vos pères soit pour être avec vous soit même pour être à La nouvelle orléans, ce seroit une bien avantageuse acquisition. Je pense que les Espagnols n'ont pas pour votre compagnie les mêmes sentimens que

[*Translation*]

throughout this part of my diocese, whose limits are immense and unknown even to me myself; at least it is certain that they extend to all lands which the French have possessed in North America.

As yet I have had no news from New Orleans. The difficulty of governing from such a distance, of finding persons in whom to confide, the troubles which the Capuchins have always stirred up there, their bad conduct, their disobedience, their twenty-three years of stubborn resistance to their ordinary—all these considerations have so disgusted and harassed me that I have an extreme repugnance to assume charge of that section, and I assure you that I would not be sorry if the Spanish government wished it to be dependent on one of their dioceses in America. At Paris I have intrusted Abbé de l'Isle Dieu, grand vicar of my predecessor and somewhat conversant in these matters, to take it up with the ambassador of the court of Madrid in Paris; as yet I am not too certain what may have been decided. Were it possible to bring over a father of your order, either to reside with you or even to be in New Orleans, the acquisition would be advantageous. I think that the Spaniards have not the same sentiments

les Français. Vous est-il deffendu et impossible d'aller voir le gouverneur espagnol de la Louisianne, vous pourriés avec lui concerter comme mon grand vicaire. Je pense que les pauvres Ursulines sont bien à plaindre très peu avoient confiance aux Capucins, qui depuis la vacance et la mort du père Baudoin ont encore fait bien des étourderies que j'ay appris à Paris. Je compte que leur confiance n'aura pas augmenté par la nécessité où elles sont de se servir de leur ministère. Si vous croyés que le gouvernement vous authorise et vous soutienne vous pourrés user de vos pouvoirs à la nouvelle orléans même, et y exercer votre authorité sur tout le clergé séculier et régulier qui y sera, et nommer pour les religieuses le confesseur qu'elles désireroient, et donner les lettres de grand vicaire limitées à celuy des Capucins que vous jugerés le plus digne. Je vous souhaitte, mon cher père, une bonne et forte santé, je prie notre seigneur de vous combler de ses graces et consolations intérieures et pour cette vie et pour l'autre. Je me recommande à vos prières et sacrifices et vous remercie par avance de la bonté que vous avés de vouloir bien m'aider à porter mon fardeau.

[*Translation*]

toward your society as the French. Is it forbidden and impossible for you to go to see the Spanish governor of Louisiana; as my grand vicar you could make arrangements with him. I think that the poor Ursulines have much to complain of; very few had confidence in the Capuchins, who since the vacancy and the death of Father Baudoin have committed many thoughtless acts, of which I learned in Paris. I judge that their confidence will not be increased by the necessity in which they are placed of using their ministration. If you think that the government authorizes and supports you, you could use your powers even in New Orleans, and exercise there your authority over the whole secular and regular clergy which may be there, and nominate for the sisters the confessor whom they wish, and give limited letters as grand vicar to the one of the Capuchins whom you judge most worthy. I wish you my dear father, good and strong health. I pray to our Lord to supply you with his grace and his meditative consolations for this life and the other. I commend myself to your prayers and sacrifices and thank you in advance for the goodness which you have in being willing to help me carry my burden.

Je suis en notre seigneur avec tous les plus parfaits sentimens de l'esprit et du coeur.

Vous trouverés aussi cy joint mon mandement pour le jubilé que vous pourrés faire gagner à tous vos peuples lorsque vous pourrés aller chez eux, et vous pourrés l'adresser également à la louisianne si vous le croyés expédient.

[*Translation*]

I am in our Lord with the most perfect sentiments of the spirit and the heart.

You will find annexed my mandate for the jubilee which you may make all your people gain, when you can go among them, and you can send it to Louisiana as well if you think it proper.

Bishop Briand to Meurin, April 28, 1767

[A.A., Q., Registre de l'évêche de Quebec, C., f. 235v—L.B.C.]

Joannes Olivarius Briand

miseratione divina et Stae Sedis gratia Eppus Quebecensis, Ecclesiae Turonensis canonicus honorarius, Dilecto nobis in Xto P. Sebastiano Meurin, Societatis Jesu sacerdoti, salutem et benedictionem in Dno.

In hac nostra tam longe lateque diffusa dioecesi omnia quaecumque sunt ministerii episcopalis munia per nosmetipsos obire prorsus impossibile est, quapropter nostris erga populos curae nostrae commissos obligationibus eo meliori quo fieri potest modo, satisfacere cupientes, aliquot viros seligere curavimus, quibus secura conscientia nostram

[*Translation*]

Jean Olivier Briand

by divine mercy and the grace of the holy see, bishop of Quebec and honorary canon of the church of Tours to our beloved in Christ, Father Sebastian Meurin, priest of the Society of Jesus, salutation and benediction in the Lord.

It is impossible in this, our so large and widely scattered diocese, to accomplish directly through our own efforts everything that belongs to the office of the episcopal ministry. Wherefore, because we desire to satisfy in the best way we can our obligations towards the people committed to our care, we have taken care to select some men to whom

quam communicare possumus potestatem crederemus. Nos igitur his potissimum causis et rationibus moti, de tua scientia, prudentia, probitate et integritate plurimum in Dno confidentes, sperantesque quod ea quae tibi duxerimus committenda sollicito studio executurus sis, te dilectum nobis in Xto Patrem Sebastianum Meurin societatis Jesu sacerdotem Vicarium nostrum generalem tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus pro omnibus et singulis locis quae vulgo *Les Tamarois, les Illinois, la Nouvelle-Orléans* nuncupantur, fecimus, constituimus, creavimus, ordinavimus, et per prassentes facimus, constituimus, creamus et ordinamus, tibi ipsi dantes facultatem praedicta loca et quaecumque alia adjacentia et ab his dependentia sive Gallorum, Anglorum aut Hispanorum sub ditione sint, modo tamen dioecesis nostrae intra limites contineantur, regendi et gubernandi; ecclesias et capellas in illis sitas, tum Gallis tum Americanis deservientes visitandi et reformandi, et omnia quae ad hujusmodi visitationis munus pertinent gerendi et exercendi, nec non ea quae necessaria aut utilia bidevuntur statuendi et decernendi, verbum Dni predicandi et ad illud predicandum, confessionesque fidelium et etiam monialium

[*Translation*]

we believed we could intrust our power which we have a right to delegate. Therefore, we, moved by these causes and reasons most powerfully and trusting in your knowledge, prudence, honesty, and integrity, especially in the Lord, and hoping that you will exercise with zealous solicitude those things which we are induced to commit to your charge, make, constitute, create, and ordain, by these presents, you who are beloved by us in Christ, Father Sebastian Meurin, priest of the Society of Jesus, our vicar general both in spiritual and temporal affairs for everything and for single things in places which are commonly known as Tamaroa, Illinois, and New Orleans; and we give to you power to rule and govern all the adjacent places and whatever other ones lie adjacent and are dependent on these whether they are under the power of the French, the English, or the Spanish, yet only in so far as they are contained within the limits of our diocese. We give you the power of visiting and correcting, of conducting and executing everything which pertains to the duty of such visitation, of determining and deciding, not only of those things which are necessary but useful, of preaching the word of God, and to this preaching we

audiendi et ad eas audiendas deputandi confessarios quoscumque tam seculares quam regulares examinandi et approbandi et approbationes illis et aliis vel a nobis concessas revocandi, censuras ecclesiasticas infligendi et ab iisdem censuris et a casibus aut censuris nobis reservatis per te aut per alios quibus hanc facultatem concedere volueris, absolvendi, sacramenta quaecumque confirmatione et ordine exceptis administrandi aut ad illa administranda licentiam concedendi, in votis et juramentis, cum justa subest causa, dispensandi, ecclesias, oratoria, coemeteria aliaque loca divino cultui dicanda benedicendi, aut ea polluta et prophanata reconciliandi, omnes et quascumque benedictiones etiam nobis reservatas faciendi per te aut alios; in omnibus impedimentis matrimonium prohibentibus aut dirimentibus, excepto consanguinitatis et affinitatis secundo gradu, nec non super publicatione bannorum dispensandi. Denique omnia dicendi, gerendi, decernendi et exequendi in praedictis locis quantum ad seculares et Regulares clericos aut laicos inibi commorantes, quae nos ipsi, si praesentes adessemus, dicere, gerere, decernere et exequi possemus

[*Translation*]

add the power of hearing the confessions of the faithful and even of the moniales [?] and of appointing confessors to hear these, of examining and approving both the secular and regular clergy and of imposing ecclesiastical censure, of absolving from the same censure even of cases reserved for censure by us, by yourself or by others to whom you may wish to concede this power of administering all sacraments, with the exception of the confession and ordination and of conceding the right to administer them, of giving dispensation in vows and oaths when there is just cause, of blessing chapels, cemeteries, and other places dedicated to divine worship, and of restoring those places which are polluted and profaned or of performing through yourself or others all and every kind of benediction even those reserved to us, of giving dispensation in all cases of impediments prohibiting or preventing marriage, especially blood relationship and affinity of the second grade, and besides in the case of the publication of banns, finally, of saying, carrying on, deciding and executing in the aforesaid places to prevent delays, as much for the secular and regular clergy as for the laity, everything which we ourselves if we were present could say, do, determine, and execute; and we promise that

promittentes nos ratum habituros quidquid per te dilectum nostrum P. Meurin Societatis Jesu, Vicarium nostrum Generalem, actum, gestumque fuerit. Praesentibus usque ad revocationem pro nutu faciendam valituris.

Datum Quebeci sub signo sigilloque nostris ac Secretarii et testium ad id vocatorum subscriptionibus, die 28 aprilis 1767.

+J: OL: Eppus Quebecensis

De mandato Illust & Reverend. DD. Eppi Quebecensis,
HUBERT, Pter, Secr.

[*Translation*]

we shall hold as settled whatever shall have been done or put in execution by you, our beloved Father Meurin of the Society of Jesus, our vicar general. The present power shall be valid even up to the time of its revocation by command.

Given at Quebec under our sign and seal and the subscription of our secretary and witnesses called for this purpose, April 28, 1767.

JEAN OLIVIER., Bishop of Quebec

Pastoral letter of the illustrious and reverend doctor of divinity bishop of Quebec.

HUBERT, priest, secretary

BOIRET TO MEURIN, May 3, 1767

[A.S., Q., Carton des Missions—C.]

Copie de la lettre ècrite au R. p. murin [*sic*] missionnaire aux ilinois le 3[e] may 1767.

M. R. P. c'est avec bien de la consolation que nous avons appris que les pauvres habitants des ilinois ne sont pas entièrement prèvés

[*Translation*]

Copy of letter written to the Reverend Father Meurin, missionary to the Illinois, May 3, 1767.

MY REVEREND FATHER:

It is with much consolation that we have learned that the poor inhabitants of the Illinois are not entirely deprived of spiritual succor and

des secours spirituels et que vous avez bien voulu vous devouer pour leur salut. nous eussions fort souhaité que M. forget notre confrère eut fait paroître le même zèle et qu'il ne nous eut pas mis par lalienation des biens de notre mission de la Ste famille, des KaoKias dans une espèce d'impossibilité de la pouvoir ressusciter. nous avons appris qu'il avoit vendu en 1763 aux només lagrange et laissard tous les meubles et immeubles de cette mission mais que les habitants du d. lieu s'opposoient à l'exécution de cette vente irrégulière. Si nous eussions connu plutot quelqu'un sur les lieux nous nous serions joints très volontiers a eux pour empescher la ruine de cet établissement qui a eté fait au nom du sem^re^ de Québec et à ses depens en plus grande partie. S'il estoit encor tems d'empescher que les deniers provenants de ces ventes ne passassent dans un pays désormais etranger pour nous, nous ferions volontiers toutes les demarches que vous nous marquerez être necessaires pour cela et nous authorisons même par cette prèsente lettre les habitants de la paroisse de la Ste famille a former entre les mains des acquereurs toutes les oppositions

[*Translation*]

that you have volunteered to devote yourself to their safety. We should have very much wished that M. Forget, our brother, had shown the same zeal and that he had not placed us by the alienation of the property of our mission of the Holy Family of Cahokia in an almost impossible situation to revive the title.[1] We have learned that he sold, in 1763, to men named Lagrange and Laissard, all the property, movable and immovable, of this mission but that the inhabitants of the said place made opposition to the execution of this irregular sale. If we had known sooner of someone in that locality we should have joined ourselves very willingly with the inhabitants to hinder the ruin of this establishment which was made in the name of the seminary of Quebec and at its expense for the most part. If there is still time to prevent the last proceedings of these sales from being made in a country henceforth foreign to us, we would willingly take every action which you may indicate to us as necessary for that purpose; and indeed we authorize by this present letter, the inhabitants of the parish of the Holy Family to make against the purchases every opposition which they shall judge fitting, in the name of

[1] See *ante*, 1:45, 48.

qu'ils jugeront convenables au nom du sem^re^ des mis. etr. de Québec auquel appartenoit cette mission et sans le consentement duquel M. forget n'a pu validement en aliéner les biens. le Sem^re^ des M. E de paris au nom duquel M. forget a declaré qu'il contractoit n'a jamais eu de droit directe sur cette mission. Si les circonstances et la disette extreme de prestres ou nous sommes icy leut permis nous en eussions envoyé quelqu'un pour continuer cette bone œuvre que nos predecesseurs ont établi. Et nous ne dèsesperons pas de la pouvoir ressusciter en quelques années d'icy lorsque les sujets que nous elevons actuelement auront eté promus aux Sts ordrés, et que le centre du diocèse sera un peu remonté. nous vous prions. mon R. p. de vouloir bien nous marquer ce que vous pensez sur cette affaire et de nous doner les eclaircissements necessaires pour diriger la bone volonté que nous conservons de nous rendre utiles et de reparer le faute qu'a fait notre confrere.

Nous sommes etc

(signé) BOIRET sup^r^
PRESSART, procureur.

[*Translation*]

the Seminaire des Missions Étrangères of Quebec to which this mission belongs and without the consent of which M. Forget could not legally alienate the property. The Seminaire des Missions Étrangères of Paris, in the name of which M. Forget has declared that he contracted, has never had any direct right over this mission. If circumstances and the extreme shortage of priests where we are had permitted it, we should have sent someone to continue this good work which our predecessors have established; and we shall not despair of being able to revive it in a few years from now, when the individuals whom we are training shall have been promoted to holy orders and when the center of the diocese shall be recovered a little. We pray you, my reverend father, to be so kind as to inform us what you think of this matter and to give us the necessary information to direct the good will, which we preserve, to make ourselves useful and to repair the fault which our brother has committed.

We are, etc., signed

BOIRET, superior
PRESSART, attorney

MEURIN TO BISHOP BRIAND, May 9, 1767[1]

[A.A., Q., Mission des Illinois, f. 5—A.L.S.]

De la paroisse de la ste Famille
aux Kaskias ou Tamaroas, colon. angl.
ce neuvième jour du mois de mai 1767.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Il y a environ deux mois que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire par les Srs Despins et Bauvais habitans de la paroisse de l'immaculée conception aux Kas ou j'étois alors pour préparer le peuple à la paques. Je représentois a votre grandeur une partie de ma situation dans le pays des Illinois ou je suis demeuré seul prêtre (à ce que pensent plusieurs) sans nom, sans aveu, sans protection d'aucun gouvernement temporel ny ecclésiastique n'ayant pu depuis trois ans avoir recours et recévoir de secours que de Dieu seul qui m'a soutenu contre les calomnies, les méchancetés et impiétés de plusieurs, qui, gracee à Dieu, n'ont pu triompher, mais aussi que je n'ai pu réprimer autant qu'il auroit été bon pour leur salut et peut être celui de bien d'autres.

Je n'ai que soixante et un an; mais je suis épuisé ruiné par vingt

[*Translation*]

Parish of the Holy Family
Kaskaskia, or Tamaroa, an English colony
May 9, 1767

MY LORD:

About two months ago I had the honor to write to you through MM. Despins and Bauvais, inhabitants of the parish of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, where I was at that time in order to prepare the people for Easter. I represented to your highness my situation, in part, in the country of the Illinois where I have been the only priest, as many think, without name, without acknowledgement, without protection from any government, temporal or ecclesiastic, for three years without redress, receiving succor only from God alone who has sustained me against the calumnies, the wickedness, and ungodly acts of several persons who, thanks to God, have not triumphed but whom also I have not been able to repress so much as would have been good for their welfare and, perhaps, for that of many others.

[1] Printed in Carayon, *Bannissement des jésuites*, 64 *et seq.*

cinq années de missions dans ce pays desquelles près de vingt années de maladies et d'infirmités me montroient tous les jours les portes de la mort, ce n'est guères que depuis cinq ans que je puis faire quelque usage de la vie. Je ne suis plus capable d'une longue application ni de fatigues du corps. Je ne puis donc plus fournir aux besoins spirituels de ce pays ou l'homme le plus robuste ne pouroit suffir longtemps surtout étant coupé par un fleuve très rapide et dangereux.

Il faudroit quatre prêtres, si vous n'en pouvés donner qu'un il le faudroit destiner pour les Kaskias. A ce moment on vient me demender pour un homme dangereusement malade à Ste Geneviève a 30 lieues des Kaos ou je ne suis que depuis trois jours. Je suis forcé de laisser icy plus des trois quarts de l'ouvrage a faire. Je vous supplie, Monseigneur, d'avoir pitié de cette partie de votre troupeau et de moi qui ai l'honneur d'être avec tout le respect et soumission possible

De votre grandeur le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

S. L. MEURIN, Pretre.

Le père Dujaunai pouroit vous instruire plus en détail de ma situation.

[*Translation*]

I am only sixty-one years old, but I am exhausted and ruined by mission work in this country for twenty-five years, for nearly twenty years of which sickness and infirmities have shown me day by day the gates of death, so that it is only for the last five years that I have been able to make use of life. I am no longer capable of long application or bodily fatigue. I can no longer supply the spiritual needs of this country where the most robust man could not serve long, especially since it is divided by a very rapid and dangerous river.

Four priests are necessary; if you can only give me one, he should be appointed for Kaskaskia. At this moment I am called on to go to a man who is dangerously ill at Ste. Genevieve, thirty leagues from Cahokia where I have been only three days. I am forced to leave undone more than three-fourths of the work to be done here. I beg of you, my lord, to have pity on this part of your flock and on me who have the honor to be with all possible respect and submission, the very humble and very obedient servant, of your highness,

S. L. MEURIN, priest

Father Du Jaunay could inform you more in detail of my situation.

Simon to Gratz, May 10, 1767

[Ridgway Library, McAllister MSS.—A.L.S.]

Lancaster May 10. 1767

Mr Barnard Gratz

Sir

I rcd yr favr wth the Sundry letters, in Regard to G C order on B. W. & Morgan I hope youl Dun them for the Money if Due. I should not like to Risque with thr Bills. you Can tell them you have to pay the money to Sundry People at Phila when recd request youl purchase the £100 Bill in favr Simon & Henrey and another £100 Bill in favr of myself the sooner you Can gett me the Bills I should like & Send them to me by a Safe Opptty. if you se Shank please to tell him to Call on Roberts for Some Goods for Simon & Henry. if Shank is in town when this comes to hand Send me a Bble Good Muscovado Sugar. the 70 od pound order on B W. & Morgan please to Give to Mr Wm West, to [*MS. illegible*] it from them on my Acct.

I am Sir Your Most H St

Joseph Simon

Minutes of the Mississippi Company, May 22, 1767[1]

[P.R.O., Chatham MSS., 97:14—C.]

At a General meeting of the Mississippi Company at Stafford Court House in Virginia the 22d day of May 1767.

It appearing to the Company that the Committee in complience with the directions of the said Company given to them at a meeting held the 22d day of Novr 1765 have written to Mr Cumming and prest him to solicit with vigor, the granting the Lands mentioned in the Memorial formerly sent to him, and the Letter being read at the Board which amongst other things directs that Mr Cumming proceed to fill up the Subscriptions with only one half of the British members & the other half to remain 'till the next general meeting, which letter being approved of by the sd Company they have come to the following resolutions.

That as some Gentlemen of Powers, fortune & Interest wod willingly become members of our Company but may object to being limited to one Share.

[1] Published by C. E. Carter, in the *American Historical Review*, 16:317.

RESOLVED that the Committee write M^r^ Cumming to have regard to Major Tho^s^ Addison's recommendation to him of such Persons to whom a tender of two shares shall be made, & that the Treasurer write Major Addison requesting him to inform M^r^ Cumming by Letter who the Particular Persons are to whom he may propose the acceptance of two shares.

It appearing from experience, that a meeting of a Majority of the Members residing in Virginia & Maryland cannot easily be obtained according to the Original Articles & an obstruction to business happening in consequence thereof. RESOLVED that for the future every general meeting of the Company shall be advertised in the Virginia & Maryland Gazette, & if at such meeting a Majority of the said members should not meet accordingly, in that Case, if twelve or more Members shall be assembled, four of which to be of the Committee, they shall have power to proceed on business and their determinations to be binding on the Company anything to the Contrary or seeming to the contrary thereof in the originall Articles notwithstanding.

RESOLVED that the Treasurer transmit a Copy of the last resolve to every absent member in Virginia & Maryland that they may have notice thereof.

RESOLVED that as M^r^ W^m^ Digges hath refused to pay his proportion of the Money as is directed by the Original Articles it is determined that M^r^ Richard Graham on complying with the requisite payment, be admitted a member of the Company in place of the said Digges, and that the Treasurer inform M^r^ Cumming of this alteration in the list of subscribers.

ORDERED that the Treasurer forthwith demand of the Subscribers who have not paid their quotas agreeable to the Original Articles, the Sums of Money respectively due from them.

ORDERED that the Treasurer pay the Expences accrued at this meeting out of the Money in his hands.

AGREED to by

Richard Henry Lee, William Brent, Francis Lightfoot Lee, William Fitzhugh Jun^r^, Henry Fitzhugh, Francis Thornton, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Rob^t^ Brent, Richard Parker, Thomas Bullet, John Augustine Washington, W^m^ Beale Junr., George Washington, W^m^ Booth, W^m^ Fitzhugh, John Riddell, Executor of the deceased James Douglas,

Presly Thornton, W^m^ Flood, W^m^ Brokenbrough, Bened^t^ Calvert, Henry Rozer, Anthony Stewart, The Rev^d^ Henry Addison, Daniel Carroll. Test. WILLIAM LEE Secretary.

JOHNSON TO SHELBURNE, May 30, 1767[1]

[Johnson MSS., 14:199—Draft]

N° (3) JOHNSON-HALL May 30^th^ 1767

MY LORD

February Pacquet brought me your Lordships Letter of that month, before the receipt of which I had the honor to write to you my Letter[2] (N° 2) dated the 1^st^ of April which I hope you have received.

I cannot sufficiently Express my Warm Sentiments of Gratitude & duty to his Majesty for the recent Instance you mention of his Royal intentions in my favor, any more than I can the obligations I Lye under to your Lordship on the occasion.

I am newly returned from a Congress with the Six Nations at the German flatts which was partly convened at the request of the Proprietaries of Pensilvania & Maryland who were to obtain the Indians consent to their Running the Division Line between these Governments over the Allegany Mountains which I have at length effected, and delivered the Indians a present from these Governments. I Judged this a necessary part of my duty for terminating these disputes, but I had a much more material motive in meeting the Indians that of composing their Minds, and satisfying them on the Subject of their Inquietudes of which I had the most particular and alarming accots, and therefore no Time was to be lost—I had upon this occasion the pleasure to do Justice to his Majestys Clemency by laying before them, and explaining in the strongest Terms, his Royal Intentions, and protection signified to me in your Lordships Letter of February last, and I have the satisfact^n^ to inform your Lordship that the pains I took on that occasion to shew them the real Intentions of Government, added to my Explanat^n^ of the causes of their discontent has produced a very favorable Change in their

[1] The original was destroyed in the Albany fire. Printed also in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:928.

[2] Printed *ante*, 541.

Dispositions, and enabled me to prevail upon them to agree to a Treaty of peace with the Cherokees when their Deputys arrive. This has been hitherto thought a very difficult if not impracticable task and it will cost me much Trouble yet to keep them in the same pacific sentiments towards a people for whom they have so fixed a hatred;— I apprehend I shall have no less difficulty in Continuing them Steady in their friendship to us, should they find the Causes of their discontent Still Subsisting, and I have no reason to Expect the Contrary till Some plan peculiarly adapted for restraining abuses, and Redressing the Indians be enacted by Law, or otherwise Established in such a manner as to afford speedy Justice without Dispute or evasion, for I have repeatedly observed that a Court of Law is not calculated for this purpose, the Laws not having an Eye to their peculiar Circumstances & Situation, and the Jurys being often ignorant, and I may Venture to say Sometimes prejudiced, as are all the Members of the Law on such Trials. I hope I need not to enlarge on this Subject persuaded that your Lordship has it much at heart.

In my last I informed your Lordship that I had prepared such Regulations for the Trade for this Season as I thought might be inforced, the Gov^{rs} passports to the Traders Subject the Latter to a forfeiture of the Recognizances they enter into, in case they are Guilty of frauds &c. & direct them to follow such Regulations as are, or shall be made, but many Traders (contrary to the Antient practise) go without passes, and amongst them sev^{l} of the Canadians who were formerly partizans, & Excited the Ind^{s} to the late War, as well as assisted them therein & plundered and made Prisoners of our Traders, Which Canadians I know to be dangerous & that they ever did, & ever will prejudice the Indians agt us, & Attribute their Extortion to the Severity of the English Government & Dutys they pay, all which gains easy Credit amst the Jealous Indians, and I wish this was all I could Say of them, but it is notorious & can be proved that they still endeavor to obstruct all our Endeavors towards gaining the Ind^{s} Esteem, that they Still flatter themselves with hopes of a Change which Joyned to private interest are powerfull motives,—Some of these persons defy Government live in the Indian Country, under no Inspection Write to their Correspondents for fresh Supplys of Goods, & thereby injure the fair trader, so that either the Traders must be indulged to go where they please, and Left to act at Discretion, or else

totally confined to the posts without Exception of any person as was formerly the case, If the Traders have a general toleration to go out of the Limits of the provinces amst the Ind[s] they must often offend the Latter, & some be occasionally Robbed & murdered, should this be resented a War is inevitable, for the Indians will rationally say, that they have been grossly injured & not having it in their power to obtain satisfaction have redressed themselves, to which no Just reply can be made for should they Travel 5 or 600 Miles to Complain of a Trader, their Evidence is nothing, & they cannot Expect to be relieved, this they have often Experienced, & therefore there must (from the Nature of the Indian Trade) be a General restriction by w[ch] it shall be confined to the posts, or otherwise the Government must risque the Resentment of an Enraged, uncivilized people, whose Vengeance is too often felt by the fair Trader, or Industrious Husbandman, the Ind[s] seldom confining their Revenge to particulars.

I must beg the favor of your Lordships Orders on these heads Earnestly hoping that something may speedily be done for preventing these disorders, and enabling the Officers of the Crown to Execute his Majestys Intentions by preventing such abuses as may be destructive to the Welfare of the American frontier & trade, the possession of which does essentially depend on the harmony subsisting between us & the Indians, w[ch] can never be ensured, till frauds & Violences are effectually checked from a certainty of imediate punishment.

I beg your Lordship will accept of the sincere professions of Esteem with Which I am, My Lord &ca

THE R[T] HONBLE THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

[*Endorsed*] (N° 3) To the R[t] honble the Earl of Shelburne. May 30[th] 1767

B. FRANKLIN TO W. FRANKLIN, June 13, 1767

[Franklin, *Works* (Bigelow ed.), 4:420]

The Illinois affair goes forward but slowly. Lord Shelburne told me again last week that he highly approved of it, but others were not of his sentiments, particularly the Board of Trade. Lyman is almost out of patience, and now talks of carrying out his settlers without leave.

HALDIMAND TO GAGE, June 17, 1767
[B.M., Add. MSS., 21663, f. 85—C.]

par l Ens: Johnston PENSACOLA le 17 Juin 1767

MONSIEUR

Mons[r] Taylor Ma Comunique la Lettre de Don Ulloa, Au Sujet des Postes que les Espagnols Veulent faire Construire Sur le Micissipy—Opposés à ceux que Nous y occupons; Je me persuade Mons[r] que les Postes bien loin de donner de la Jalousie, Contribueront à Maintenir la bonne intelligence, par la facillitté que les Officiers Auront de S'eclaircir Sur le Champ, au Cas qu'il Survint Quelques difficultés; Il ne paroit pas qu'il puisse jamais Convenir Aux Espagnols de rien entreprendre Sur Nous de ces Cottes la, peûttétre ne font ils que prévoir ce qui leur Arrivera à la premiere Guerre, Il est cependant vray que Nos Postes Sur le Micissipy; tres mal Construits; peûttétre Mal Situés, & dépendant de La Nouvelle Orlean pour leur Subsistances; Sont fort Hasardes Aujourdhuy; On peût diminuer Cet inconvenient en formant Une Comuniquation par les Lacs, Mais en passant Si proche des Etablissem[ts] Espagnols nos Convois Seront toujours exposés, & ils pouront les intercepter quand ils le Jugeront

[*Translation*]

By Ensign [?] Johnston PENSACOLA, June 17, 1767

SIR:

M. Taylor has told me of the letter of Don Ulloa, with reference to the posts the Spaniards wish to have built on the Mississippi—opposite to the ones we occupy there. I am persuaded, sir, that the posts, very far from causing jealousy, will contribute to the maintenance of good understanding on account of the ease with which the officers can clear up affairs at once, in case difficulties should arise. It does not seem that it would benefit the Spaniards ever to undertake anything against us on these banks; perhaps they only foresee what would happen to them at the first war. It is true, however, that our posts on the Mississippi, very badly constructed, perhaps badly situated and dependent on New Orleans for their subsistence, are in a very hazardous position today. One can lessen that disadvantage by forming a line of communication by the lakes, but in passing so close to the Spanish establishments our convoys would always be exposed and they could intercept them whenever they saw fit; in that

à propos; dans ce Cas la les postes des Natches & d'Iberville, qui Sont Si dispendieux deviendroient innutilles Au bésoin, Mais pour diminuer le désavantage de cette Situation, & même la faire tourner en Nôtre faveur; ne Conviendroit il pas d'encourager l'agriculture aux Illinois & Aux Nattches, On pouroit y employer la Garnison, en leur fournissant les Charues & des Boeufs dont le detachem[t] Seroit responsable & en leur donnant pour Une Couple d'année ce que le Roy paye Aux Contracteurs, pour leurs Provisions, je me persuade Qu'ils l'entreprendroient Avec plaisir, & qu'ils Seroient dans peû en Etat de former des Magasins de farine & d'eléver asses de Boeufs de Porc & de Vollaille, pour pouvoir Se nourir eux même, & fournir le fort d'Iberville, le Surplus de leurs danrées trouveroient un Marché asseuré Ches les Espagnols; Si la Chose pouvoit reussir Je Crois qu'il Conviendroit de plasser un Regim[t] au moins Aux Natches, & ne garder que quelques Compagnies Sur ces Cottes; Nous Serions par la les Maitres du Micissipy, & de la Nouvelle Orlean, quant On le jugeroit apropos.

Je Me Suis informé Sur la possibillité, d'augmenter les eaux de la Rivierre Iberville en Creusant Son lit, ou en faisant une Coupurre plus

[*Translation*]

case the posts of the Natchez and Iberville which are so expensive would become useless when needed. But to lessen the disadvantage of this situation and even to make it turn in our favor, would it not be fitting to encourage agriculture in the Illinois and at the Natchez? The garrison could be used for that purpose. By furnishing them plows and oxen for which the detachment would be responsible, and by giving them, for a couple of years, the pay which the king gives to contractors for their provisions, I am persuaded they would undertake it with pleasure, and that in a short time they would be able to form magazines of flour and be able to raise enough beef, pork, and poultry to be able to nourish themselves and furnish the fort of Iberville. The surplus of their commodities would find a sure market with the Spaniards. If the plan could succeed, I believe it would be advisable to put at least one regiment in the Natchez, and keep only a few companies at the coast; in this way we would be masters of the Mississippi and of New Orleans when it should be judged fitting.

I informed myself about the possibilities of increasing the water in the Iberville river by deepening its bed, or in making a trench higher up on the bank of the Mississippi. I am told that this last

haut Sur le bord du Micissipy, On Me dit que ce dernier project est practicable, Mais fort dispendieux; pour moy Mons^r^ Je Vous avoue que je Crain que le Même Courant d eau qui devroit Ouvrir le passage, ny Charoit des bois qui le rendroit innutille; Un chemin par terre depuis la fourche de l Iberville Au fort Boutt, Seroit plus facilles; mais toujours Sujet à de grands inconvenient, & je Crois le party que je proposed Cy dessus à Votre Excellence, bien préferable & le Seul qui puisse Nous donner la Superioritté Sur le Micissipy, en diminuant la dépense; Je Suppose que le Cap^n^ Gordon aura examiné les endroits Avec Soin, & vous en aura fait Son rapport; Je me propose de les Visittér des qu'il Sera possible, je Verray en Même temps Tangipas [1] Ou il Conviendra peuttetre d'avoir Un poste Ou quelques batteaux Armés, Mais en general Mess^rs^ les Gouverneurs, les Intendants des Indiens les Traitteurs, & tous les Marchands; Se figurent qu'on devroit etablir des postes partout ou ils le Jugent à propos, Sans S embarassér de la depense & du Moyen de les Maintenir.

J'ay examinné le different qu'il y avoit entre le le [*sic*] L^t^ Rittchy qui Comande à Tombeckbe & le Comissaire des Indiens; tous les deux

[*Translation*]

project is practicable, but very expensive. As for myself, sir, I confess I fear that the very current of water which should open the passage will drift wood which will render it useless. A road by land from the fork of the Iberville to Fort Bute would be easier but always subject to great inconveniences, and I believe the plan I propose above to your Excellency is preferable and the only one which can give us the superiority on the Mississippi while diminishing the expense. I suppose that Captain Gordon will have examined the places carefully and have made you his report about them. I intend visiting them as soon as possible. I shall see at the same time Tangipahoa[1] where it would be advisable, perhaps, to have a post or some armed boats. But in general, the governors, the commissaries of the Indians, the traders and all the merchants imagine that posts should be established everywhere they think fit, without bothering about the expense and the means of maintaining them.

I have examined the dispute that existed between Lieutenant Ritchy who commands at Tombigbee and the commissary of the Indians. Both were at fault and have become reconciled. Lieuten-

[1] Tangipahoa River which flows into Lake Pontchartrain.

étoient dans le tort & ils Se Sont raccomodés; le L[t] Ritchy n'etant pas propre pour étre dans Un poste Come Celui la, & étant Sur le point d optenir Une demy paye, je le feray Relevér des que je le pouray, & j'espère qu'ils Seront tranquilles jusques à Ce temps la; Je Souhaitterois fort qu'on put retirer le Detachement, qui est à ce poste, & je Crois Come Vous Mons[r] que le Comissaire & les traitteurs devroient Vivre dans les Villages Sauvages, ou ils Seroient tout aussi en Sureté que dans le fort, Mais M[r] le Sup[r] Intendant des Indiens, Son Deputé, & d'autres personnes, Se persuadent qu'il est Apsolument nécessaire qu'il y reste; Surtout pendant que les deux Nations Voisinnes Sont en Guerre; Come les dépenses en Sont faittes, & qu'il n'en Coutera plus que le transport des Provisions, Je Crois Mons[r] qu'il faudroit laisser Subsister les Choses Sur le pied Ou Elles Sont Aujourdhuy, Jusques a ce qu'on trouve quelque pretexte plausible de le retirer.

M[r] Stuard le Depute, S'est rendu à la Mobille pour y reçevoir un party de Chicassa, il fait des Recherches Sur le Meurtre que les Cricks doivent Avoir Comis, & n a rien encorre de Certain la dessus; J'ay trouvé M[r] Stuart fort porté à Minstruire de tout ce qui Se passe dans Son Departement; & lorsque M[r] Taylor S'est plain de Sa

[*Translation*]

ant Ritchy not being the proper one to be in a post like that one and being about to obtain half pay, I shall relieve him as soon as I can, and I hope they will be quiet until that time. I should like very much that the detachment which is at that post should be withdrawn, and I believe as you, sir, that the commissary and the traders should live in the Indian villages where they would be just as safe as in the fort; but the superintendent of the Indians, his deputy, and other persons are persuaded that it is absolutely necessary that the garrison remain there, especially while the two neighboring nations are at war. As the expense for it is already made and since it will cost only the transportation of provisions, I think, sir, that things should remain as they are now until a more plausible pretext to withdraw the garrison is found.

M. Stuart, the deputy, went to Mobile to receive there a party of Chickasaw. He is investigating the murder which the Creeks must have committed and as yet has found nothing definite about it. I found M. Stuart quite ready to instruct me about everything that

Negligence, il Se trompoit; ils Se Sont expliqués en Ma presence; M^r^ Stuard ignoroit lui même dans ces temps la, les desseins & les demarches de M^r^ le Gouverneur Johnston.

Tous les desordres qui arrivent parmis les Indiens provenant de la Mauvaise Conduitte des Traitteurs qui Vivent parmis eux; il n y a d'Autre Remède, qu'en Mettant en execution (à la rigueur) la Reglement Etably par la Chambre du comerce; & je donneray la dedan, & en toute Autre Occasion, toute l'assistance possible a M^r^ Stuart.

Je joins icy la Liste des Officiers & Chirurgiens employés dans Cette partie de la Floride; tous Ont Ordre d'appointer des Agents en Angleterre pour y recevoir leur paye, Je leur donneray icy des Certificates.

J'ay l'honneur d'etre Avec Un parfait dévouem^t^.

Monsieur de Vôtre Excellence Le tres humble & tres Obeissant Serviteur

FRED: HALDIMAND

A S: EX: M. LE GENERAL GAGE &c

[*Endorsed:*] 1767 Au G Gage du 17 Juin par l E. Johnston

[*Translation*]

happens in his department; and, when M. Taylor complained of his negligence, he was mistaken; they came to an understanding in my presence. M. Stuart himself did not know, at that time, the plans and proceedings of Governor Johnstone.

All the disorders that occur among the Indians come from the bad conduct of the traders who live among them. There is no remedy but to put into execution rigidly the ruling established by the board of trade and I shall give in that case and at every opportunity all the assistance possible to M. Stuart.

I inclose the list of officers and surgeons employed in this part of Florida. All have orders to appoint agents in England to receive their pay, and I shall give them here the certificates.

I have the honor to be, with a perfect devotion, sir, your excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

FREDERICK HALDIMAND

To GENERAL GAGE, etc.

[*Endorsed:*] To General Gage, June 17, 1767 by Ensign [?] Johnston.

BAYNTON, WHARTON, AND MORGAN TO JOHNSON, June 21, 1767
[Johnson MSS., 14:260—L.S.][1]

PHILAD[A] June 21st 1767

SIR

Last night we had an Express from Fort Chartres which brought us a Packet for your Honor and a Draft on you, for three thousand seven hundred & twenty one pounds twelve shillings N York Currency.

We have happily experienced many Instances of kindness & assistance from your Honor, in the Payment of Our Acco[ts] and therefore are now emboldned to beseech of you, to favor us, in the Discharge of the within Bill; as we assure you, Our distresses for Money, still Continue; occasioned by our not having yet received, any Other Remittances from the Ilinois except what have been in Drafts On your Honor.

We are with the utmost Respect Sir Your much obliged & most obedient Servants

BAYNTON WHARTON & MORGAN

THE HONORABLE SIR W[M] JOHNSON

[*Endorsed:*] Philadelphia June 21[st] 1767 Mess[rs] Baynton Wharton & Morgans letter

COLE TO CROGHAN, July 3, 1767[2]
[Johnson MSS., 15:2—A.L.S.]

FORT CHARTRES July 3[d] 1767

DEAR SIR

You will receive this by the hands of M[r] Messonville, who is a goeing to get his Accot. paid, I have Exam[d] them, and Cirtified them, as I really think, he could not avoid those Expences, I hope you will Interest yourself in his behalf, as I think he deserves Favours, and I believe him to be a very honest man, and as much of an Englishman as is posible for a Frenchman to be, but as you know him better then I—and what directions you gave him I need say no more, only refer

[1] Letter signed by Samuel Wharton.

[2] Published by Mr. Alvord in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, 3:no. 2, pp. 30 *et seq.*

you to him to know the dispotions [*sic*] of the Indians on the Ouabach and the nature of our Goverment.

The Indians About here, seem well disposed as also those from the Messourie, that have been with me. Many more would have been here before this had not the war between these nations, the Sakies and Reynards prevented, but I am told they are now on the way from an Imense distance up the Messourie, I assure you I have but little time to myself—their Numbers are beyound any thing I could conceive, and the Great Lenity always Shewn them by the French—they now Expect to continue, and a Veriety of Circumstances makeing this Indulgence Necessary—absolutely overcomes me with Fatigue—I wish I had some one to assist me—Pedigogue who came with me from Detroit, died some Little time past, I assure you he was a good man and behaved well amongst his people, The nation assembled before me in order to have another chief—Young Dequoney being the next heir, he was Unanimously pitched on if agreeable to me, I could have no objections knowing him to be a fine young fellow not Debauched with Liquors, and from the readiness he Shews to receive advice and his Good behavour, makes me think he will become one of the Greatest chiefs in this country—Voudra who was with you at Detroit, was here the other day with some Indians from the post, he Says you appointed, him Interpreter at the post, and that he was to have five Hundred livers a Year, and wanted me to pay him, but his not haveing it from under your hand, and your not mentioning it to me I would not pay him which much displeased him, And also Flamboise who Expected to be paid as Last year for his Jorney Tho. they boath knew I had an Interpreter here. Notwithstanding they Refused the Employ last year Either would Gladly accept it now, but I think I am much better Supplyed—I hope the Smith will be soon here, or that I shall know whither there is one or no a Comeing, as a very good one now offers. My Comp^{s} to all friends

I am D^{r} Sir Your mos^{t} ob^{t} Serv^{t}

EDW^{D} COLE

[*Addressed:*] On his Majesty's Service To George Croghan Esq^{r} Dep. Superintendant of Indian affairs Fort Pitt.

[*Endorsed:*] Fort Chartres July 3^{d} 1767—From Com^{y} Cole to G Croghan Esq^{r}

JOHNSON TO GAGE, July 11, 1767[1]

[*N.Y.D.H.*, 2:858]

JOHNSON HALL July 11th 1767.

DEAR SIR

Your favour of the 28th ult° was handed me by M^r^ Croghan, who will have the honour of delivering you this, & to whom I must beg leave to refer you for the particulars, as sent to me, of that unhappy affair of the murder of Cap^t^ S^t^ Clairs Serv^t^ by 2 Mississagays or Chippaways in Lake Huron as well as for several other things w^ch^ I really have now no time to write, owing to the Melancholy scituation of my Family, which he can also inform you of.

As I understand that the Comd^g^ officer at Detroit is sending the Two Indian Pris^rs^ to me, I shall be glad to receive y^r^ orders concerning them as soon as convenient, It is a most unlucky thing at this time. & there sending em down here makes it worse I hope it may not be the means of a fresh breach between us, & the Nations in that Quarter, if not with more.

I heartily wish that Cap^t^ Murray may be able to persuade the Virginians to abandon their Encroachments at Red Stone Creek, & Cheat River, as such an Instance of the governments good intentions of doing the Ind^s^ Justice would certainly at this time have a good effect.

M^r^ Croghan laid before me an acc^t^ of Ind^n^ Expenses at Fort Pitt from the 1^st^ June 1766, to 3^d^ June 1767, by order of the Commanding officer of that garrison, amounting to £1744–10–3¾ N York Cur^cy^, w^ch^ I have examined, & find just. Wherefore have signed it, & doubt not of the ordering it to be paid.

A few days ago, I received a letter from M^r^ Cole Comisr^y^ at the Ilinois enclosing an acc^t^ of the Expences which he says he has been unavoidably put to, by reason of the great number of Ind^s^ who resort that Post since Trade with us has been opened.

It amt^s^ to £3721–12 Y. Cur^cy^, as you will see by the enclosed which is vastly more than I could have thought of, or wished him to have expended in so short a time & w^ch^ makes me imagine He must not have received my letter wherein I strongly recommended the greatest Economy that the nature of the service would admit of & M^r^ Croghan to whom I have committed the care of that quarter of

[1] This document, Johnson MSS., 15:8, was destroyed in the Albany fire and we were therefore obliged to depend upon the above copy.

my Department, tells me that he also recommended to him the greatest frugality, He has drawn upon me for that amt in favour of Messrs Baynton Wharton & Morgan of Philadelphia who write me very pressingly for it.—You will therefore please to let Mr Croghan know your intentions regarding it, that he may acquaint them Gentlemen with them.

There are still some Deserters & others amongst the Nations living about Detroit, Michilimacinac, &c who are endeavoring to stir up the Indians to do mischief as Mr Croghan can inform you. It would be of great service to have them secured & sent down, for which end an order to the officers commanding the out Posts would I think be necessary.

GAGE TO REED, July 15, 1767[1]
[V.S.L., Clark Papers—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK July 15th 1767.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge your letter of the 3d of April, by which you give me to understand that all Species of provisions can be had at the Ilinois except Pork, some of which wou'd be wanted: but all you say of this is that Pork wou'd answer best; You send no Return of your Stores, no state of your weekly consumption, or say what quantity of Pork you will stand in need of: Neither has your Deputy Commissary wrote a line upon this subject or on any other matter which concerns his Department, to his Principal Mr Leake. By this I am thrown into as great uncertainty as ever about the Supplies to be sent to you, and what I shall forward to you is upon conjecture; Concluding you have had the foresight to preserve the Pork brought you by Lieut Steele to serve the Summer, and that you have not issued Pork 'till you shou'd be no longer able to issue Beef.

You tell Me it will be impossible to return boats to Fort Pitt, because of the difficulty of the falls, and that the french say, it can not be done under 15 Men to each Boat, and then only at a particular time, which is in March. I wish the French had informed you how they contrived to pass the Falls with the large boats they use on the Mississippi, loaded with provisions in the year 1758, for the purpose of victuallying the Garrison of Fort Pitt, then Fort Duquesne. I

[1] Printed by C. H. Ambler in *Branch Historical Papers*, 4: no. 2, p. 88.

understand from Mr. Croghan, that the letter I now answer was brought by a trader's Boat which came up the Ohio: And if you had question'd him, Captain Gordon, or Ensign Hutchins, when they were at Fort Chartres about the navigation of the Ohio, I am of opinion that you wou'd have received a different information. As Boats must absolutely come up the Ohio, I shall send by Lieu[t] Phyn of the 21[st] Regiment, a Copy of a plan of the falls as taken by Lieu[t] Hutchins by Capt[n] Gordon's order, and under his Inspection, which will serve to guide all Boats navigating the Ohio, and when the Waters are low, direct them to the best and shortest Carrying Place. A Small Carrying Place in a River may impede, but must not stop his Majesty's Forces in the prosecution of their Orders. Lieu[t] Steele has passed the falls, and can give any further information, if wanted. The Men must carry over their provisions and Baggage, and then get their Boats over when the Waters are low, Which method is practised in other places; for there are many falls in the Rivers in America, which the troops are obliged to pass.

Upon Lieu[t] Phyn's arrival at the mouth of the Ohio, You will send him assistance to bring up his Boats, loaded with provisions, tools, and necessaries for the Regiment, and allow him only as many Boats, & as much provision as shall be necessary to carry him to Mobile: The Boats will hold at least 25 Men each, with their provisions. The remainder of the Boats you will keep, as most of them you will bring back to Fort Pitt, agreable to the Orders that will be sent you, and you will also bring with you, your Spare Arms, leaving 100 stand at Fort Chartres, for the use of the Garrison, upon an emergency. The Man of your Regiment at Detroit will be sent you from thence if it can be done, otherwise he will be forwarded to this place.

As you tell Me Ensign Dan has wrote to Lord Frederick Cavendish, and you not having sent me his Resignation, there is no occasion for Me to do any thing in this Affair.

It is reported, that a number of Spanish Troops were either arrived or on their way to the Villages opposite to you, to relieve M[r] S[t] Ange, and the other French Officers and Troops that were posted there: But as you say Nothing of an Affair so interesting, I conclude it is only a false Rumour.

The Provision purchased at the Ilinois is excessive dear: The Ration at Fort Pitt after some hundred Miles land Carriage is issued

at 9D ½ Sterling: It comes much heavier at the Ilinois, at the rate you purchase it from the Inhabitants. I must beg of you to lower these exorbitant prices as much as possible.

I shall forward to you, one Box of Dollars containing agreable to the inclosed Invoice, One thousand pounds Sterling, for the Subsistance of the 34th Regiment, This is done by guess, and on account without regular Abstracts, for I am ignorant how your accounts stand. You will use every means to keep this Cash in the Country, and to prevent it's being carried away by the Traders.

Lieut Steele has carried away the whole Cloathing of the Regiment, which is by far more than necessary, and the Recruits of your Regt that are and will be at Fort Pitt, under Lieut McLellan, amounting to about 138 Men, are destitute of Cloathing, but I hope it will soon arrive from England, and a sufficient quantity will then be sent up to them at Fort Pitt.

The tools are sent you in case of Accidents, to entrench or otherwise put yourself in a posture of Defense: But I hope you will leave no means whatever untried for the preservation of Fort Chartres. If the place should be unfortunately lost, I think you must so far have notice as to be able to save the Stores, and many other things, which will be of use in the erecting of a new Fortification; I have already told you I did not approve of the plan proposed for fortifying the Village of Kaskaskies, Captain Gordon has wrote fully to Lieut Pitman upon this subject, whose letters will have fallen into your hands & will serve to inform you of his Sentiments as well as mine on this head. I have nothing to retract in this Business, unless you cou'd find a safe and good Commanding spot at the Junction of the Kaskaskies River with the Mississippi: Such a situation wou'd be far preferable to any, if the Boats could be secured there, and the Mississippi so commanded by your Guns, as to protect any Boats coming with Supplies, Who in such case might run under the protection of the Guns without being obliged to land, or exposed, by going up a narrow River, from the Banks on each side. You will examine, and consider this maturely as it is of consequence. You will not only consider, Whether any spot at the Junction of the two Rivers, can be found to answer the purposes mentioned, but that it is also dry, and not marshy, or subject to the overflowing of the Rivers, and that it is not commanded by any neighboring heights. If such a situation

for a Fort can be found, I repeat it, that I preferr it to the Hill proposed opposite the Kaskaskies Village.

I am to add a word about the nature of your procuring Supplies of provisions. Your provisions for the year shou'd be all stored, as soon as possible after the harvest is in, so as to be within your Walls, by the middle or end of February at the farthest: The reason for which is, that if the Indians shou'd confederate to attack your Fort, they will not be collected from their hunting grounds before the end of March at soonest, & can't then prevent your provisions being brought in. they can never succeed in taking the smallest fortification but by Surprise, or the starving them out of it: The first I am sure you will guard against by proper vigilance day and night, and never suffering a large number of Indians to be within your Gates; And if on a Conference more than ordinary number should come in and a considerable Body be waiting near the Fort You will prevent any bad designs thay may have, by keeping your Garrison on their Guard, and under arms. And as for starving you, If you will take the precautions mentioned to lay in your provisions at a seasonable time, they will not succeed. They can not invest you longer than to the Month of October, had they even patience to do it, for they must then all return to their hunting grounds.

I am, Sir Your most Obedient, and Most humble Servant

THOS. GAGE.

COLONEL REED. Fort Chartres Ilinois.

LIST OF TRADERS MURDERED BY INDIANS, August, 1767

[*P.C.R.*, 9:469]

Henry Obryan, Peter Brown, and eight other White Men, in proceeding down the Ohio last August, with two large Batteaus, loaded with Goods amounting to the Value of £3000, were attacked and Pillaged near the Falls of that River, and not having been since heard of, tho' the Batteaus with a great part of the Goods were afterwards found on the Shore, they are supposed to have been all Murdered.

Thomas Mitchell, A Trader from this Province, Murdered in one of the Shawana villages last Fall.

Another Person, name unknown, Murdered by a Delaware Indian, near Fort Pitt, in December last.

Bishop Briand to Meurin, August 7, 1767[1]

[A.A., Q., Mission des Illinois, f. 6—L.B.C.]

Au Rév. Père Meurin, missionaire aux Illinois, 7 aout 1767.

Il y a déjà deux mois, mon Révérend Père, que je vous ay envoyé vos pouvoirs de grand vicaire. Depuis j'ay reçu votre lettre du 23 mars de l'année courante ou vous me faites le détail de la triste situation de vos paroisses.[1] Je ne puis que louer le zèle persévérant qui vous anime à travailler au salut de ces peuples et je suis bien mortifié qu'au lieu des consolations qu'ils devroient vous donner par leur conduite vous n'ayés souvent de leur part que des chagrins et de très grands chagrins. Permettés moy de vous encourager à les supporter en vue de Dieu et des consolations éternelles qu'il vous destine et que les hommes ne pouront mesler d'amertume. Au reste je leur écris à ce sujet; je les exhorte, je les menace, et je vous prie d'appuyer ce que je leur dis de tous les motifs que votre piété vous suggèrera, car quoique je n'adresse ma lettre qu'aux habitants des Kaskakias qui m'ont présenté requeste pour avoir un prestre je désire cependant

[*Translation*]

To the Rev. Father Meurin, missionary in the Illinois, August 7, 1767.

It is already two months, my reverend father, since I sent you your powers as grand vicar. Since then I have received your letter of March 23 of this year in which you give me the details of the sad situation in your parishes.[2] I can only praise the persevering zeal which animates you to work for the welfare of this people and I am much vexed that instead of the comfort which they ought to give you through their behavior, you often have from them only sorrows and very great sorrows. Let me encourage you to bear these for the sake of God and of the eternal consolations which he reserves for you and which men cannot mix with bitterness. For the rest, I am writing to them on the subject. I exhort them, I menace them, and I ask you to second what I tell them with all the arguments which your piety will suggest to you, for although I address my letter only to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia who have presented to me their request for a priest, I

[1] Printed in part in Carayon, *Bannissement des jésuites*, 66 *et seq.*

[2] Printed *ante*, 522.

que toutes vos autres paroisses soient instruites de mes sentiments à ce sujet.

Je compte vous envoyer deux prestres au printems prochain et je suis bien faché de ne pouvoir pas profiter de l'offre gracieux qu'a fait Mr Despins. Tachés d'y suppléer l'année prochaine par quelqu'autre car je prévois que ny moi qui n'ay aucun revenu ni les prestres que j'envoyeray ne seront en état de fournir aux dépenses que demande ce voyage.

A l'égard du cas de conscience que vous me proposés sur les mariages clandestins je ne doute nullement sur l'authorité des docteurs de Sorbonne consultés à ce sujet que le mariage clandestin des catholiques de chez vous ne soit invalide, hors le cas d'impossibilité où ils seroient de contracter devant vous. Or selon la carte que vous me faites de vos paroisses ils ont toujours pu venir se présenter dévant vous ou du moins ils ont pu vous attendre puisque vous les visités tous les ans. Il faudra donc leur faire renouveller leur consentement en votre présence selon les règles de l'église et je scais que vous agirés en cela avec la prudence que je vous connois. Il n'en faut pas juger

[*Translation*]

desire that all your other parishes be informed of my sentiments on this subject.

I count on sending you two priests the coming spring and I am very sorry not to be able to profit by the gracious offer which M. Despins has made. Try to supply the opportunity next year through some other, because I foresee that neither I who have no income at all nor the priests whom I shall send will be able to furnish the expenses which this trip demands.

In regard to the case of conscience which you propose to me about the secret marriages, I have no doubt, on authority of the doctors of the Sorbonne consulted on the question, that the secret marriage of Catholics in your parts is invalid, except in case of the impossibility of contracting before you. Now according to the map of your parishes which you made for me, they have always been able to come and present themselves before you or at least they could have waited for you, since you have visited them every year. You must make them renew their consent in your presence according to the rules of the church and I know that you will act in this with the discretion which I discern

de même du mariage des hérétiques avec les catholiques, il est valide quoique clandestin *positis aliunde ponendis*. C'est la décision des mêmes docteurs appuyée sur une déclaration du défunt pape Benoit XIV environ l'année 1741 qui décide tous ces deux cas pour la Hollande.

[*Translation*]

in you. You must not judge the same about the marriage of the heretic with the Catholic; it is valid even if secret *positis aliunde ponendis*. Such is the decision of the same doctors based on a declaration of the late Pope Benedict XIV about the year 1741 deciding both cases for Holland.

BISHOP BRIAND TO THE KASKASKIANS, August 7, 1767

[Tetu and Gagnon, *Mandements des Évêques de Quebec*, 2:205]

Il y a environ deux mois, Nos Très Chers Enfants, que j'écrivis au R. P. Meurin pour lui confier mes pouvoirs de Grand Vicaire, je lui écris encore pour les lui confirmer de nouveau; mon intention est que vous lui obéissiez comme à moi-même, je compte vous envoyer au printemps prochain un ou deux missionnaires pour l'aider à déraciner parmi vous les vices que je sais qui y règnent, car on m'a fait savoir que l'esprit de piété s'éteignait beaucoup parmi vous. Quand le P. Meurin se donne la peine de vous visiter, plusieurs ne viennent point à l'église ou n'y viennent que pour y manquer de respect; il y a même des indociles qui dans quelques unes des paroisses qu'il dessert refusent de le reconnaître pour pasteur, disent qu'il

[*Translation*]

About two months ago, my very dear children, I wrote to Rev. Father Meurin to intrust to him my powers of grand vicar. I write to him again to confirm them anew. My will is that you obey him as you would me. I intend to send you in the coming spring one or two missionaries to help him in uprooting among you the vices which I know exist there, because I have been told that the spirit of piety was indeed dim among you. When Father Meurin gives himself the trouble to visit you, many do not go to church or go there only to show lack of respect. There are even disobedient persons who in some parishes where he officiates refuse to recognize him as priest, saying he

n'a pas droit de leur donner des avis et qu'ils ne sont pas obligés de l'écouter, d'autres ont la témérité de se marier sans faire bénir leur mariage par le prêtre. J'écris au P. Meurin pour qu'il arrête tous ces désordres, ou plutôt, Mes Chers Enfants, c'est à vous-mêmes que je m'adresse avec confiance, c'est à ceux parmi vous qui sont les plus chrétiens, (car j'apprends encore avec consolation qu'il y a parmi vous des familles ou la religion brille avec éclat), c'est à eux dis-je, à qui je veux ici rappeler que Jésus-Christ a confié à chacun de nous le soin de son prochain; travaillez-donc à vous édifier et à vous porter au bien les uns les autres; vous sentez bien que la sainte religion catholique où vous avez eu le bonheur de naître ne se soutiendra désormais parmi vous qu'autant que vous vous y affectionnerez et que vous en pratiquerez les règles avec zèle et comme de vous-mêmes. Je ne puis plus comme on le pouvait autrefois, faire une sainte violence aux transgresseurs en m'adressant aux puissances séculières pour les forcer de rentrer dans leur devoir; c'est donc à vous, Mes Chers Enfants, à vous soutenir dans la pratique du bien, et à faire voir par votre respect pour mon Grand Vicaire et par votre docilité à pratiquer les avis qu'il

[*Translation*]

has no right to give them advice and that they are not obliged to listen to him. Others have the boldness to get married without having their marriage blessed by the priest. I am writing to Father Meurin to put a stop to all these disorders; or rather, my dear children, it is to yourselves that I address myself with confidence; it is to those among you who are most Christian—for I hear with comfort that there are among you families where religion shines with brilliancy—it is those, I say, whom I wish to remind here that Jesus Christ has confided to everyone of us the care of his neighbor. Work then to edify each other and to bring each other to the good; you know that the holy Catholic religion in which you had the good fortune to be born will be sustained henceforth among you only in so far as you love it and practice its rules with zeal and as of your own accord. I cannot, as was possible before, employ a holy force against transgressors by calling upon the secular powers to compell a return to their duty. It is therefore your duty, my dear children, to keep yourselves in the practice of righteousness, and to show through your respect for my grand vicar and through your obedience in following the advice which he gives you, that it is not the fear of temporal pains, but love

vous donne, que ce n'est pas la crainte des peines temporelles mais l'amour de votre religion et le désir de votre salut qui vous anime. Au reste, je vous avertis que si vous méprisiez ces avis que je vous donne comme votre père, je ne ferais plus dans la suite d'attention à vos requêtes et que je vous regarderais comme des membres de mon diocèse qui ne méritent plus mon attention; car sachez que je fais un grand effort en vous promettant de vous envoyer des prêtres; j'en vois tous les jours le nombre qui diminue dans mon diocèse, et je n'ai qu'une très petite ressource pour y suppléer; on m'en demande de tous côtés et je n'en puis donner, je ne sais par quel secret mouvement de la grâce de Dieu je me suis senti porté à vous préférer à bien d'autres. Le gain de vos âmes et la triste situation où vous êtes réduits depuis longtemps m'a touché et vous vous êtes présentés à mon esprit plus vivement encore que si vous aviez été sous mes yeux.

[*Translation*]

of your religion and desire for your welfare that inspire you. Moreover I warn you that if you disregard these counsels which I give you as your father, I shall henceforth pay no more attention to your requests and look upon you as members of my diocese who do not merit my attention; for know that I am making a great effort in promising to send you priests. Every day I see the number of these diminishing in my diocese, and I have only a small resource from which to supply them. On every side demands are made of me and I cannot give; I do not know through what secret movement of God's grace I feel myself disposed to prefer you to many others. The salvation of your souls and the sad situation to which you have been reduced for so long have touched me, and you have been more vividly present to my spirit than if you had been under my eyes.

GAGE TO SHELBURNE, August 24, 1767

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.85, f. 309—A.L.S.]

(N° 16) NEW YORK August 24th 1767

MY LORD

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship, that the Transports from Ireland with the 16th and 26th Regiments arrived here on the 7th of July: those with the 18th Regiment on Board, parted with the rest off this Harbour, and proceeded to Philadelphia, where the

Regiment disembarked. The 16th landed at this Place, and the 26th at Amboy in New Jersey. The 17th and 46th Regiments embarked here on the 24th of July, the 28th at Amboy on the 27th; and part of the Royal Highland Regiment at Philadelphia on the 26th and they all sailed soon afterwards; the 17th Regiment for Portsmouth, And the rest for Cork, A Transport was left for three Companys of the Highland Regiment at Fort Pitt, who could not be relieved in time to embark with the rest; There was no Troops to relieve them, till the Volunteers were taken from this Regiment who engaged in the 21st And they Marched above four Weeks before the Arrival of the Transports. The Officers were kept to command the Volunteers, but as soon as the 18th Regiment arrived, a number of Officers and a few Men of that Corps, with a Body of Recruits lately arrived for the 34th Regiment, marched for Fort-Pitt, and the Officers of the Highland Regiment are ordered down the Country, to be sent to join their Regiment.

As the Volunteers At Fort-Pitt have entered into the 21st Regiment at Mobile, and are put under the Care of an Officer of said Corps: I take the opportunity of this Officer, with as Many Men as shall be required, to transport Provisions and Stores wanted at the Ilinois, down the Ohio; and after delivering the same at the Ilinois, the Officer will join his Regiment at Mobile, by way of the Mississippi. And as the Garrison of Fort-Pitt after the Departure of all the volunteers from thence, would be composed chiefly of Recruits of the 34th Regt, commanded by Officers of the 18th; Orders have been sent to Colonel Reed to leave four compleat Companys of the 34th Regiment at Fort-Chartres, and to move himself with the remaining Officers and Men of said Regiment up the Ohio, to take the Command of Fort-Pitt.

The Men who have engaged to Serve in the 9th Regiment stationed in East-Florida, Bermuda and Providence sailed some weeks ago for Bermuda and St Augustine; and will arrive opportunely at Bermuda; Governer Bruere having lately remonstrated that the Company quartered there was too weak, and that the Service of the Island required it to be compleated. The Volunteers inlisted into the 21st and 31st Regiments, stationed in West-Florida, except those of the former ordered down the Ohio, will be detained in these Provinces till the Sickly Season is over, whereby many of these fresh Men may be saved, who are not Seasoned to the Climate of West-Florida, which has proved so fatal to the two Regiments, quartered there.

The Number of volunteers from the 17th 46th 28th and 42d Regiments, will nearly compleat the 9th 21st and 31st Regiments; A few have entered into the 34th which with the Recruits lately sent from England, will also almost compleat that Corps. There is yet no Account received of the Number of Men likely to be got from the 27th Regiment, which is to embark at Quebec, when relieved by the 10th from Ireland; but it's hoped they will afford a sufficient Number to compleat the Regiments in Canada and Nova Scotia, who want few Men. The two Battalions of the Royal American Regiment have been recruited from Germany, and it is expected in general, that His Majesty's Army in North America will be now tolerably compleat in Numbers.

So Many Troops having been collected here on Account of the Relief, occasioned some Difficulty to procure Quarters; but by sending the Volunteers from the Regiments relieved, to an Island used occasionaly as a Lazaretto, and a Company of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, into some Buildings belonging to the King's Magazines, and crowding the rest in the Barracks, we contrived to lodge all the Men of the 16th Regiment: there only wanted Lodging for the Officers till the Troops for Europe should embark, and Billets were demanded for the Officers from the Magistrates: They returned for Answer they could give no Billetts, because the Mutiny Act for America had expired on the 25th of March last; and they knew of no New Act being passed, if any had passed, it was not come over. Sir Henry Moore sent for the Mayor and Corporation, whom he reproached for their Conduct in very severe Terms; and insisted that they should immediately provide Quarters for the Officers, after a Consultation it was agreed to give no Billetts, but to send to certain People who usualy receive Lodgers in their Houses, to receive each a certain Number of Officers; and I conclude that the Corporation will pay the Landlords.

The Extract of a Letter from Monsr Aubry to me, which I have the honor to inclose, will inform your Lordship, that Affairs continue in a confused State in Louisiana. The French Inhabitants have hitherto paid little Regard to the Spanish Governor, who since the Contempt shewn to his Edict, has constantly declined taking the absolute Command of the Province, till reinforced with Troops, which Monsr Aubry says are daily expected. And I learn by Report of the

Master of a Vessel lately arrived in this Port from New-Orleans, that some Troops, he thinks about 300, arrived there from the Havannah before his Departure; And that about the same Number went up the Mississippi to relieve the French Troops at the Posts of the Nacticoche Point Coupeé, a new Post erected near the Point of Ibbeville, the Akansas, and the Settlements opposite the Ilinois. The French Troops that do not choose to engage in the Spanish Service (which few it's said incline to do) are to return to France.

I have received Nothing of Moment from West-Florida, The Creeks and Chactaws are warmly engaged against each other, but the former have hitherto been most Successfull in the War, which has so elated them, that they can't yet be brought to accept of any Mediation: A little Reverse of Fortune would make them more inclined to Peace, and they seem very averse to a Rupture with the Chickesaws.

M^r^ Steuart's Accounts of the Conferences he has lately had with Many Nations and Traders at Hardlabour and Augusta, are very favorable. The Traders agreed to lower the Price of their Goods, and a Tariff was settled to their Mutual Satisfaction. The upper Creeks went away before M^r^ Steuart arrived, on Account of News they had received, that a Packhorseman had been killed in their Country, but sent Messages to declare their good Intentions, and that they could not see M^r^ Stuart, till the Murtherer was put to Death Their Deputys arrived at Augusta afterwards, and gave the strongest Assurances of Friendship, and that the Author of the late Murther should be punished with Death, as soon as he could be found. It was settled at the Congress, that the Indians should send Deputys before the End of September, to mark the Boundary Lines of Georgia and West-Florida.

Numbers of Indians of different Nations have again been to Fort-Pitt, with Complaints of repeated ill Treatment which they meet with, in their Passage to and from War with the Southern Indians, from the People settled on the Frontiers of Virginia; And of the Settlements made by the Virginians upon their Lands. They set forth, That the Country Westward of the Allegany Mountains was their Property, that they had never ceded it to the King, to any of his Subjects, but that the white People had Settled there, contrary to Solemn Engagements and in Violation of the Peace, that they knew

we had Laws to govern our People by, And that we could, if sincerely inclined to it, prevent them settling in their Country. As to the first Complaint, Endeavors were used to pacify them, and shew them that they were themselves partly the Aggressors, which it seems some of them were, by committing Disturbances upon the Frontiers, and quarrelling with the People and they were advised hereafter to avoid the Frontiers of Virginia in their way to War, which would prevent future Quarrells. With respect to the Second Complaint, Orders arrived very opportunely to the Officer Commanding at Fort Pitt, to remove the Settlers. To this End he Marched with a Detachment from the Garrison, accompanied with some Indian Chiefs; And having assembled the Settlers, who came to him upon a Summons, to the Number of about 100 Men, he told them, that as they had remained upon the Indian's Land, notwithstanding the Proclamations issued for their Removal, he was ordered there to send them away, and that they must go off directly. The Indian Chiefs then represented to them, the Danger of remaining where they were, that it had been with the utmost Difficulty they had been able to restrain their young Men from falling upon them, and they could not answer any longer for their Safety. The People promised to remove immediately. And the Officer in his way back to Fort-Pitt sent Partys to destroy as Many Hutts as they could find, to prevent more People being tempted to seat themselves upon those Lands. I have acquainted your Lordship that I had some time since wrote to Lieutenant Governor Fauquiere upon the Subject of the Removal of these Settlers, but I have not as yet received any Answer.

The Indians near the Lakes have brought very considerable Quantitys of Peltry to Detroit, and the Trade has been at that Place this Spring, much larger than has been known for many years. Some French People, it is supposed employed by the Spaniards, have sent Belts amongst the Western Indians, one of which has been given up to the Indian Commissary at the Detroit, but the Purport of these Belts or Messages has not been made known. Some of the most troublesome Tribes in that Country are grown Jealous of each other, and are quarrelling amongst themselves, which may induce them to be more desirous of our Friendship; but the Peace has been a little disturbed by two Chippewa Indians, who have killed an Officers Servant, and Attempted to Murther his wife, but prevented by timely

Assistance. The Affair is related to have happened without any Provocation on the part of the Deceased, and the two Indians were secured and sent from the Detroit to take their Tryal. The rest of the Nation declare their Concern for what has happened, disavowing the Action, and Sir William Johnson disapproves of the Prisoners being sent down the Country, as he forsees that a war with this Nation, and perhaps with some others, must be the Consequence of such Proceeding. I have therefore left this Matter to his Management, desiring however that he will insist upon Satisfaction.

All Accounts from Missilimakinac agree, that the Savages were never more Peaceable than at present, or to Appearance more disposed to remain so. The same good Accounts are transmitted from Niagara and the other Forts.

I have received Letters from the Ilinois, which contain nothing more remarkable, than that a Nation of Indians called the Meeches or Mitchagamis, who had left their Habitations on the Arrival of the English in that Country, and settled with the French on the opposite Side of the River, had returned again to their old Town: and that the Indians in general were quiet.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem,

My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient, and most humble Servant.

THO^{S} GAGE.

RIGHT HON^{BLE} EARL OF SHELBURNE one of H: Maj^{tys} Principal Secretarys of State.

[*Endorsed:*] New York. 24th Aug^{t} 1767. Maj^{r} Gen^{l} Gage. (N^{o} 16.) R 2^{d} Oct^{r}

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Indians massacre French at, 412; Morgan at, 443; Thirty-fourth regiment at, 123, 160.
Yellow Creek, Croghan at, 24; distance from Fort Pitt, 310.
York, 350.
Yorktown, Clarkson at, 350.
Young, Samuel, Clarkson: disputes with regarding building of boats, 354, 355; meets, 350.